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THE ANCIENT NA-KHI KINGDOM
OF SOUTHWEST CHINA



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SHAN-TZU-TOU, THE HIGHEST PEAK OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

玉龍山與白水河

Photographed from an elevation of 10,500 feet, from a ridge overlooking the upper Pai-shui or White water, the Gyi-p'ër of the Na-khi. The main glacier on the eastern slopes is the source of the Gyi-p'ër. The trees in foreground are pines and spruces, the pale foliaged trees poplars in autumn garb. On the higher slopes are firs and spruces, the lighter-colored trees, larches.

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VOLUME VIII

THE ANCIENT NA-KHI KINGDOM
OF SOUTHWEST CHINA

BY

JOSEPH F. ROCK



VOLUME I

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*To those persons who made our expeditions a
success, and who are thus indirectly
responsible for this book*



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PREFACE

The work herewith presented to the public is the first of a series on West China. It deals with a circumscribed area in northwest Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang, Tibet and southwest Ssu-ch'uan inhabited by the Na-khi tribe known to the Chinese as Mo-so 麼些. While the region has been explored geographically in the strictest sense of the word, yet it includes areas, such as that of the Wu-so 五所 in southwestern Ssu-ch'uan, very little known, and visited at best by one two or three Europeans including the author.

Most explorers are content with a hurried reconnaissance of a given area, their aim being to cover as much territory as possible in the time at their disposal. Not so the author. I have spent twelve years exploring thoroughly the Na-khi inhabited part of Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang 西康 and adjacent areas; first as agricultural explorer of the United States Department of Agriculture of Washington, D.C., then for the National Geographic Society of the same city and finally on my own, when I could devote my time exclusively to the study of the Na-khi tribe, their literature and the land they occupy.

Before undertaking to write this work, I spent the major part of my savings collecting, first of all, the Chinese literature on West China and eastern Tibet, and second, all publications in European languages pertaining to this area. I secured the various editions of the topographies or T'ung-chih 通志 not only of the western provinces, but of all the eighteen provinces of China and its dependencies; I bought all the local gazetteers, Hsien-chih 縣, Chou-chih 州, and T'ing-chih 廳 of Yün-nan, Ssu-ch'uan, Kan-su, and Tibet, published by the Chinese authorities from the Ming days to the present. These western China gazetteers have become exceedingly rare due to the devastations of the Mohammedan rebellion, which lasted for nearly 25 years, when all the printing blocks were destroyed and editions, stored in the official Yamens of the various districts, were burnt. Such records as were no longer obtainable in the provinces, I had copied from unica found only in the Palace Library and the National Library of Peiping. The Catholic Mission Library of Zikawei near Shanghai, rich in gazetteers, had also consented to have its rare and precious books copied. My own library contains many rare works not to be found in other libraries in Asia, Europe or America.

While living in Li-chiang, the capital of the former Na-khi Kingdom, I had all important inscriptions on stelae copied, and personally photographed genealogical records of tribal chiefs, precious manuscripts, heirlooms dating back to the T'ang and Sung dynasties. In addition, I collected over 4,000 ancient Na-khi pictographic manuscripts. A number of these are of historic interest, while the remainder deal with the religious literature of the Na-khi which is akin to the Bön, the pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet.

My predilection for Chinese characters made me begin the study of the Chinese written language at the age of 15. It created a desire in me to explore the vast hinterland of China and to learn to know its history and geography at first hand. It caused me to study the ancient Na-khi language, now no more in use, but preserved in the pictographic literature, which has at last given up its secrets. Thus equipped, I undertook the task of delving into the history of this fascinating and wonderful country, which I covered

on foot and horseback from Siam to southwestern Mongolia. In the pages of this work, I describe the Na-khi region as it passed in review before my eyes: a wealth of scenic beauty, marvellous forest, flowers and friendly tribes. Those years of travel and the fellowship of the tribal people who accompanied me on my many journeys will remain forever among the happiest memories of my life.

I owe a debt of gratitude not only to the institutions and societies that made these explorations possible, but also to the faithful members of the Na-khi tribe, fearless, honest and dependable at all times. To them, the success of my various expeditions is mainly due.

The historical part of this book is based on original Chinese works which it would be impossible to enumerate. In the copious notes, references are given to the works from which they were translated, perhaps not as fully as would be desirable; but those familiar with Chinese geographical and historical literature will have no difficulty in finding them. Many of the local gazetteers consulted may, however, be found only in my own library.

The photographs were taken by myself, mainly under the auspices of the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY of Washington, D. C., to the authorities of which I wish here to express my sincerest thanks for the permission to reproduce them. Others again were taken while I worked in the region on my own.

I beg the reader's indulgence and also that of the sinologues and of my many Chinese friends who will have occasion to consult this work. Their constructive criticism will not be resented, but is earnestly solicited. This book found shape under the most trying circumstances. I began the actual writing in 1934, not dreaming that serious interruptions would delay its completion for over a decade.

We were twice evacuated from Yün-nan when it was invaded by the Chinese Red Army and I was forced to send my entire library to the Indo-Chinese border. We packed again when Japanese bombers visited K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) and left death and destruction in their wake. To prevent possible destruction of my library, I moved to Dalat, Indo-China, where, after a year and a half of residence, it again became necessary to pack up and transfer my library to Honolulu. These many interruptions and the hectic weeks and months of delay form the most unpleasant part of my experiences.

I wish to express my thanks to the Trustees of the Harvard-Yenching Institute and to its director, Professor Serge Elisséeff, who approved the publication of this book and to the U. S. Army Map Service for the printing of the maps included with the accompanying Gazetteer.

As consultant to the U. S. Army Map Service in 1944-1945 I was privileged to correct the aeronautical charts of western China and eastern Tibet and to examine original Chinese maps of the border region. The latter leave much to be desired; the Chinese characters used on these maps often vary considerably from those actually employed in the region itself, nor is the topography to be relied on. This is of course mainly due to the difficulty of travel in the borderlands, to the lack of communication, and partly to hostile inhabitants.

The maps were made by myself in the field, using as a basis the excellent map of Yün-nan by Major Davies, and the sketch map of the region of the upper Salwin, the Trun River, Mekong and Yangtze, published by the late Dr. Handel-Mazzetti.

The altitudes of towns, villages, rivers, passes, etc., are based on aneroid and hypsometer readings, while those of inaccessible peaks are approximate only. In certain instances, heights of mountains as determined by others, such as those of the snow peaks of the Yü-lung Shan, have been adopted.

I have endeavored to give the Na-khi name for every place, mountain, valley, meadow or crag in the area occupied by the Na-khi tribe. In regions where they live together with Chinese, Tibetans or other tribespeople, names of places, etc., are given as far as ascertainable, in those languages also.

Now, a few words as to the orthography of Chinese as well as Na-khi and Tibetan names employed in this work:

I have followed the Wade-Giles system of romanization throughout the work, with the exception of certain words which are pronounced differently in Yün-nan, as *ngai* (cliff) for *yen*, *kai* (market, street) instead of *chieh* and a few others which are indicated in their respective places. I have not followed the spelling of geographic names adopted by the Chinese Government Postal Service, but in some instances I have added them in parenthesis, while for words like Yangtze, the spelling generally in use has been adhered to. Tibetan names have been given in Tibetan script wherever possible; the transcription and romanization employed is that of Sir Basil John Gould, with certain modifications. In a few instances, it was not possible to ascertain the Tibetan orthography of names of places, etc., situated in remote and sparsely inhabited regions where the natives were illiterate. Even most lamas are ignorant of the proper spelling of Tibetan names. In nearly every instance, Chinese characters follow proper names, as well as geographic names, and in parenthesis follows the spelling of place names used on the maps of Major Davies and Handel-Mazzetti to facilitate their identification. For the pronunciation of Na-khi words the notes on pages xix-xx, below, are to be consulted.

Mr. B. Armstrong Claytor of the Division of Orientalia, Library of Congress, has prepared the index.

J. F. ROCK

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, SUMMER, 1945

NOTE: Handel-Mazzetti published in the *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Vienna (Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse, Bd. 97), a map and description of Li-chiang, and parts of the Mekong, Salwin, and Irrawadi. It includes the Yangtze loop, Chung-tien and its dependencies. As guides and collectors he had with him Na-khi from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö. All Na-khi, as well as most Yünnanese, are unable to pronounce final consonants, as *n* or *ng*. The spelling, therefore, of place names, etc., on his map is very bad. In addition he adopted the German romanization for the Chinese names mispronounced by the Na-khi, and the result is far from happy. The names of the Li-chiang snow peak may here serve as an example. Handel-Mazzetti gives it as Satseto; this is not a Na-khi name, but the purely Chinese term *Shan-tzu* 扇子 (a fan) and *tou* 陡 (steep, vertical). He gives the name Satseto as if it were a Na-khi one. Along with the Na-khi and Chinese names which I shall quote, will be put in parenthesis those given by Handel-Mazzetti (abbreviated to H-M).

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NOTES ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF NA-KHI WORDS

<i>Orthography</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>As in</i>
a	low back vowel	father
ă	same as above, short	Germ. <i>hat</i>
‘a	low back vowel, with laryngeal constriction like Arabic ‘ <i>asin</i>	
ä	mid front vowel	Fr. <i>seize</i>
aw	half-low back vowel, rounded	awe
b	voiced bilabial stop, lenis	be
bb	voiced bilabial stop, fortis, long (the vowel after bb, dd, ff, gg, ll, and nn is always short, as compared with that after an initial denoted by single b, d, etc.)	
bp	unaspirated voiceless bilabial stop, fortis	
ch	unaspirated voiceless alveolar affricate	
ch’	aspirated voiceless alveolar affricate	
d	voiced dental stop, lenis	day
dd	voiced dental stop, fortis, long	
ds’	aspirated voiceless dental affricate, lenis	
dt	voiceless dental stop, fortis	
dz	voiced dental affricate	adze
e	half-high front vowel (slightly higher than ä)	egg
ër	retroflexed mid central vowel, with a slight pharyngeal constriction	
erh	(orthography for Chinese loan words, with same phonetic value as ër)	
ff	voiceless labio-dental fricative, fortis, long	
g	voiced velar stop, lenis	go
gg	voiced velar stop, fortis, long	
gh	voiced uvular (or pharyngeal) fricative, like Fr. <i>r</i> <i>grass-eyé</i> or the Arabic <i>ghain</i>	
gk	voiceless velar stop, fortis	
h	voiceless glottal fricative	hat
i	high front vowel	police
ĩ	high front vowel, slightly centralized	
k’	aspirated voiceless velar stop, fortis	
ḳh	voiceless velar fricative	Germ. <i>ach</i> .
kh	voiceless palatal fricative	Germ. <i>ich</i> .
l	voiced lateral continuant	low
ll	voiced lateral continuant, fortis, long	
lv	initial l plus syllabic v	
m	bilabial nasal, independent initial or combined with b to form the cluster mb	mother

<i>Orthography</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>As in</i>
n	dental nasal, independent initial or combined with d and dz to form the clusters nd and ndz	no
<u>n</u>	(letter to indicate nasalization of the preceding vowel)	
ng	velar nasal, independent initial or combined with g to form the cluster ngg (simplified into ng in the text)	long
nn	dental nasal, fortis, long	
nv	nasalized syllabic v	
ō	half-high back vowel, rounded	Germ. <i>Sohn</i>
ö	half-high front vowel, rounded	Germ. <i>Söhne</i>
ou	back rounded diphthong	no
p'	aspirated voiceless bilabial stop, fortis	
r	(see ěr)	
s	voiceless dental fricative, fortis	sister
ss	voiceless dental fricative, extra fortis, long	
sh	voiceless alveolar fricative	show
sz	voiced dental fricative, fortis, long (syllable or followed by ěr)	
t'	aspirated voiceless dental stop, fortis	
ts	unaspirated voiceless dental affricate	
ts'	aspirated voiceless dental affricate, fortis	
u	high back vowel, rounded	rude
ũ	same as u, but less rounded and short	
ü	high front vowel, rounded (but back unrounded after gh)	Fr. <i>su</i>
ue	(after labials only) diphthong consisting of high back vowel, unrounded, followed by mid back vowel	
v	voiced labio-dental fricative, used in syllabic position after g, gk, k', d, dt, t' and l	
w	voiced bilabial continuant	way
wúa	special syllable, with prominence on "u" and value of "a" centralized	
wuà	same, with prominence on "a"	
y	voiced palatal continuant	yes
zh	voiced alveolar fricative	Fr. <i>je</i>

TONES

<i>Superscript</i>	<i>Description</i>
a ¹	low-falling
a ²	middle-level
a ³	high-short
a ⁴	high-rising

The fourth tone occurs only in words borrowed from the Chinese or Tibetan languages.

THE ANCIENT NA-KHI KINGDOM
OF SOUTHWEST CHINA



PART I

INTRODUCTION

THE PROVINCE OF YÜN-NAN

Yün-nan 雲南 (South of the clouds) is the second largest province of China, and is situated in the extreme south-west of that vast country. Its area is approximately 146,700 square miles, and in 1933 it had a population of 11,795,486, or about 80.4 persons to the square mile. Of this population 6,095,549 were male, and 5,699,937 were female, and 88.88 per cent of the entire population was illiterate.

In the north it borders on Ssu-ch'uan 四川 and Hsi-k'ang 西康, in the west on Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet) and Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). In the south it adjoins the south-eastern Shan States of Burma and also Indo-China, while in the east it borders on the Chinese provinces of Kuei-chou 貴州 and Kuang-hsi 廣西.

Yün-nan is a high table-land, intersected by some of the largest rivers of Asia, such as the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salween, and by the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 of the Chinese) in the extreme west. These rivers flow parallel to each other for a considerable distance in terrific gorges. The intervening mountain ranges, which in the extreme north-west reach heights of 22,000 feet, are crowned by eternal snow. Of these the Mekong-Salween divide forms, in part, the Tibet - Yün-nan border. The altitude increases in the north-west, and we find towns at 11,500 feet elevation.

In the south, the province is partly covered with tropical jungle where tigers roam and malaria is prevalent, and where the Tai or Shan hold undisputed sway, as no Yünnanese will live below an altitude of 4,000 feet. Here the water-buffalo is at home, and rice is the main crop.

In the north the yak grazes on the high alpine meadows, and barley is grown at 12,000 feet. The yak furnishes the inhabitants with meat, milk, butter and cheese; its dung (argols) is used as fuel and its hair for the weaving of cloth for tents; it also serves as a transport animal. Here barley takes the place of rice and is the staple food of the Tibetans.

The capital of the province is Yün-nan fu, situated at an altitude of 6,400 feet, on a large plain surrounded by mountains. Near it is the famous lake known as Tien Ch'ih 滇池 or K'un-yang 昆陽. To-day Yün-nan fu is called K'un-ming 昆明, which, during the reign of Han Wu Ti, was the land of I-chou Chün 益州郡. While the name K'un-ming is an ancient one it seems not to have been applied to the land which bears that name to-day prior to the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. The *K'un-ming hsien chih* speaks of three K'un-mings. In the oldest geographical record of Yün-nan we read, however, that the name K'un-ming had first been given to the lake at Yün-nan fu by General Chuang Ch'iao of the State of Ch'u in about 280 B.C. (see Note 3, page 6).

As this is not a history and geography of the whole of Yün-nan, but only of a specified area in its north-west, namely the region now occupied by the Mo-so

tribe, who call themselves Na-khi, the province is not described at length. To do so it would be necessary to publish, instead of two volumes, at least ten, when one considers that the present *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Topography of Yün-nan) as published by the Yün-nan provincial authorities, consists of 220 *pen* 本 (books).

The area dealt with in this work does not lie strictly within the confines of Yün-nan, but extends to beyond its borders. It roughly comprises the land between East Longitude 98° and 103° and North Latitude 26° and 30°. This territory was never exclusively inhabited by the Mo-so or Na-khi tribe, nor was it ever a political unit under the rule of a Na-khi King or chief. To-day the area is partly in Tibet and Hsi-k'ang and partly in Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan, the greater part, however, being in the province of Yün-nan. It is represented in this work by four maps: Map no. 1, called Te-ch'in or A-tun-tzu; no. 2, Wei-hsi; no. 3, Li-chiang and no. 4, Yen-yüan.

In the area covered by map no. 1, the Na-khi live in scattered villages alternating with Tibetan ones, with certain sections (on the west) occupied by other tribes, as the Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu, the Trun or Ch'iu-tzu, and Li-su on the south. The area represented by maps 2 and 3, is almost exclusively inhabited by Mo-so or Na-khi, save for a sprinkling of other tribes, such as the Miao, Chung-chia, Min-chia and Lo-lo or No-su, with Tibetans and Hsi-fan to the north. These tribes are more or less recent immigrants as are the Chinese. Map 4, comprises an area inhabited mainly by ancient Mo-so who may or may not be identical with the Na-khi of Li-chiang. Scattered among them live also Hsi-fan, Chinese, Tai or Shan as well as Lo-lo and a few Li-su. Chinese are everywhere in the minority.

Various hypotheses have been put forward as to the origin of the Na-khi. Suffice it to say that they are immigrants, descendants of the Ch'iang of north-eastern Tibet, and many references substantiating this statement will be found throughout the book. Whether the Mo-so are identical with the Na-khi will ever remain a moot question. That the P'u were the original inhabitants of the present home of the Mo-so or Na-khi we learn from Chinese History. The Mo-so, first mentioned in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty, were probably less numerous and disputed the land with the P'u. Then came the descendants of the Yüeh-hsi Ch'iang who with the Mo-so dispersed the P'u and settled in their land. The name Na-khi occurs nowhere in Chinese literature and as I suggested elsewhere, was probably given the Ch'iang by the Mo-so on account of their darker complexion. The name Na-khi (*na* = black, *khi* = man) became the designation for the tribe of the territory formerly occupied by the P'u; whether the Mo-so absorbed the Ch'iang or the Ch'iang the Mo-so remains a disputed question. The name Mo-so is of Chinese origin and is disliked by the Na-khi, it is looked upon as derogatory. I hope to be able to throw more light on this question in a future work on the religion and religious literature of the Na-khi.

In order gradually to introduce the reader or investigator to the history and geography of the former Na-khi Kingdom, it was deemed wise to give a description of the route from K'un-ming to Li-chiang 麗江, the ancient capital

of the Na-khi Kingdom, as well as accounts of K'un-ming and the various prefectural towns encountered *en route*, and of their history in particular. Thus the reader will gain a historic bird's-eye view of Yün-nan proper, or, at least, of a large part of the province. Before giving these detailed descriptions of the capital and the various towns encountered on the way to Li-chiang, I shall begin with a brief résumé of the history of the province as a whole.

The territory of the P'u 濮 tribe. — During the reign of the Emperor Yü 禹, known as Ta Yü 大禹 (The Great Yü), who was the first emperor of the Hsia dynasty 夏紀 (2205–2198 B.C.), the land known now as Yün-nan lay outside his domain, which comprised nine *chou* 州 (divisions), the south-westernmost of which was Liang Chou 梁州. Yün-nan lay to the south-west of Liang Chou and was then known as the territory of the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians).¹

Prior to the Ch'in 秦 dynasty (255–209 B.C.) the Hsi-nan-i were all called P'u, and the name of Tien 滇 was not then known. P'u was also the name of a stream; in the *Han Shu Ti-li-chih* 漢書地理志 (Geographical Records of the Han dynasty) it is written 僕, which is the present-day Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 (Mekong). All the I 夷 (savages) were called P'u-jen 濮人. The Hsi-nan-man were also known as Pu-jen 卜人 and they dwelt where *tan-sha* 丹砂 (cinnabar) originated, with which they paid tribute. These Pu-jen are identical with the P'u-jen. They had no rulers and lived where they pleased, scattered over the country. Hence they were called the Pai-p'u 百濮 (Hundred P'u).²

The Kingdom of Tien 滇. — General Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻, who was a native of the State of Ch'u and a descendant of King Chuang 莊 (Chuang Wang) of Ch'u (613–591 B.C.), had been sent to conquer territory to the west of Shu 蜀 and Pa 巴 (Ssu-ch'uan) and to explore the Chiang 江 (Yangtze). He arrived on the shores of the Yün-nan Lake (Plate 1) and called it Tien. As his road back to Ch'u was blocked on account of the State of Ch'in 秦 attacking Ch'u,

¹ The Hsi-nan-i (later the Tien-jen 滇人), were also called Man 蠻; this appellation occurs very often in the Records of the Three Kingdoms (*San-kuo chih* 三國志). The character *man* is interpreted as "ungovernable vermin," and was used because they were not classed as human beings but as 虫 vermin, reptiles, insects. The Min 閩 tribe of Fukien and the Shu 蜀 tribe of Ssu-ch'uan were also considered vermin. These two tribal names are the classical names of the latter provinces. The Huns (Hsien-yün 獯鬻), as well as the Hsün-yü 獯鬻, Ch'iang 羌 and Ti 狄, were classed by the Chinese with dogs and sheep, and never with human beings. Hence they used the dog 犭 and sheep 羊 radicals in the characters for their tribal names. — From the *Tien-i* 滇釋, or "Tien explained," by Yüan Chia-ku 袁嘉穀, ch. 1, fol. 24, published 1923.

² The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fols. 2a–5a, states that the P'u 濮 savages had a tail several inches long, and that they lived in nests in the mountains and forests. Their land adjoined the Ai-lao 哀牢, or the present Pao-shan 保山 of Yün-nan. P'u was also the name of the land south-west of the State of Ch'u 楚. These P'u are also the P'u-man 蒲蠻 of Shun-ning 順寧, and the Lan-ts'ang Chiang (Mekong) is the ancient P'u Shui 濮水. The land of the Pai-p'u extended from Shen-chou fu 辰州府, in Hu-nan 湖南, west to Yung-ch'ang 永昌, the present Pao-shan. During the period of the San Tai 三代 (i.e., the Hsia 夏, Shang 商 and Chou 周 dynasties, 2205–256 B.C.) they were known as P'u 濮, but afterwards as the people of Tien 滇, Yeh-lang 夜郎, K'un-ming 昆明, etc. Still later they are spoken of as the Two Ts'uan (Liang Ts'uan 兩蠻) and the Liu-chao 六詔 (inhabitants of the Six kingdoms of Nan-chao 南詔). Their name was constantly changed subsequently.

he remained in Yün-nan, made himself king, and called the land the kingdom of Tien, or Tien Kuo.³

The origin of Tien is explained as follows: the word *tien* 顛 is pronounced the same as *tien* 滇, and means the top or apex; heaven is said to be *tien* (high); Yün-nan on account of its altitude is said to be in the sky or *t'ien-shang* 天上.

When Chuang Ch'iao came from Ch'u and arrived on the high plateau of Yün-nan and on the shores of the lake, he called it the Tien Ch'ih, having reference to the high altitude of the lake. The kingdom he later established he called Tien-ch'ih Kuo 滇池國 and Tien Kuo, and himself Tien Wang (King of Tien). There is, however, another explanation of the origin of Tien. *Tien* 顛 also means "the beginning of" and "to upset," or "upside down." It is supposed to have reference to the stream called the Tien-ch'ih Ho 滇池河, which is the outlet of the K'un-yang Lake. The stream flows north instead of south, and parallel, or almost so, to the lake, and finally debouches in the Yangtze. It is said to flow *tien-tao* 顛倒 (reversed), and hence received the name Tien.

³ The *Yün-nan T'u-ching chih*, one of the earliest geographical works on Yün-nan, states, in ch. 1, fol. 1a, that Chuang Ch'iao was the younger brother of Ch'ing Hsiang 頃襄王, King of Ch'u (298-293 B.C.), and that it was he (Chuang Ch'iao) who also called the Yün-nan Lake K'un-ming. This would seem the earliest record of the name K'un-ming. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fol. 5b, says that King Wei 威 (Wei Wang), of the State of Ch'u, sent General Chuang Ch'iao to Yün-nan. If this is correct, the Kingdom of Tien was established between 339 and 329 B.C. It is further stated on the same page, that at the beginning of the reign of Ch'ing Hsiang Wang (298 B.C.) the latter sent Chuang Hao 莊豪 from Yüan Shui 沅水 (the present Yüan Chiang 沅江 (Yüan River) which rises in the ancient district of Ch'ieh-lan 且蘭, and flows into the Tung-t'ing Hu 洞庭湖 [Tung-t'ing Lake]) to attack Yeh-lang 夜郎 [which is the present district of Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 to the north-east of Yün-nan fu]. His army arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, moored boats on the river bank, and then marched to battle.

The *Chia-ch'ing I-p'ung-chih*, ch. 499, fol. 1b, states that in the period of the Fighting States, Kuei-chou which belonged to the State of Ch'u was the land of Ch'ien-chung 黔中, and that Yeh-lang and Ch'ieh-lan belonged also to that State. The T'un Shui 豚水, on the east, passed by the district of Ch'ieh-lan (Ch'ieh-lan hsien 縣). The T'un Shui is also called the Tsang-ko Shui 牂牁水, and its waters are several li broad. This seems an extraordinary statement, but the *Shui ching chu* 水經注 or Water Classic Commentary, ch. 36, fol. 12b, states that in the river are two mountains called Tsang-ko 牂牁 (here the ox 牛 radical is used instead of the 月 or 木 radical). It is also stated that when Chuang Ch'iao attacked Yeh-lang and his army had arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, they tied their boats to the bank of the river. Therefore the river on the banks of which they placed stakes (*tsang-ko*) to tie their boats to, must have been the Tsang-ko Shui. According to the *Yün-nan Shui-tao k'ao* 雲南水道考 (Enquiry into the waterways of Yün-nan) the ancient Wen Shui 溫水 is here meant. It states that the Wen Shui has its source in the districts of Tsang-ko and Yeh-lang and that it was also the ancient T'un Shui. To-day this stream is called the Nan-p'an Chiang 南盤江 (Southern P'an River), which has its source 90 li west of Chan-i-hsien 霑益縣 in a cave in the Hua Shan 花山洞 in eastern Yün-nan. The Nan-p'an Chiang is called the Chiao Ho 交河 in its upper reaches. The poet Wang Ts'an 王燦 wrote a poem on the scenic beauties of this river. The poem is called the *Chiao-ho yeh-yüeh* 交河夜月, i.e. The evening moon of the Chiao River. According to the *Ch'ao-ching ch'ao-wen chi* 巢經巢文集, ch. 2, fol. 1-2, the name Tsang-ko existed long before the time of Chuang Ch'iao.

SAINSON, *Nan-ichao Ye-che*, p. 271, gives the date of the founding of Tien Kuo, or the date of Chuang Ch'iao, at about 220 B.C. This could not have been the date, for the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states, "At the beginning of the reign of Ch'ing Hsiang, Chuang Ch'iao was sent to Yün-nan" — which probably means about 298 or 297. He must have been at least 30 years old, or between 20 and 30, when he was sent to Yün-nan. Therefore, if 220 is taken

The Miao-hsiang and Pai-tzu Kingdoms. — Long before Chuang Ch'iao established the Kingdom of Tien, Indian princes were said to have ruled in the western part of the province. Apparently the oldest name for that region was Miao-hsiang Kuo 妙香國 (Kingdom of excellent perfume). This was the present-day Ta-li fu or Ta-li hsien 大理縣, and belonged at that time to India. We read in the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom) that King A-yü (A-yü Wang 阿育王, also called P'iao-chü-ti 驃苴低 — the Indian Asoka, King of Magadha, or Mo-chieh Kuo 摩竭國, the modern Behār) took for his spouse Ch'ien-meng-k'uei 欠蒙虧, who gave birth to a son by name Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴. To the latter were born nine sons. The first-born, Meng Chü-fu-lo 蒙苴附羅, became the ancestor of 16 kingdoms. His eighth son was Meng Chü-sung 蒙苴頤, who was the ancestor of Jen-kuo 仁果 of the Pai-tzu (Kuo) Kingdom 白子國. This kingdom existed in the west of the province with the capital south-east of Ta-li fu, at Pai-ngai 白崖. Nothing is, however, known as to the succession of these princes. Their descendant,

as the date of his establishing the kingdom of Tien, he would then have been about 100 years old, which, of course, is impossible.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 3b, says that when Ssu-ma Ts'o 司馬錯 of Ch'in 秦 attacked Ch'u 楚 and Ch'ien-chung 黔中, the road to Ch'u became closed and prevented the return of Chuang Ch'iao, who then settled in Yün-nan and called it the Tien Kuo, of which he became king. The history of the Kingdom of Ch'in relates that in the 27th year of Chao Hsiang Wang 昭襄王, which corresponds to 280 B.C., General Ssu-ma Ts'o of Ch'in, passing by way of Shu 蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan) invaded the Kingdom of Ch'u and Ch'ien-chung. This territory comprised parts of Hu-nan, Kuei-chou, Hu-pei 湖北 and Ssu-ch'uan. We thus learn that the Kingdom of Tien was founded in the year 280 and not 220. The *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, ch. 4, fol. 16b, states that the word *ch'ien* 黔 was or is pronounced *ch'in* 琴. It further states that Ssu-ma Ts'o attacked Ch'u and Ch'ien-chung by way of Shu 蜀 in the 35th year of Chou Nan Wang 周赧王 or 280 B.C., so the founding of Tien must fall in that year.

I, personally, believe that Chuang Hao and Chuang Ch'iao are one and the same person, for the *Hua-yang kuo chih* 華陽國志, ch. 4, fols. 1a and 1b, states that "King Wei of Ch'u sent General Chuang Ch'iao from Yüan Shui to come out at Ch'ieh-lan and attack Yeh-lang, and to plant or place *tsang-ko* 牂柯 (stakes) on the banks of the Ch'ieh-lan to tie boats to. Thereupon Ch'ieh-lan was subdued and Yeh-lang was also reduced to submission." Two different persons could hardly be sent to the same place. This would be too much of a coincidence. The only discrepancy is, therefore, in the name of the king, and hence also in the time.

It is possible that the word *hao* 豪 stands for "leader" and *Chuang* for Chuang Ch'iao who was the leader of the expedition. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fol. 6b, in fact states that Hao is identical with Chuang Ch'iao. On page 9a, however, it says that it is feared that this may not be so. As regards the name *Tsang-ko* 牂柯, the *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書, ch. 116, fol. 12a, states that "when they had arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, they moored boats on the bank"; also that "at Ch'ieh-lan there was a place for the mooring of boats to *tsang-ko* [stakes]." The name of the place had afterwards been changed and was known as *Tsang-ko*. A footnote says that *tsang-ko* was a post to tie boats to. The correct character is, however, 柯 and not 柯, though both are used.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states further that the Ch'ieh-lan region is the present-day P'ing-yüeh 平越, Kuei-yang 貴陽, etc., now in Kuei-chou province. The province of Tsang-ko (Tsang-ko Chün 牂柯郡) was established after the pacification of the Southern barbarians (Nan-i 南夷) in the sixth year of Yüan-ting 元鼎 of Wu Ti 武帝 (111 B.C.). Later Tsang-ko was divided into two districts, namely P'ing-i 平夷 and Yeh-lang; the former is still called P'ing-i 平彝 (彝 and 夷 are interchangeable) and is near the Kuei-chou border, while the latter is the present-day Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 and Chan-i hsien 霑益縣, both in eastern Yün-nan.

Prince Jen-kuo, became later King of Tien, after the hereditary office of the Chuang Ch'iao family had come to an end.

These early Indian princes were succeeded by a family called K'un-mi 昆彌, and the State over which they ruled was known as K'un-mi Kuo 昆彌國. Again nothing is known as to the succession, nor are there any records of the names of the princes of the K'un-mi family. Their kingdom is said to have also been called Pai Kuo 拜國. This was before the time of the Fighting States 戰國 (480-403 B.C.) and prior to the arrival of General Chuang Ch'iao in Yün-nan.

The Chün of I-chou. — We now come to the decline of the Tien Kingdom with King Ch'ang Ch'iang 常羌 as the last of its kings. He ruled at the same time as Prince Jen-kup: The former in the east of the province and the latter in the west. In the period Yüan-shou 元狩 of the Han Emperor Wu Ti 武帝 (122-117 B.C.), King Ch'ang Ch'iang incurred the displeasure of the Emperor, who favored Jen-kuo, who at that time ruled over the Pai-ngai Kuo 白崖國 in the west of Yün-nan (the present-day Hung-ngai 紅崖). In the second year of the period Yüan-feng 元封 of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.) the King of Tien having been pacified, that is, conquered, his land was taken from him, and the province of I chou or I-chou Chün 益州郡 was created. Tsang-ko, Yüeh-sui 越耒 and several other districts were merged with it. After a few years all the land of K'un-ming was annexed and made subject to that province. The *chün* consisted at that time of 24 *hsien* (districts).

Han Wu Ti invested Jen-kuo with the title of King of Tien, and gave his State the name of Pai-tzu Kuo. He was also authorized to change his capital from Pai-ngai, in the west of the province, to Ch'eng-chiang 檄江, south-east of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu). The town still exists, and is 120 li from the capital. Thus the kingdom of Tien was annexed to the principality of Pai-ngai.

The State of Chien-ning. — We now come to the period of the Shu Han 蜀漢 (Minor Han dynasty), to the third year of the period Chien-hsing 建興 of the Emperor Hou Ti 後帝, who had sent the famous Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 to Yün-nan to conquer it for the State of Shu. It was in the third moon (March 27th-April 25th, A.D. 225) that Chu-ko Liang attacked the South and entered Yün-nan. He stopped at Pai-ngai where he found Lung-yu-na 龍佑那, a descendant of Jen-kuo of the 15th generation. He changed Lung's family name to Chang 張 and appointed him chief of the kingdom which he called Chien-ning Kuo 建寧國. The capital of that kingdom was Chien-ning ch'eng, the present Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, on the way to Ta-li fu 大理府. Later on Chang Lung-yu-na transferred his capital to Ch'eng-chiang⁴ where his ancestor Jen-kuo had ruled during the Han dynasty.

⁴ It is, perhaps, of interest to record that in the T'ang dynasty the Na-khi lived in the region described as follows:

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, edition of the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736), in ch. 4, fol. 30a, states that at the end of the period T'ien-pao of T'ang 唐天寶 (755) the Mo-so-man 麼些 absorbed the territory of Ch'eng-chiang. Later the district was called Lo-ch'ieh tien 羅伽甸. The P'o (Po)-man 樊蠻 afterwards conquered it. They were followed by the Meng family 蒙氏, of the Nan-chao Kingdom, who called it Ho-yang Chün 河陽郡. The Tuan family 段氏, who ruled Nan-chao under the name of Ta-li Kuo 大理國, divided the Mo-so into three tribes, namely the Ch'iang-tsung 強宗部, Hsiu-chih 休制部 and Pu-hsiung 步雄部.

The *Ch'eng-chiang fu chih* 檄江府志 (ed. 1719), ch. 3, fols. 4b-5a, says that because T'u-mo-

The Nan-chao or Southern Kingdom. — A gap of nearly 400 years intervenes now during which nothing is known as to successions, or chronology, until we come to the descendant of Chang Lung-yu-na, of the 17th generation. His name was Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求. He was invested by the T'ang Emperor T'ai Tsung 太宗 in the 23rd year of the period Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) with the title of Shou-ling Ta-chiang-chün 首領大將軍 (Grand Marshal Commander-in-Chief). In the same year, however, he asked permission of the Emperor to abdicate in favor of the Meng family 蒙氏. He gave his daughter in marriage to a certain Meng Hsi-nu-lo 蒙細奴邏 who was a descendant of Meng Chü-tu 蒙苴篤 of the 36th generation. The latter was the fifth son of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴, a son of King A-yü 阿育 (Asoka, King of Magadha). Meng Hsi-nu-lo became the founder of the Nan-chao Kingdom and called his dynasty Ta Meng and his domain the Ta Meng Kuo 大蒙國 (Great Meng Kingdom). He was 32 years of age when he came to the throne in 649. His capital was Meng-she ch'eng 蒙舍城, the present Meng-hua hsien 蒙化縣, a town situated two stages south of Ta-li. He ruled until 674, while his dynasty lasted until 902.⁵

The history of the Nan-chao Kingdom forms the subject of a treatise written by the famous Han-lin scholar Yang Shen, 楊慎, of the latter part of the Ming dynasty, who in 1524 incurred the displeasure of the Emperor Hou Tsung 厚熹 (Chia-ching). He was first thrown into prison, and later banished to south-western Yün-nan (Yung-ch'ang 永昌), where he died in 1559. His ancestral shrine is in the temple compound of P'u-hsien Ssu 普賢寺, at Kao-ch'iao 高嶠 across the lake from K'un-ming. This treatise (the already mentioned *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史) has been translated into French by Camille Sainson, a former French vice-consul at Ho-k'ou 河口 on the Yün-nan and Indo-China border. See appendix to Chapter VII, pp. 177-184.

Much of the history of the Nan-chao Kingdom can be found in the history of Li-chiang and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the kingdom existed for over 600 years, from 649 to 1253, during which time Yün-nan was independent of the Chinese Empire. It was Kublai Khan, later the famous Mongol Emperor, who invaded Yün-nan in 1253 and annexed it to the empire, reducing the last King of Nan-chao, Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智, to a mere hereditary governor of Ta-li.

Tuan Hsing-chih had 12 successors, the last governor of Ta-li being Tuan Shih 段世 who took office in the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382).

chih 徒莫祇 of the Mo-so had acquired merit, his sons were organized into three tribes, and the territory of Ho-yang was divided among them as Ch'iang-tsung, Hsiu-chih and Pu-hsiung pu. The first became the Yang-tsung hsien 陽宗縣 of the Yüan and Ming dynasties (now obsolete); the second is the present Hsin-hsing hsien 新興縣, the third is the Chiang-ch'uan 江川 district of to-day. The Pu-hsiung afterwards lived at Ch'ieh-tien and were therefore called the Lo-ch'ieh pu 羅伽部. On p. 3b of the same work, it states further that T'u-mo-chih dwelt west of the Ts'uan-man 爨蠻 (Lo-lo) who submitted with them to T'ai Tsung 太宗 of the T'ang dynasty in the 23rd year of the Cheng-kuan 貞觀 period (649). T'u-mo-chih's territory was then at Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 and belonged to two chou, P'ang 傍 and Wang 望.

⁵ P. M. Tchang, S.J., in his "Tableau des Souverains de Nantchao" (*B.E.F.E.O.* Vol. 1: 313, 1901) gives the dynastic title of Hsi-nu-lo as (Fong-ming) Feng-min 封民.

The province of Yün-nan. — The Ming Emperor Yüan Chang 元璋 (Hung-wu) sent Generals Fu Yu-te 傅友德 and Mu Ying 沐英 to subjugate Yün-nan; their troops seized various towns in the south-east of the province, such as Lin-an 臨安, Ch'eng-chiang 澄江, Yüan-chiang 元江 and even Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, half-way between Ta-li and K'un-ming. Gradually they advanced on Ta-li, which fell on the 23rd of the second moon, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (March 8th, 1382). Various revolts on the part of the aborigines followed in different parts of the province, but these were ruthlessly suppressed, for we read that in the eastern part of the province 30,000 heads were cut off, and of 200,000 insurgents who had attacked Yün-nan fu, 60,000 were decapitated.

In the same year 1382 the province was for the first time called Yün-nan 雲南, and this name has been retained throughout, up to the present day. The name Yün-nan appears for the first time, however, in the year 122 B.C. during the reign of Han Wu Ti, in the first year of the period Yüan-shou. It was then not the name of the province, but of a small town to the east of Ta-li, namely Yün-nan hsien. The *Yün-nan hsien chih* 雲南縣志 (Records of the district of Yün-nan) state that in that year (122 B.C.) brilliant (varicolored) clouds were seen in Pai-ngai, whereupon the hsien of Yün-nan was established.

The *Nan-chao Yeh shih* states that there is another explanation for the origin of the name Yün-nan. It is said that in the reign of Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 of the T'ang dynasty (713-755), the Minister of the State of Meng-she 蒙舍, by name Sheng Lo-p'i 盛邏皮, went in audience at the Court. When the Emperor asked him where he resided, he replied: "In the south, at the foot of the clouds"; thereupon the Emperor named his land Yün-nan (South of the clouds).

CHAPTER I

TERRITORY BETWEEN K'UN-MING (YÜN-NAN FU) AND LI-CHIANG

It would seem superfluous to give here the stages and a description of the road to Ta-li, which has been described by travellers too numerous to mention. But practically none give the names with the Chinese characters. And as the romanization adopted by them depended on their nationality — English, French or German — the resulting spelling has not always been a happy one. It is for this reason that I shall describe briefly the route from K'un-ming, via Ta-li 大理, to Li-chiang 麗江, and also give historical accounts of the various towns encountered *en route*, beginning with K'un-ming, our starting point.

Although no one will ever again use the old caravan road to Ta-li except muleteers — and these only for a few years more — as a motor-road has been built to Ta-li and its extension to Li-chiang is almost completed, I have thought it wise to give this description of the old caravan road as a matter of historic interest.

I. — HISTORY OF YÜN-NAN FU

Yün-nan fu was the land south of the Liang Chou 梁州 of Yü Kung 禹貢. In the time of the Yin 殷 (also called Shang 商) and Chou 周 dynasties, it was outside their borders and was inhabited by the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians). There dwelled the P'o 爨, Chiu 鳩, Liao 獠, Li 獠 (Piao 標), Lo 裸 (Naked), Tu 毒, Lu 獠, and Ngo or O 零, and all the tribes of the Wu-man 烏蠻. In the Fighting States period, Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻 of Ch'u 楚 seized the land, assumed the kingship of their territory and called it Tien Kuo 滇國.

Tien Kuo. — There seems to be some discrepancy as regards the actual establishing of the Tien Kuo. Chavannes, in his introduction to the *Mémoires historiques*, pp. LXXIX and LXXXIV, states that King Wei 威王 of Ch'u, who reigned from 339–329 B.C., sent General Chuang Ch'iao to conquer the region which is the present K'un-ming. Owing to his inability to return to Ch'u the latter installed himself on the borders of lake Tien and named his kingdom after the lake, Tien Kuo (Kingdom of Tien) (Plate 2).

The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan* 滇雲歷年傳, ch. 1, pp. 6b–7b, quoting from the *Shih Chi* 史記, says that, in the time of King Wei of Ch'u, General Chuang Ch'iao was sent with his soldiers to follow the Chiang 江 (Yangtze), and seize the territory to the west of Pa 巴, Shu 蜀 and Ch'ien-chung. General Chuang was the descendant of King Chuang (Wang) of Ch'u 莊王 (613–591 B.C.). (The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan* has quite a discussion about this statement that Chuang Ch'iao was the descendant of Chuang Wang). Chuang arrived at lake Tien; near it was level ground, 300 li square, consisting of fertile soil. Several thousand li were occupied by the soldiers, who overawed the country, which thus became subject to Ch'u.

When the General intended returning to report (to his king) he found that Ch'in had attacked Ch'u, Pa and Ch'ien-chung. The road was thus closed. He sent one of his generals, Hsiao Pu 小卜, to tranquilize the savages to the west of Tien. Unable to return to Ch'u, he began building the walled city of Chü-lan 苜蘭 and resided there. Chü-lan ch'eng was in the prefecture of Ku-ch'ang 穀昌 and was seven li north of K'un-ming hsien — other books say over 10 li from Yün-nan fu.

The *Hou Han Shu* (History of the Later Han dynasty) states that in the time of Ch'ing Hsiang Wang 頃襄王, Chuang Hao 莊豪 was King of Tien.

According to the *Shih Chi* and *Han Shu* 漢書, the time when Chuang Ch'iao was sent to Yün-nan was during the reign of King Wei of Ch'u (339-329 B.C.), and not during the reign of King Ch'ing Hsiang of Ch'u (289-262 B.C.).

Although the Li-chiang Records state explicitly that it was after Ssu-ma Ts'o had attacked Ch'u and Ch'ien-chung (which was in 280 B.C.), the exact date of the establishing of Tien Kuo is, therefore, left undetermined.¹

K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu). — In the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.) the King of Tien submitted, and at first there was established the I-chou Chün 益州郡.² (A *chün* 郡 was a territorial division of the Han empire beginning 221 B.C.) In the third year of Chien-hsing 建興 of the Shu Han (A.D. 225), I-chou Chün was changed to Chien-ning 建寧 which controlled also Wei hsien 味縣 (this was 15 li west of the city of Nan-ning, or Nan-ning ch'eng 南寧城, the present-day Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, to the east of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu), distant seven stages).

¹ The dates given by EMILE ROCHER in his "Histoire des princes du Yün-nan" in the *T'oung-pao*, Vol. X (1899), p. 1, as regards the early history of Yün-nan, are completely untrustworthy, for he says, "About the beginning of our era the prince of the Kingdom of Ch'u sent an ambassador by the name of Chuang Ch'iao, etc., to Yün-nan to which he gave the name of Tien." Now the State of Ch'u came to an end in 223 B.C., which is hardly "about the beginning of our era."

The next king of whom any record exists, although it is very little, is Ch'ang Ch'iang 常羌, of whom the Li-chiang Records relate that "at first Han Wu Ti sent envoys to Tien [Yün-nan] to interview King Ch'ang Ch'iang." Wu Ti ruled from 140 to 87 B.C., so Ch'ang Ch'iang's reign in Yün-nan must fall into that period and not A.D. 20 as Rocher states.

In the *Hsi-nan-i Lieh-chuan* of the *Shih Chi* it is stated that Ch'ang Ch'iang, the King of Tien, led all his people to allegiance in the second year of the period Yüan-feng (109 B.C.). Thereupon he was given an official seal, authorizing him to continue to govern his people as their king.

Among the south-western savages there were about one hundred chieftains among whom only those of Yeh-lang and Tien received official seals authorizing them to be kings. The State of Ch'in exterminated the kings of all the other States except the King of Tien who was a descendant of Ch'u. When the Han dynasty launched an expedition against the south-western savages, all the barbarian States were exterminated except Tien, the king of which remained a favourite of the emperor. We learn that Ch'ang Ch'iang, King of Tien, appeared first in Chinese history in the first year of the period Yüan-shou (122 B.C.). — From the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 117, fol. 2a and b.

² In I-chou Chün during the reign of Wu Ti, in the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 there were founded 24 hsien, of which the first was Tien-ch'ih 滇池. This Tien-ch'ih is the present-day Chin-ning hsien 晉寧縣. The second was Shuang-pai 雙柏, the present I-men hsien 易門縣; the third was T'ung-lao 同勞, the Yüeh chou 越州, of the present Nan-ning, later abandoned, etc. Under the Later Han, I-chou Chün had 17 walled cities, the first again being Tien-ch'ih. All these belonged to Yün-nan. — (*Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 9, fol. 4b). See p. 8.

In the second year of the period Yung-an 永安 (305) in the reign of Chin Hui Ti 惠帝, Chien-ning was enlarged and Ning-chou Chün 寧州郡 was established. In the second year of the period Yung-chia 永嘉 of Chin Huai Ti 懷帝 (308), Ning chou was changed to Chin-ning Chün 晉寧郡. Both the Sung 宋 (420-478) and Ch'i 齊 (479-501) called it by the same name. During the Liang 梁 (502-56) and Ch'en 陳 (557-589) dynasties the name Chin-ning Chün was abolished. In the beginning of the Sui 隋 dynasty (581) there was established K'un chou 昆州, which was subsequently abolished. — *T'ien-hsi*, ch. 1, fol. 9b.

However, in the beginning of the T'ang dynasty (618) it was re-established as K'un chou, but subject to the Yao chou Tsung-kuan-fu 姚州總管府 (Fu-Governor of Yao chou, north of Chen-nan chou). In the fourth year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (630) it was changed and made subject to the Tu-tu-fu 都督府 (Governor-General) of Jung chou 戎州.³

Towards the end of T'ien-pao 天寶 (755) it was abolished by the Nan-chao Kingdom. In the fifth year of Kuang-te 廣德 (767),⁴ Feng-ch'ieh-i 鳳伽異, a prince of the Meng family 蒙氏, added a wall and called the town T'o-tung ch'eng 拓東城, as in the east of Nan-chao (Ta-li) the Meng princes had established the *chieh-tu* of T'o-tung. It was intended to open up the land of T'o-tung which was one of six *chieh-tu* 節度,⁵ namely, T'o-tung, Lung-tung 弄棟 (present-day Yüan-mou 元謀), Yung-ch'ang 永昌 (now called Pao-shan 保山), Yin-sheng 銀生 (present-day Ching-tung 景東), Chien-ch'uan 劍川 and Lu-shui 麓水. T'o-tung ch'eng is the K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) of to-day.

Ch'üan-feng-t'o 券豐拓, a grandchild of the sixth generation of Feng-ch'ieh-i, changed the name T'o-tung ch'eng to Shan-shan fu 鄯闡府. Hsün-ho-ch'üan 尋閣勸 (in the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* he is called Hsün-ko-ch'üan 尋閣勸), the seventh Nan-chao King (808-809), renamed T'ai-ho ch'eng 太和城, and made it the Hsi-ching 西京 or Western capital, calling Shan-shan the Eastern capital. Lung-shun 隆舜, 12th Nan-chao King (877-897), changed the Hsi-ching 西京 (Western capital) to the Chung-tu 中都 (Central capital); and the Tung-ching 東京 (Eastern capital) he called the Shang-tu 上都 (Upper capital). In the time of the Tuan family, Kao Chih-sheng 高智昇⁶ governed Shan-shan and his descendants lived there.

In the beginning of the Yüan 元 (Mongol) dynasty (1253) was established the Shan-shan wan-hu fu 萬戶府 (Shan-shan city of 10,000 families). The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 32, fol. 3b, however, states that in the fifth year of

³ Jung chou is the present-day I-pin 宜賓 (formerly called Hsü-chou fu 叙州府 and Sui-fu) of Ssu-ch'uan. It was first known as Jung chou in the 10th year of Ta-t'ung 大同 of the Liang dynasty (544).

⁴ This should probably read the second year of Ta-li 大歷, as there were only two years of the period Kuang-te, though the emperor was the same. The date may, however, be wrong, as the *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao* gives the second year of Kuang-te, which is 764.

⁵ *Chieh-tu* was the office of an Imperial Commissioner.

⁶ Kao Chih-sheng was marquis of Yo (hou) 岳侯. He was promoted in 1063 to T'ai-pao 太保 (Grand Protector of the Hereditary Prince), and invested with the title of marquis of Te (hou) 德侯. Later he was promoted marquis of Shan-shan 鄯闡侯, the title to be inherited by his descendants.

Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1255) Shan-shan was divided into four Wan-hu fu or four cities of 10,000 families each. In the 13th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1276) it was changed to Chung-ch'ing Lu 中慶路 (Circuit of Chung-ch'ing).

In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382) the name was changed to Yün-nan fu 雲南府, which then ruled over four chou and nine hsien.

Ed. Chavannes, in the *T'oung-pao*, Vol. 6 (1905), p. 4, raises the question as to the identity of Shan-shan 善闡 and concludes that it is not to be identified with Yün-nan fu. He is inclined to accept the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* where it states that T'o tung is the present-day P'ing-ting hsiang 平定鄉, north of K'un-yang chou 昆陽州 in Yün-nan fu. K'un-yang chou is on the south-western point of K'un-yang Lake. The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chi kao*, Vol. 8, ch. 3, fol. 9a, states explicitly that T'o-tung ch'eng is the Yün-nan fu of to-day, and that it was also called Shan-shan fu.

Another reference, however, is in Vol. 14, ch. 14, fol. 5b, of the same Chinese work, where it says that the ancient Ya-ch'ih ch'eng 押赤城, which Chavannes accepts as the present-day Yün-nan fu, was 20 li south-east of Lo-tz'u hsien 羅次縣. Lo-tz'u hsien is north-west of Fu-min 富民, so this would mean that Ya-ch'ih ch'eng was between Lo-tz'u hsien and Fu-min.⁷

The city wall. — The wall of K'un-ming (the ancient T'o-tung ch'eng), was first built by Feng-ch'ieh-i⁸ in the second year of Kuang-te 廣德 (764) (see p. 13, note 4), though according to tradition it is the ancient wall built by Chuang Ch'iao, first king of Tien Kuo.

In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382) the wall was replaced by a brick wall nine and three-tenths li in circumference, 29 feet and 2 inches high, and having six gates, each with a tower.

⁷ If this were true the town could not have been surrounded by water on three sides. From many of the Chinese records it seems apparent that Ya-ch'ih and Shan-shan were two different cities. Ya-ch'ih was the capital of the Wu man. We read in the *Hsin Yüan Shih* 新元史 (New Mongol History), ch. 122, fol. 6b, that Wu-liang-ho-t'ai attacked the Wu man (Black savages), then the territory of the Lo pu 羅部 (Lo tribe who dwelt at Lo-tz'u hsien), and defeated Kao-hua 高華, the chief of the Man. He then advanced on the city of Ya-ch'ih (it actually says Ch'ih-ya which is a misprint). Three sides of the city are on the shores of the Tien Ch'ih (K'un-ming Lake). He employed *pao* 礮 (machines for throwing heavy stones), attacked its north gate and set fire to it. He was however unable to take it. In the *Tien-yüan li-nien chuan*, ch. 5, fol. 22a, it states that Wu-liang-ho-t'ai divided his army and took the adjacent capital Shan-shan. He then turned around and attacked the Shui ch'eng 水城 of the Wu man Ho-la-chang 合剌章, etc. Further on it relates that he advanced on Ya-ch'ih, a city on the shores of the Tien Ch'ih and surrounded on three sides by water.

Shan-shan has survived in the K'un-ming of to-day while Ya-ch'ih has completely disappeared. The Na-khi however call K'un-ming, to this day, Yi-chi or rather Yi-ch'i, which seems to be the Ya-ch'ih of the Mongols, but they may be referring to the capital of the Wu-man with which they were classed by the Chinese.

The temple of Ch'ung-chu Ssu 節竹寺 (Temple of the Ch'ung bamboo [a variety of bamboo with great many knots]) situated 20 li west of K'un-ming on the Yü-an Shan 玉案山 (Jade-table Mountain) was built by Kao Kuang 高光 of Shan-shan about 638, so the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* relates. A stele in the same temple which bears the date of May 15, 1316, and which has only recently come to light, bears two inscriptions, a Chinese and a Mongol. The former states that the priest Hsüan Chien 玄堅 holds forth in the temple of Ch'ung-chu Ssu of Yün-nan Ya-ch'ih.

⁸ He was the son of Ko-lo-feng 閣邏鳳 who ruled over the Nan-chao Kingdom from 748 to 788.

In the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660) the wall was in bad condition and the salt revenue was used to rebuild it. It was again rebuilt in the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (1681). Afterwards it was frequently repaired, the last time by Magistrate Chou Hsiung 周熊 in 1797.

To the north-east of the city lay the walled towns of Ching-i ch'eng 井邑城 and Huang ch'eng 隍城; to the west lay Han ch'eng 漢城. Something over 10 li to the east of the wall is the village of Ku-ch'ang-ts'un 穀昌村, which under the Han dynasty was part of the ancient territory of the Ku-ch'ang Wang (King of Ku-ch'ang).⁹

In the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794) the Nan-chao Kingdom attacked the Hsi-jung 西戎 (Western Jung) tribes, and transported the Shih 施, Shun 順 and Mo-so 麼些 tribes, many thousands strong, to this locality.

2. — THE ROAD FROM K'UN-MING TO TA-LI

First stage. — From K'un-ming the trail leads west across the plain for 30 li until it reaches the foot-hills and the famous Pi-chi Kuan 碧雞關 (Jade-fowl Pass), where there is a hamlet and a temple on a hill overlooking the pass. This temple was built in the 22nd year of K'ang-hsi, the seventh month and 12th day (September 2nd, 1683). The elevation of the village is 6,550 feet. The motor-road follows the foot of the pass, zigzags up the hill, and then bears to the west.

From Pi-chi Kuan to An-ning chou 安甯州 (now An-ning hsien) is 50 li. An-ning is a walled city lying in a valley at an altitude of 6,000 feet. In ancient days it was the T'ang-lang-ch'uan 螳螂川 (Mantis stream) of the Tien Kingdom. A small trail here branches off to the town of Wu-ting 武定, three stages to the north of K'un-ming and a distance of 210 li from An-ning. (A motor-road has now been built.)

The road to An-ning winds between wheat-fields which are terraced and situated between low hills with limestone outcroppings. Coolies, mostly Minchia 民家 (for description see pp. 41-43), men and women, are met with, carrying blocks of salt on a framework, the load being 100 catties, or about 133 lb. Others bear loads of firewood, charcoal and rice for the market of K'un-ming. The salt comes from Pai-yen ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well) near the town of Yen-feng 鹽豐. A trail connects the salt-wells with Ch'u-hsiung.

An-ning hsien. — In the Han dynasty, An-ning was the Lien-jan hsien 連然縣 of I chou. In the beginning of the Chin dynasty (about 265-266) it belonged or was subject to Chien-ning Chün 建寧郡. Under the Sung and Ch'i dynasties its name remained unaltered. In the beginning of the Sui dynasty (about 581-582) the city was subject to K'un chou.

During the reign of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (about 618-619) its name was changed and An-ning hsien magistracy (still under K'un chou) was established. At the beginning of T'ien-pao 天寶 (about 742-743) An-ning hsien fell into the hands of the Man (savages) who had rebelled owing to extortionate taxes and forced labor.

⁹ The *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 9, fol. 1a, states that there is no Ku-ch'ang Wang listed in the *Han Shu* and that the character *wang* was by mistake used for *hsien* 縣.

Afterwards the city was captured by the Meng family (Meng shih 蒙氏), the founders of the Nan-chao Kingdom. The T'ang dynasty sent soldiers to suppress the Man. P'i-li-ko, the fourth Nan-chao King, with his soldiers joined the T'ang soldiers and pacified the savages. Nine years afterwards when the Nan-chao Kingdom had become stronger, the Ts'uan 爨 savages were weakened. The robbers (Ts'uan) however captured Yao chou 姚州, and although they again attacked An-ning, it remained in the possession of the Nan-chao kings.

The Tuan family, which in 937 succeeded to the throne of Nan-chao, made no changes and, during the reign of Tuan Ssu-lien 段思廉 (1044-1075), Kao Chih-sheng 高智昇, marquis of Shan-shan, was commissioned to guard and protect their territory.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) it was dependent on the Yang-ch'eng-p'u 陽城堡¹⁰ Wan-hu fu. In the beginning of Chih-yüan 至元 (1264 or 1265) there was established the Ch'ien-hu so 千戶所 (Sub-military station of 1,000 families) of An-ning. Afterwards the name was changed to An-ning chou. At the beginning of the Ming dynasty it remained unaltered.

The native prefect, a member of the Tung family 董氏, governed hereditarily the registered families of 10 li (10 communes) and one hsien.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 141, p. 31a . . . 32a, has the following to say about the Tung family: "In the reign of Hung-wu (1368-1398) Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府 was established. In the 17th year (1384) Tung Tz'u 董賜 was made native fu-prefect of Ho-ch'ing (on account of his great merit). He was originally native chou-prefect of An-ning of which city he was a native. His son, Tung Chieh 董節, also on account of merit, was made hereditary native chou-prefect of An-ning in the same year his father was transferred to Ho-ch'ing. (See also *Ho-ch'ing chou chih*, ch. 20, fol. 20a.) He established schools and built the city yamen, gave lessons in agriculture and sericulture, and instructed the people in the cultivation of trees, etc."

Second stage. — From An-ning hsien to Lao-ya-kuan 老鴉關 (Crow pass) is a distance of 70 li. The trail leads up the hills to a hamlet called Ts'ao-p'u 草舖 (Grass shop), which is 10 li from Ch'ing-lung-shao 青龍哨 (Green dragon guard-station), the lunch-stop of the day. It continues on over wild, arid country — an undulating plateau of gravel, red soil, yellow sand and clay. The slopes are covered with pine scrub (*Pinus yunnanensis*). Sixty li from An-ning hsien the village of Lu-piao 祿(脹)鰲 is reached. After passing through a circular terraced basin, the trail climbs to Lao-ya pass on which is a temple now occupied by the militia. The altitude of Lao-ya Kuan is 6,300 feet. Lao-ya-kuan village, which is not touched by the motor-road, extends from the top of the pass down into a little plain, and belongs to the magistracy of Lu-feng hsien 祿豐縣.

Third stage. — From Lao-ya-kuan to Lu-feng hsien 祿豐縣 is 80 li. The trail leads up through a rocky ravine to a pass which is called Yang-lao-shao 楊老哨, then past the hamlet of Pei-hou-ssu 背後寺, descending from 6,000

¹⁰ This is the Chin-ning hsien 晉寧縣 on the south-east bank of the lake at K'un-ming. There was an outer and an inner walled city in the chou; the inner was called Yang-ch'eng-p'u and was built by the Meng family.

feet into a deep valley in which is situated the long village of Yao-chan 腰站, the regular lunch-stop for the caravans. The motor-road avoids Yao-chan and keeps to the hill-side, descending in great zigzags to the west of the place. The steep valley slopes are eroded, the strata being perfectly horizontal and in various colors, such as grey and yellow clay, gravel and red soil; the land has sunk and lies tilted considerably, especially in the north-eastern part, exposing the above-mentioned varicolored strata and giving the whole landscape a peculiar appearance.

Lu-feng¹¹ is situated in a fertile plain at an elevation of 5,350 feet. It is a town now much dilapidated and surrounded by a low wall. The original earthen wall was built in the 12th year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1352). In the 35th year of Ming Wan-li (1607) the town was burnt by the native bandit, A-k'o 阿克 (tribal chief of Wu-ting), and the magistrate pulled down the earthen wall and built a brick one, 3 li in circumference and 16 Chinese feet high. This wall was destroyed by an earthquake in the ninth year of K'ang-hsi (1670) and rebuilt. It was repaired frequently afterwards up to the 10th year of T'ung-chih (1871).

To the west of Lu-feng, almost adjoining the wall, flows the Hsing-lo Ho 星羅河. The bridge spanning it is called Hsing-hsü ch'iao 星宿橋 (Bridge of the zodiacal constellation), another name for it being Yung-feng ch'iao 永豐橋. It was commenced in 1612 and finished in 1614 by Hsiang Chao-lin 向兆麟, magistrate of Lu-feng.

Fourth stage. — From Lu-feng to She-tzu 舍資 (also written 捨資) is a distance of 90 li. From Lu-feng the road leads through the west gate, known as the Ch'ing men 清門, over the Hsing-hsü bridge. The Hsing-hsü Chiang 星宿江 or Ho 河, another name for the Hsing-lo River, is called the Lu-shih Chiang 綠汁江 on the Yün-nan military map. It flows west of the walled town and becomes an affluent of the Red River (the Chinese Yüan Chiang 元江) which debouches into the sea in Indo-China.

The trail crosses the plain to the foot of the hills which it ascends. This particular stretch of trail is the worst on the entire journey to Li-chiang. All the villages have been burned by bandits, only the charred mud walls are standing and the fields lie waste. The mountains of this region had been for years the stronghold of the large robber bands which harassed the province.

Half-way up the mountain-side, nestled in the forest is an old temple, 10 li from Lu-feng. From a pass, 6,300 feet high, which is the top of the ridge encircling the western side of the Lu-feng plain, one has a wonderful view over a vast sea of mountains, here and there being a tiny level area with a few hamlets and fields. The trail continues below the top of the ridge along grassy and wooded slopes. Ahead are conical mountains thickly wooded with pines;

¹¹ In ancient days it was the Pai-ts'un 白村 (White village) of the Lu-peng tien 祿捧甸 (tien of Lu-peng). The district was inhabited by the Wu-p'o-man 烏髯蠻 (Black P'o savages). Their land was malarial and hot, and they thus had no definite dwelling. They were ruled in the period of Ta-li 大理 (937-1094) by I-sheng 義勝, the son of Kao Chih-sheng 高智昇. In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty the town was dependent on the Ch'ien-hu so of An-ning. In the reign of Chih-yüan 至元 (1341-1367) it was established as a hsien, subject to the chou of An-ning. The peasants of three li registered there. To-day it is a full-fledged hsien city.

at the foot of the nearest, the trail, now a deep trench, enters a ravine descending to a stone bridge and then to what was once a hamlet called Hsiang-shui-kuan 响水關 (Rippling water pass). It is a wonderful spot in the midst of densely forested mountains and lovely clear streams. This was the headquarters of the robber bands. Thanks to the energetic rule of the then governor, Lung Yün 龍雲, many of the bandits were killed, the remainder dispersed, and a fort erected where soldiers are always on guard.

The trail winds in and out between high, forested spurs, finally ascending to a pass of 6,500 feet elevation. It descends into a small valley, across low ridges and thence to the small, forlorn hamlet of She-tzu at 6,100 feet. After having been plundered several times by the bandits who once occupied it for many months in 1927-28, a mud wall has been built around it, and watch-towers on the tops of the surrounding spurs. She-tzu, which formerly belonged to Kuang-t'ung hsien, is now a sub-divisional magistracy, in the district of Hei-ching 黑井 (Black salt-well — in contradistinction to the Pai-ching 白井, White salt-well). In Hei-ching are two wells called A-lou ching 阿陋井 and Yüan-yung ching 元永井. Large caravans loaded with salt make their way from here to the capital.

Fifth stage. — From She-tzu to Kuang-t'ung hsien 廣通縣 is a distance of 60 li. The trail now passes across the She-tzu plain and enters a small ravine leading to a pass, at 6,550 feet and 15 li from She-tzu, where is a shrine — a large old temple dedicated to the famous hero Kuan Yü 關羽 of the San Kuo 三國 (Three Kingdoms), later canonized as Kuan Ti 關帝 and made a god in 1594 by Ming Wan-li. The pass is called Le-ma Kuan 勒馬關 (Rein-in the horse Pass). From this pass, once a dangerous spot held by bandits, the trail descends to the edge of a small, cultivated plain on which stands the village of Hei-chü 黑苴, elevation 6,125 feet, consisting of about 25 houses; wheat, barley, and broad beans are cultivated. A number of peasants were encountered here, carrying large pine logs by means of straps over their foreheads and wooden yokes around the backs of their necks, the yoke resting on the shoulders (PLATES 7, 8).

The trail ascends steeply — the hill-side being covered with magnolias, Michelias, *Castanopsis Delavayi*, *Keteleeria Davidiana*, pines, *Pyrus* or wild pears, oaks, etc. — to a pass at 6,500 feet and descends to the village of Meng-ch'i-p'u 蒙七舖, elevation 6,425 feet. This is the regular lunch-stop. The path leads on across a spur into a depression which it encircles, and then climbs to a higher spur, elevation 7,110 feet. It continues on top of the spur for some time, leaving a deep valley to the right, and descends steeply over a mere rock pile of a trail to the plain of Kuang-t'ung and the dilapidated, ruined town of that name. Kuang-t'ung must once have seen better days, judging by its large now ruined temples. Its elevation is 6,300 feet.¹²

¹² The aboriginal name of Kuang-t'ung was Lu t'an 路賧. [The character *t'an* 賧 stands for the Tai word *kieng* or *shiang*, as in Kieng-mai, a town in northern Siam. The word is often written 賧 *shan*, and 賧 *chien*, the latter probably in imitation of the Tai sound. The meaning of the Tai word is a State, a province or a town.] In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) the Lu-t'an ch'ien-hu 路賧千戶 (Lu State of 1,000 families) was established. In the 12th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1352) [the *Kuang-t'ung hsien chih*, ch. 1, fol. 5b, states the 11th year (1351)], it became Kuang-t'ung hsien dependent on Nan-an chou 南安州,

Sixth stage. — From Kuang-t'ung to Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 is a distance of 70 li. The trail follows the foot-hills which encircle the plain, then ascends a spur covered with a semi-xerophytic type of vegetation, consisting mostly of *Castanopsis Delavayi*, pines, *Kettleria*, *Euonymus*, *Lyonia*, *Rhododendron decorum*, *Rhododendron Scottianum*, *Quercus*, *Sophora*, *Pyrus*, *Rubus luteus*, *Rosa Banksia*, *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, etc.

The trail continues to ascend the gravelly spurs to the summit of a ridge on which are situated a few houses which compose the hamlet of Hui-teng-kuan 回騰關, elevation 7,050 feet. This place is of historic interest. In the 23rd year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1363) a general, by name Ming Yü-chên 明玉珍, led 30,000 soldiers to this pass, coming from Ta-li to attack Shan-shan, the present K'un-ming. From Ta-li fu he was pursued by Tuan Kung 段功, who ruled from 1345-1366 as hereditary Governor of Ta-li fu. Ming Yü-chên and his accomplice, Li Chih-ma 李芝蔴, as well as his younger brother, Ming Erh 明二, and others, were the leaders of the Red Turban brigands; they and their soldiers were defeated here by Tuan Kung. Hence the name of the pass, Hui-teng (To return and to struggle), having reference to his army turning about and fighting Tuan Kung. It can also be translated "to turn the stirrup."¹³

From the pass the trail continues at 6,900 feet elevation (watch-towers are on the pass as well as on the hills beyond), the grade being easy and the path sandy; it descends 600 feet into a ravine which has been banked by a dam, creating a deep, blue pond. From here the trail ascends to the village of Shih-chien-p'u 石澗鋪, situated on the edge of a plain at an elevation of 6,230 feet and 30 li from Kuang-t'ung. Thence it follows along scrub-covered hills for several li at the edge of the plain, then directly across the plain, which is barred by a low red spur. On this plateau is situated the hamlet of Ling-hsü 凌墟, elevation 6,200 feet. Here a valley opens, with a stream called the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 (Dragon River) which has its source at the Ying-wu Kuan 英武關 and flows south of Chen-nan hsien past Ch'u-hsiung, thence north into the Yangtze at Lung-kai 龍街 north of Ma-kai 馬街.¹⁴

The trail follows up-stream on level ground partly paved, partly sandy, — the hills to the left being covered with pines and large deciduous trees (oaks, etc.) and the fields cultivated with rice — crosses the red spur just mentioned and descends into the plain of Ch'u-hsiung at an elevation of 6,300 feet.

The town of Ch'u-hsiung is walled, rather long, and possesses about 15,000 south of Ch'u-hsiung. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty it was again changed (that is, it no longer belonged to Nan-an chou) and henceforth came under the jurisdiction of Ch'u-hsiung and had subject to it the peasants of four li. In ancient days Kuang-t'ung had no wall; the first brick wall built was in the 45th year of Ming Wan-li (1617). It was 3 li in circumference and 18 Chinese feet high. It had four gates, each with a loft, or tower-like superstructure, and was surrounded by a moat 5 feet broad and deep.

¹³ The *Ch'u-hsiung fu chih*, ch. 1, fol. 25b, states that Ko-lo-feng intended to attack the Yün-nan T'o-tung ch'eng and arrived at this pass with his troops. He encountered a heavy thunderstorm when his captain advised him to return with his troops, hence the name.

¹⁴ East of Chü-li-p'u 苴力鋪 the stream is called Pai-lung Ho 白龍河. Another name for it is Hung Chiang 虹江 (Rainbow River). It receives many small affluents on its way past Chen-nan, especially from the north, such as the Shuang-lung Ho 雙龍河, Yang-ch'i Ho 陽起河, and Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河.

inhabitants. In the Han dynasty Ch'u-hsiung belonged to the territory of I Chou. Afterwards it became the dwelling-place of miscellaneous Man (savages) carrying on agriculture and pasturage. They were called the O-lu 峨祿. In course of time, Wei-ch'u 威楚, headman of the Ts'uan, built a tamped earth wall, and Ch'u-hsiung became the *t'an* (town) of the O-lu. Because of that it was called the Wei-ch'u ch'eng 威楚城. [The town is known even nowadays as Wei-ch'u. The wall was rebuilt by Kao Ming-liang 高明量 in the time of the Tuan family, during the Sung dynasty, actually in the reign of the Nan-chao King, Tuan Cheng-shun 段正淳 (1096-1108), who laid the foundation of the new Ch'u-hsiung wall two li north-west of the present town of Ch'u-hsiung]. At the end of the reign of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) all the other Man (savages) became subjects of Wei-ch'u. In the 16th year of Hung-wu (1383) the viceroy petitioned the Emperor and, presenting a map, suggested that a wall be built on the present site of Ch'u-hsiung. The petition was granted and a brick wall erected seven li in circumference and 25 Chinese feet high. It collapsed frequently and was rebuilt, the last time in 1865.

Seventh stage. — From Ch'u-hsiung to Lü-ho-kai 呂合街 is a distance of 60 li. Elevation 6,500 feet.

Passing through the west gate and the long suburb of Ch'u-hsiung, the trail skirts the western end of the plain, crosses a camel-back bridge near the hamlet of San-chia-t'ang 三家塘 (Three-family post-station), and enters a valley with several branches, taking the right-hand branch. The hills are composed of red sandstone and red clay. Passing over low hills covered with small pine trees, we descend to another small plain which the trail skirts; several hamlets are situated at the foot-hills, the elevation being 6,350 feet. The regular lunch-stop for the caravans is the hamlet of Ta-shih-p'u 大石舖 (Great rock shop). Magnificent groves of oaks (*Quercus serrata*) grow along the road.

From this hamlet the trail meanders over rolling country and thence up a ravine past the village of Ch'ing-yüan-shao 清源哨 (Clear spring fort), 15 li from Lü-ho-kai and Ch'ien-liang-ch'iao 錢糧橋 (Tollbridge). Here in the olden days used to be a *shao* 哨 (outpost), where two soldiers stood guard. The odor of sulphur permeates the air, probably from hot sulphur springs in the neighborhood. Elevation 6,450 feet. Some distance beyond, a large stone bridge crosses the Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河, which river has its source in Ting-yüan hsien 定遠縣 and flows into the Pai-lung Ho 白龍河.

The trail ascends the spur dividing the valley of the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 from the Lü-ho-kai plain, and crossing its highest point at 6,625 feet descends steeply past an old temple to the long hamlet of Lü-ho-kai, consisting of two rows of dilapidated houses. At the western end of the hamlet is a temple with a tall wooden tower overlooking the one street; the temple is called Lü-tsu Ko 呂祖閣 (Ancestral court [pavilion] of the Lü family). Lü-ho-kai belongs to the magistracy of Ch'u-hsiung. The ancient name of Lü-ho was Ho-kuan-t'an 合關灘. Later it became the Lü-ho-i 呂合驛 (Lü-ho courier station), also known as Lü-ho 呂閣. During the time of the Nan-chao Kingdom a certain Lü Shun-yang 呂純陽 lived at this place, whence its name.

Eighth stage. — From Lü-ho-kai to Sha-ch'iao 沙橋 (Sand bridge) is a distance of 65 li. Elevation 6,900 feet.

Immediately outside the village the road leads over a bridge which spans a small tributary, the Ch'ing-shui Ho 清水河 (Clear water Stream), and then across the small plain over spurs wooded with pines and oaks, only to descend again to another small plain of about 20 acres. Thence it follows along a beautifully wooded ridge, the main trees being pines, oaks, and *Ketteleria*, to a small terraced basin and ascends a gravelly spur, on the top of which, and to east of the road, is an old fort and watch-tower called Kao-feng shao 高峯哨 (High hill fort), midway between Lü-ho-kai and Chen-nan hsien 鎮南縣 (Guarding the south prefecture) 15 li either way. From the pass the trail descends into terraced, rolling country with scattered farmhouses, the path consisting of remnants of pavement-blocks, which form a ridge in the center of quagmires.

The country becomes more open and to our left is a long plain surrounded by bare hills. On this plain is situated the walled town of Chen-nan, consisting of about 600 houses. Elevation 6,600 feet.¹⁵

In ancient times the place was inhabited by Man-i (savages). It was the land of the P'u-lo-man 濮落蠻 (P'u and Lo tribes). At the beginning of the Yüan dynasty when the Tuan family ruled Nan-chao (1253-1382), a thousand P'u-lo-man families inhabited Ch'ien-she 欠舍 (the present district of Chen-nan). In the seventh year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1257) there were established the Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu 欠舍千戶 and the Shih-ku pai-hu 石鼓百戶. In the 21st year of Chih-yüan (1284) Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu was changed to Chen-nan chou, subject to Wei-ch'u Lu 威楚路 (Circuit of Wei-ch'u, *i.e.* Ch'u-hsiung). In the 22nd year (1285) Shih-ku pai-hu was changed to Shih-ku hsien, subject to Chen-nan. This district city was 30 li east of Chen-nan. Prior to the T'ang dynasty there was a village in that place called Shih-ku-ts'un 石鼓村, which was made a district by King P'i-lo-ko who in 730 had united the six kingdoms (Liu chao) of Nan-chao. In the 24th year of Chih-yüan (1287) the district was abolished and became a *hsiang* 鄉, or suburban district. The *Man-shu* 蠻書 says that this is the Lü-ho (kai) of Ch'u-hsiung (*see* p. 20). The same work states further that Shih-ku-i 石鼓驛 (Courier station of Shih-ku) was once called Hua-ch'uan 化川 and was three stages from Yün-nan ch'eng (the present-day Hsiang-yün hsien or Yün-nan hsien which is not to be confused with Yün-nan fu). In the reign of T'ang Shang-yüan 上元 (760-761) the district was called Su-fu chün 俗富郡.

Passing through the west gate, which faces south of the long town we come to a *p'ai-fang* (stone arch), and out into the narrow, terraced valley between partly wooded hills. Outside this town I found a great number of coffins above ground awaiting burial, emitting dreadful odors, and, worse still, naked corpses of children tied to poles and wrapped in mats, their hands and feet protruding and set upright against trees, with millions of flies swarming about.

The trail leads up and down over spurs and tree-covered hills and into valleys

¹⁵ In ancient days Chen-nan had no wall. During the reign of Ming Hung-chih 宏治 (1488-1505) the native sub-prefect Tuan Tzu-t'ung 段梓樅 built the first tamped earth wall. In the 43rd year of the period Wan-li (1615) the chou-prefect Yin Wei-hsien 尹爲憲 rebuilt a brick wall. It is three li in circumference, twenty Chinese feet high and seven thick. It has four gates with towers. There is however no moat. When the Mohammedans captured the town during the reign of T'ung-chih (1862-1874) they built a moat around it twenty feet wide and deep. This has now disappeared.

until we reach the village of Pan-ch'iao 板橋 (Wood bridge), 30 li from Chen-nan, at the foot of a wooded hill. Leaving the village to the right it crosses a stone bridge called Ling-kuang ch'iao 靈廣橋, near the temple of Ling-kuang (Miao). Thence it leads up the valley between hills to the village of Sha-ch'iao, situated on a slope. The neighboring country is inhabited by a number of tribes, who come to the markets to dispose of their products.

Ninth stage. — From Sha-ch'iao to P'u-p'ung 普淪 (Pervading noise of the water) is a distance of 95 li. Elevation 7,450 feet.

Leaving Sha-ch'iao the trail winds about the hill-sides between wooded slopes in narrow cultivated valleys at an elevation of 6,900 feet. Here are situated farm-houses and small hamlets in groves of willows along a clear stream. The path leads up a narrow, densely wooded valley to the hamlet Ta-fo-ssu 大佛寺 (Great Buddha temple) after a temple situated in the center of the village, but nothing is left of the temple except a few posts. The hamlet consists of about five houses and is in a wretched state; elevation 7,000 feet.

Climbing between steep, wooded hills, formerly the hunting-ground of the bandit chief Ch'ang Liang and his bands, who burned nearly all the villages in this region (fortunately he has been caught and executed, and the villages are gradually being rebuilt), the ravine becomes narrower and filled with a wonderful forest of *Alnus*, *Pyrus*, *Quercus*, *Rhododendron Delavayi*, *Rhod. Simsii*, *Rhod. scabrifolium*, *Rhod. microphyton*, *Rhod. coriaceum*, magnolias, *Cornus*, etc., until we emerge into a narrow pass at 7,900 feet and the little hamlet of Chü-li-p'u 苴力舖, 70 li west of Chen-nan. Every house in this once prosperous village was in ashes (1928-1930) — the act of bandits. Women and children sat among the debris in despair.

The trail continues up the narrowing ravine to the pass at 8,200 feet where lies the hamlet called Ying-wu-kuan 英武關, or 鸚鵡關,¹⁶ a distance of 50 li from Sha-ch'iao. This is the regular lunch-stop for the caravans. The houses are mainly food-stalls and tea-shops which cater to the traveler. A tiny temple is back of the village in a forest of oaks.

From this pass the trail descends, only to ascend again to a slightly higher pass at 8,300 feet, whence it leads down into a red valley, bare, arid, and exposed to the terrific winds which sweep it from the west. At 8,000 feet we pass the wretched village of T'ien-shen-t'ang-t'ang 天神堂塘, continuing downstream for a short distance. Instead of following the valley we now turn to the right, and climb the steep spur over a terribly rocky trail between pine forests, to an elevation of 8,350 feet. Here the path emerges on to a flat plateau (the neighborhood is inhabited by Lo-lo tribesmen) and descends the broad mountain-side over which the wind sweeps furiously in winter and spring. Much of the land is bare and covered with fine, loose gravel and sand. Only barberry bushes (*Berberis*) manage to exist, with *Osteomeles Schwerina*, a gnarled shrub with white flowers. The hills are purplish-red and yellow with here and there calcareous outcroppings.

The trail, after having kept to an elevation of from 8,000 to 7,600 feet, de-

¹⁶ Not to be mistaken for the Ying-wu Shan 鸚鵡山 (Parrot Mountain), which is only a half li north-west of Chen-nan. The name is derived from the many parrots which are said to nest there.

scends into a valley enclosed by arid hills. The valley floor is planted with wheat at an elevation of 7,400 feet. Continuing in this valley we come to the hamlet of P'u-ch'ang-ho 普昌河 (Universal Prosperity), so named after the stream which divides it in two and is spanned by a bridge. This region and the neighborhood of P'u-p'ung was the happy hunting-ground of the bandit chief Lao Ying-hsiung 老英雄, who held sway at the time of my visit in 1928. Since then he has met the fate of most of the men who follow that dangerous profession.

From P'u-ch'ang-ho the trail once more ascends the pine-covered spurs to 7,725 feet elevation. The whole country is one vast sea of mountains. Leaving a deep valley to the left, we climb to 7,900 feet over a broad, gravelly, sandy spur, and then descend into a large valley to the hamlet of P'u-p'ung 普湖.

Tenth stage. — From P'u-p'ung to Yün-nan-i 雲南驛 is a distance of 65 li. Elevation 7,000 feet. (An *i* 驛 was a courier or dispatch station.)

From P'u-p'ung the trail climbs steeply to a flat spur at an elevation of 7,700 feet, where a lonely temple is situated dedicated to Kuan Ti (Kuan Ti Miao). The whole plateau is of sandstone and deeply eroded. Beyond the temple are a few farm-houses. The trail leads on over rolling country on the top of broad spurs of yellow sand and clay, covered with a scrub vegetation of pine, wild pears, Cornus, and a mass of *Gnaphalium*s. To the north are deep depressions, while the track skirts the mountain-sides near the top. The entire region is wild in the extreme, poor and unproductive. Hamlets are few, and when encountered they consist of only a few houses; cultivation being carried up the steep hill-side. Near a grove of large oaks is the hamlet of Shui-p'ang-p'u 水滂舖 (Roar of the waters), elevation 7,700 feet, on the inner slopes of the mountains, facing a depression south-west.

We continue now over a steep road to the top of another spur, elevation 7,800 feet, between scrub-oaks and *Ketteleria* trees. Beyond this pass is the hamlet of An-nan-kuan 安南關 (Pass of the peaceful south), a distance of 25 li from P'u-p'ung. In ancient days there used to be stationed here a *hsün-chien* 巡檢 (sub-district deputy-magistrate) who examined the travelers. This is the regular lunch-stop for caravans. From here the trail ascends to 8,000 feet along the edge of deep ravines where poplars and *Rhododendron Delavayi* grow; a splendid view is obtained of the large plain of Yün-nan-i to the west. Continuing for some li on the top of the spur, with waves upon waves of mountains to the south, we finally descend over a steep and much eroded trail, the mountains being sandstone, to this plain.

Yün-nan-i plain is about 25 li broad and over 60 li long, yet does not contain a single stream, or flowing water of any kind, being dependent throughout on wells and ponds. At times these become dry and water must be carried from great distances. Near the hamlet of Mu-p'ang-p'u 沐滂舖, at the foot of the spur at an elevation of 6,900 feet and the first hamlet encountered on the Yün-nan-i plain, are square ponds of bluish-grey water, the only supply of the village. Wheat is grown but no rice. A trek of about 20 li over the level plain brings one to the lonely and dreary hamlet of Yün-nan-i (Yün-nan post station).¹⁷ The inns are poor and terrible, and the two temples of the village are

¹⁷ Yün-nan-i is east of Yün-nan hsien. Near to it is the ancient village of Ku-ch'eng-ts'un 古城村; it was on that account considered the Ku Yün-nan chün-ch'eng 古雲南郡城

occupied by schools and the militia. I found the houses here with gates walled-up for fear of bandits, which fortunately are now no more. It is related that the capital of Yün-nan was once at this place, but owing to the lack of water it was transferred to the present site near the K'un-yang Lake (Tien Ch'ih 滇池). An aviation ground has been laid out east of Yün-nan-i. Neither wood nor charcoal are obtainable here, only anthracite which is burnt in open braziers, the poisonous gases penetrating the street from the houses. The anthracite is mined near the village of Ma-kai 馬街, 15 li south of Yün-nan-i.

Eleventh stage. — From Yün-nan-i to Hung-ngai 紅崖 is a distance of 85 li. Elevation 6,120 feet.

From Yün-nan-i the trail leads along the plain, past a quaint pond near a temple with the houses of the long village of Kao-kuan-p'o 高關坡, opposite, then along the foot-hills for 15 li, which bring us to another small plain which the trail crosses. From about the center of this plain, called Hsiang-yün-pa 祥雲壩 (Auspicious cloud plain; in Yün-nan a *pa-tzu* 壩子 is a plain), another trail leads south-west to Meng-hua 蒙化, two stages (120 li) distant. Wheat and broad beans were cultivated on this plain. To the right, or north, is a lake of considerable size called Ch'ing-hai-yün 青海雲.¹⁸ A rocky spur closes the plain, where is situated the small hamlet of Shai-chin-p'o 晒金坡.

The track now leads across the rocky spur to the shores of the lake. We find ourselves on another plain which we cross, thence over some foot-hills into a larger plain to the north. Passing through the forlorn hamlet of Kou-ts'un-p'u 溝村舖, elevation 6,900 feet, with its hedges of *Opuntia monacantha* cactus, we come out into grassy country, the hills being absolutely bare and lonely in the extreme, reminding one of the grasslands of north-east Tibet. To the north there is, however, a cultivated plain, while to the south are the denuded hills. Ahead red cliffs are visible, at the foot of which is a fairly imposing Buddhist temple, and next to it the hamlet of Ch'ing-hua-tung 青華洞 (Azure flowery cave), named after a large limestone cave a short way from the temple.¹⁹ The distance from Yün-nan-i is 40 li and it is a regular lunch-stop, although a poorer place it is difficult to imagine; it consists of about four dilapidated houses or, rather, ruins. The cave, about 120 feet wide, extends some distance into the mountain, the ceiling is very high and there are several side branches. I followed the main cave for some distance but as the air became foul, and we stumbled on old coffins and human skeletons, we returned, glad to see daylight again. Two li north of Ch'ing-hua-tung is the magistracy of Yün-nan hsien, also called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣.

From Ch'ing-hua-tung the trail leads directly up the mountain and thence into a ravine surrounded by bare hills, wheat being planted in its narrow floor. Within the ravine, some distance up, the trail leads through the village of I-chiang-p'u 倚江舖, elevation 7,100 feet; the whole village is occupied with

(Ancient Yün-nan prefectural city). Nine li south of Yün-nan hsien is the village of Li-ssu-yung 力士營. Tradition relates that it was the camp (*yung*) of the army of Chu-ko Wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Marquis Chu-ko Liang) (181-234).

¹⁸ Also called Yeh-ching Hu 葉鏡湖. In the center of the lake is a rock resembling a mirror (*ching*), — hence the name.

¹⁹ Ch'ing-hua Shan is the name of the mountain in which the cave is situated.

making straw sandals for coolies and travelers. The motor-road also passes by this village. From there the trail continues up to a pass at 7,300 feet and thence over hill-sides covered with *Heteropogon contortus*, a brownish grass, and — sparingly — with pines. In the distance looms up a blue mountain range called K'un-mi Shan 昆彌山, extending in a north and south direction and separating the Hung-ngai plain from Hsia-kuan and Ta-li.

The trail ascends once more to 6,900 feet, and then leads down to the village of Chia-mai-p'u 加買舖, only to climb up again over bare hills and then descends to the plain of Hung-ngai 紅崖 (Red cliff), formerly called Pai-ngai 白崖. The name Pai-ngai was changed to Hung-ngai in the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756).²⁰

Hung-ngai is a long, forlorn-looking, straggling affair, with a temple at either end. The inns were and are execrable. This is due to the enormous hordes of soldiers which passed through this, as well as all the other hamlets. For years the road was next to closed on account of the bandits who harassed the region.

The earthquake which wrecked Ta-li in the spring of 1925 also played havoc with Hung-ngai. In the large temple at the eastern entrance to the village

²⁰ Pai-ngai was the ancient Ts'ai-yün ch'eng 彩雲城 and was also called Wen-an-tung ch'eng 文案洞城. Afterwards it was called Pai-ngai ch'eng. In the T'ang dynasty, during the reign of the Meng family 蒙氏 (649-902), it was called Pai-ngai chien 險 and was one of the ten *chien* (States), the words *chien* and *chao* 詔 being synonymous (see p. 18, note 12).

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1736), ch. 26, fol. 16a, states that the ancient Pai-ngai ch'eng was 60 li east of Chao chou 趙州 and that its ancient name was Pai-ngai tien 甸. But this statement cannot be correct, for Hung-ngai, the ancient Pai-ngai, is 60 li south-south-east of Chao chou. It is correct when it says that the ancient Ts'ai-yün ch'eng was west of Pai-ngai at the foot of the K'un-mi Shan. A pass (Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺) leads over to Chao chou. The distance from Hung-ngai to the foot of K'un-mi Shan is less than ten li, so Ts'ai-yün ch'eng and Pai-ngai must have been close together and later have become one town.

The name Pai-ngai was derived from a cliff, white as snow, in the western hills. When, in the third year of Chien-hsing 建興 of the Minor Han 蜀漢 (225), Chu k'o Liang attacked Yün-nan, his soldiers camped at Pai-ngai. During the reign of Ming Chia-ching (1522-1566), a Tu-pu T'ung-p'an 督捕通判, (Police superintendent and sub-prefect), from Ta-li, dwelt there and built an earth wall which ceased to exist at the end of Wan-li (1619). The foundation of the wall was still visible in 1736.

The king of Pai Kuo 白國, Lung-yu-na 龍祐那, built Ts'ai-yün ch'eng. He had seen brilliant, variegated clouds, hence he gave the city its name.

History relates that in the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794), I-mou-hsün 異牟尋 fought the T'u-fan (Tibetans), at the Iron Bridge (see p. 57); he also attacked the Shih-man 施蠻 and Shun-man 順蠻. (The word *man* at that time was substituted for the word *chao* 詔. Shih-man was the former Shih-lang chao 施浪詔, and Shun-man was the former Lang-k'ung chao 浪穹詔 of the five *chao* which later were absorbed into the Nan-chao Kingdom.) The Shih-man were also a tribe and originally belonged to the Wu-man (Black savages). They dwelt north-west of the Iron Bridge. The Shun-man also belonged to the Wu-man and dwelt in the same region as the Shih-man. I-mou-hsün captured Hsün-lo 尋邏, king of the Shih-man, and placed him and his kindred in Meng-she ch'eng 蒙舍城. He also captured the king of the Shun-man, whose name was P'ang-mi-ch'ien 傍彌潛, and placed him with his kindred in Yün-nan Pai-ngai 雲南白崖. The *Erh-yüan hsien chih* (Lang-k'ung hsien chih *lueh*), ch. 3, fol. 2a, says that during the period of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (785-804) Nan-chao attacked Chien-lang 劍浪 (Chien-ch'uan), took Lang-k'ung, Shih-lang and Teng-t'an (Teng-ch'uan), united the three *lang* and created Lang-k'ung chou.

Seven li south-east of Pai-ngai, there was established the secondary (military) transport station of 1,000 families 白崖千戶所, in the 12th year of Sung Shun-yu 宋淳祐 (1252).

the great mud idols were all knocked off their feet, and were leaning against the wall, their legs from above the ankles resting on the floor. The village is at the western end of the plain, which is 30 li in length. A stream called Ch'ih-shui Ho 赤水河, (Red water Stream) crosses the center of the Hung-ngai plain from north to south; 30 li down the valley to the south is the town of Mi-tu 彌渡 where there is an aviation ground. Although the plain is very fertile, next to nothing could be bought in the way of vegetables.

Twelfth stage. — From Hung-ngai to Fei-lai Ssu 飛來寺 via Chao chou 趙州 (Chao chou is now called Feng-i hsien 鳳儀縣). The distance to Fei-lai Ssu is 65 li. Elevation 6,900 feet.

From the Hung-ngai plain the trail ascends a deep ravine which seemed to have cleft the mighty range hemming in the plain on the west. The climb is a steep one over a bad road, between bare hills and slopes, to an elevation of 7,200 feet, or 1,100 feet in 15 li. To describe the rocky stairway which leads to the pass at the top of the ravine is an impossibility.

The pass, a little below which is situated a temple called Yün-t'ao Ssu 雲濤寺, is over the summit called Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺, which name is engraved in large characters on a memorial stone in front of the steep temple-steps. The stone bears the date 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381). The entrance to the temple is a tea-shop. It is an excellent lunch-stop when coming from the west, but not when coming from Hung-ngai. From the pass a trail leads to the left to Meng-hua 蒙化, south of Hsia-kuan 下關 and Ta-li. This used to be a famous brigand haunt, but to-day they have disappeared, and now the motor-road is opened and they are a memory only. The name Ting-hsi ling was given to the pass and peak by Mu Ying 沐英,²¹ marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯, in the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Its ancient name was K'un-mi ling 昆彌嶺. From this pass the trail descends, as gradually and gently as it ascended steeply on the other side, into another deep ravine with the left or western slopes densely wooded, but with only pines covering the eastern slopes.²²

We pass various hamlets, such as Hsiao-shao 小哨 and Ta-shao 大哨, partly destroyed by the earthquake of 1925. Elevation 7,100 feet. From here on the valley broadens, and the hills are bare. The trail descends to the edge of the valley along rice-fields, and emerges on the plain on which Chao chou (Feng-i hsien) lies at an elevation of 6,900 feet. Chao chou is a walled city

²¹ Mu Ying was a native of An-hui. He was appointed Governor of Yün-nan in 1384. His sons also held this office in succession. He died in 1392. In 1388 he gained a great victory over the Burmese, so that in 1389 Burma acknowledged the suzerainty of China (GILES). When he attacked Yün-nan it was as Fu-tsung-ping 副總兵 (Assistant Brigadier-General), with Lan Yü 藍玉, marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, who held the same rank. Both served under General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 who was in command of the southern expedition. This was in the 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381).

²² Another peaceful lunch-stop away from mules and shouting muleteers is the Buddhist temple of T'ai-kuo Ssu 泰國寺 (Exalted nation Temple), built at the foot of a mountain wall called Ling-an Shan 靈安山 (Mountain of spiritual peace). It was built in the third year of Hung-wu (1370) according to the priest who had resided for 33 years in the temple. The *Chao chou chih* 趙州志, ch. 3, fol. 5a, states that it was built during the reign of Ming Ts'ung-cheng 明崇禎 (1628-1643).

of about 600 houses, but quite forlorn and empty.²³ The plain is wide but is hemmed in on the north by a broad, conical hill, partly wooded. Five li beyond Feng-i (Chao chou) we come to the hamlet of Shih-pi-t'ou 石壁頭 and the peaceful temple at the foot of the cliff, called Fei-lai Ssu,²⁴ which is the regular caravan halting-place, as there are no inns with stables in Chao chou.

Thirteenth stage. — From Fei-lai Ssu to Hsia-kuan 下關 (Lower pass) and Ta-li 大理 is a distance of 25 and 50 li respectively (55 li from Chao chou).

Near the end of the plain, at the foot of a wooded conical hill, the trail makes a complete right angle to the west, and one is fronted by the magnificent Tien-ts'ang Shan 點蒼山 (Starred azure Mountain), commonly called Ts'ang Shan,²⁵ snow-streaked half-way down its slopes; its height is 14,000 feet. We

²³ In ancient days Chao chou had no wall. The first earth wall was built in the second year of Ming Hung-chih (1489). It was 3 li in circumference, 13 feet high, and 5 feet thick. Several times at various periods the wall collapsed and was last rebuilt in 1805. Prior to the Han dynasty, Chao chou was in the State of K'un-mi 昆彌. During the Han dynasty (B.C. 206–24 A.D.), it belonged to Yün-nan hsien. K'un-mi was the name of a family who ruled over that State — hence K'un-mi Kuo — but nothing is known regarding their succession. Afterwards the Lo-lo man 羅落蠻 dwelt there. In the T'ang dynasty it was the land of K'un chou 昆州. Subsequently it was called Chao chou chien 趙州縣. Later it was called Chao chün 趙郡 and Chao chou. In the time of the Tuan family it was called T'ien-shui chün 天水郡. In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty it was the Chao chien ch'ien-hu 趙縣千戶. During Yüan Chih-yüan (1264–1294) it was called Chao chou subject to the circuit of Ta-li. In the Ming dynasty the name remained unchanged. When Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li, Chao chou was first captured; and when the Ming troops attacked the region they first took Chao chou and then the two strategic forts, the Hsia and Shang Kuan. The district derived its name from a certain Chao K'ang 趙康 who was sent to reside there by the Meng family of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

²⁴ The temple received its name from a legend which relates that an image of a Buddha came flying through the air. It is situated at the foot of Yü-lung Shan 浴龍山 (Mountain of the bathing dragon), also known as Su-lung Shan 宿龍山 (Resting dragon Mountain), and is five li north of Chao chou. Another temple called T'u-chu Miao 土主廟 (Temple of the local lord) is in the same village. It was rebuilt during the period Cheng-t'ung 正統 (1436–1449).

²⁵ The Ts'ang Shan is also called Ling-chiu Shan 靈鷲山, named so after a peak in India called Grdhakūṭa on which vultures had their nests: literally, "Vulture Peak." The Indian mountain, which is now called Giddore, is near Rājagṛha, famous for its vultures and caverns inhabited by ascetics, where Pīṣuṇa, or Māra, in the shape of a vulture, hindered the meditation of Ananda (Eitel). It has 19 peaks, and 18 streams descend from it. In the first year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元 (784), of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗, I-mou-hsün of the Meng family, who was ruler of Ta-li, conferred upon it the title of Chung-yo 中嶽 (Central sacred Mountain). During the reign of Hung-wu, Lan Yü 藍玉, second commander of the left wing of the army and marquis of Yung-ch'ang, attacked Ta-li. He sent his soldiers west of the Ts'ang Shan and ordered them to climb it from the west and implant his flag on the highest peak. When the people of Ta-li saw the flag they fled. The *Ta-li fu chih*, ch. 5, fol. 1b, states that it is 3 li west of the city and that it extends for over 100 li from north to south, like a wall. The *Han Shu* calls it the Hsieh-lung Yün-nan Shan 邪龍雲南山 and compares it to the T'ai-i Shan 太乙山 of Fu-feng 扶風, Shensi. Clouds often encircle the mountain like a jade girdle, hence people speak of it as the Jade girdle (mountain). Each of its nineteen peaks has a special name, for all are different. Enumerated from south to north beginning with the one above Hsia-kuan and adjoining the T'ien-sheng ch'iao, they are: K'o-yang 斜陽, Ma-erh 馬耳 Horse ear, Fo-t'ou 佛頭 or Buddha head, Sheng-ying 聖應, Ma-lung 馬龍 or Horse dragon, Yü-chü 玉局, the Lung-ch'üan 龍泉 or Dragon spring, and the Central Peak or Chung-ho-feng 中和峯. Then follow the Kuan-yin 觀音, or Goddess of

pass through miserable hamlets nearly destroyed by the earthquake, and over a sandy trail which skirts the hill-sides, leaving to our right the southern end of the Erh Hai 洱海 (Erh Lake), that is, the Ta-li Lake (PLATE 4). On Davies' *Map of Yün-nan* the distance to Hsia-kuan does not appear to be more than 15 li, in comparison to the stretch from Hsia-kuan to Ta-li; the scale is quite out of proportion. The actual distance from Chao chou to Hsia-kuan is 30 li, and from there to Ta-li 25 li.

Hsia-kuan is situated on a hill-side and is visible from afar; elevation 6,900 feet. It is the business town of western central Yün-nan, while Ta-li is the residential town and the seat of the officials. The Hsia Kuan has another name — the Lung-wei Kuan 龍尾關 (Dragon-tail Pass). This, as well as the Shang Kuan 上關 (Upper pass, also called Lung-shou Kuan 龍首關, Dragon-head Pass) were constructed by P'i-lo-ko 皮羅閣 in the 29th year of K'ai-yüan 開元 (741). He was the first ruler or King of Nan-chao and the fourth of the Ta Meng or the Great Meng dynasty. The first kingdom of the Ta Meng was called the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔.

Passing through the walled town with its narrow streets, we cross the Hei-lung ch'iao 黑龍橋 (Black dragon bridge), over the Hsia-kuan Ho (Hsia-kuan River),²⁶ the outlet of the Erh Lake,²⁷ and ascend the steep grade over the slippery pavement of the suburbs of Hsia-kuan.

Mercy Peak, the Ying-lo 應樂, the Hsüeh-jen 雪人 or Snow-man Peak, the Lan-feng 蘭峯 or Orchid Peak, the San-yang 三陽, the Ho-yün 鶴雲, the Pai-yün 白雲, or White cloud, the Lien-hua 蓮花 or Lotus Peak, the Wu-t'ai 五臺 or Five Terraces, the Ts'ang-lang 滄浪 and last the Yün-lung 雲弄, directly above the Shang-kuan.

²⁶ The Hsia-kuan Ho, where it enters the defile in the Tien-ts'ang Range, is called the Ch'ing-shui Ho 清水河 (Clear water Stream); beyond it is called the Ho-chiang Ho 合江河; after a village by that name in the gorge. It flows as the Ho-chiang Ho into the Yang-pi River 漾濞江.

²⁷ The Ta-li Lake, which is 90 li long and from 9 to 21 li wide, is a beautiful sheet of water. To the east it is bordered by reddish, bare, rather low hills, the region being called Tung-hai 東海 (East lake). The lake is also called the Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河 (West Erh Stream), and is east of T'ai-ho hsien 太和縣, the present Ta-li hsien or Ta-li district. It is also known as the Yeh-yü Shui 牒榆水 (Waters of Yeh-yü) — Yeh-yü being the ancient name of Ta-li. [The Yeh-yü of the Han epoch is 10 li south-east of the present-day Ta-li and is identical with the village of Yang-ho-p'u 楊和舖, where its foundations, or remnants, are still visible. The region now belongs to the district of T'ai ho hsien. During the Han dynasty it was subject to Yün-nan hsien 雲南縣, now called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣, pronounced in Yün-nan, Ch'ien-yün hsien.] The origin of the name Yeh-yü is traced to a large forest of elms, called *yü-shu* 榆樹 in Chinese. [*Ulmus pumila* var. *pilosa* Rehd. is quite common on the eastern slopes of the Tien-ts'ang Shan.] The elm forest existed in ancient days at the outlet of the Ta-li Lake at Hsia-kuan, by the T'ien-sheng ch'iao 天生橋 (Natural bridge), a natural stone bridge which spans the outlet of the lake. It was so dense that it was always dark and no one could pass there. To the south of the bridge is a stele which records that it was there that Chu-ko Liang captured Meng-huo 孟獲. The stele is dated Kuang-hsi ping-wu 丙午 (1906).

Still other names for the Ta-li Lake are Hsi-erh Hai 西洱海 and Erh Shui 洱水.

The source of the lake is in the Pa-ku Shan 罷谷山 in the north of Lang-k'ung hsien 浪穹縣. Flowing south it passes east of Lang-k'ung hsien and Teng-ch'uan chou 鄧川州 and thence enters the borders of T'ai-ho hsien, where it is called Hsi-erh Ho. From the Tien-ts'ang Shan, which lies to the west, 18 affluents descend into the stream, which thus enlarged forms the Erh Hai. Its outlet is at Hsia-kuan as has already been described.

The shape of the lake is that of a human ear, *erh* 耳, hence the name Erh Hai. Its cir-



PLATE 1.—THE NORTHERN END OF T'EN CH'IH, THE YÜN-NAN LAKE

滇池北盡

This part of the lake is commonly known as Ts'ao Hai 草海 or Grass Lake. It also goes by the name of K'un-ming Ch'ih 昆明池 or K'un-ming Lake. Bordering the lake to the west is the famous Lo-han Shan 羅漢山 popularly called Hsi Shan 西山.



PLATE 2. — T'EN CH'IH SEEN FROM HSI SHAN

自西山望潭池

Looking east from Lo-han Ssu 羅漢寺 the main temple on Hsi Shan 西山 across the northern end of the Tien Ch'ih; K'un-ming is in the extreme upper right. The division of the actual Tien or K'un-ming Ch'ih and the Ts'ao Hai or Grass Lake can be seen in the lower right. The lake is at an elevation of 6,400 feet

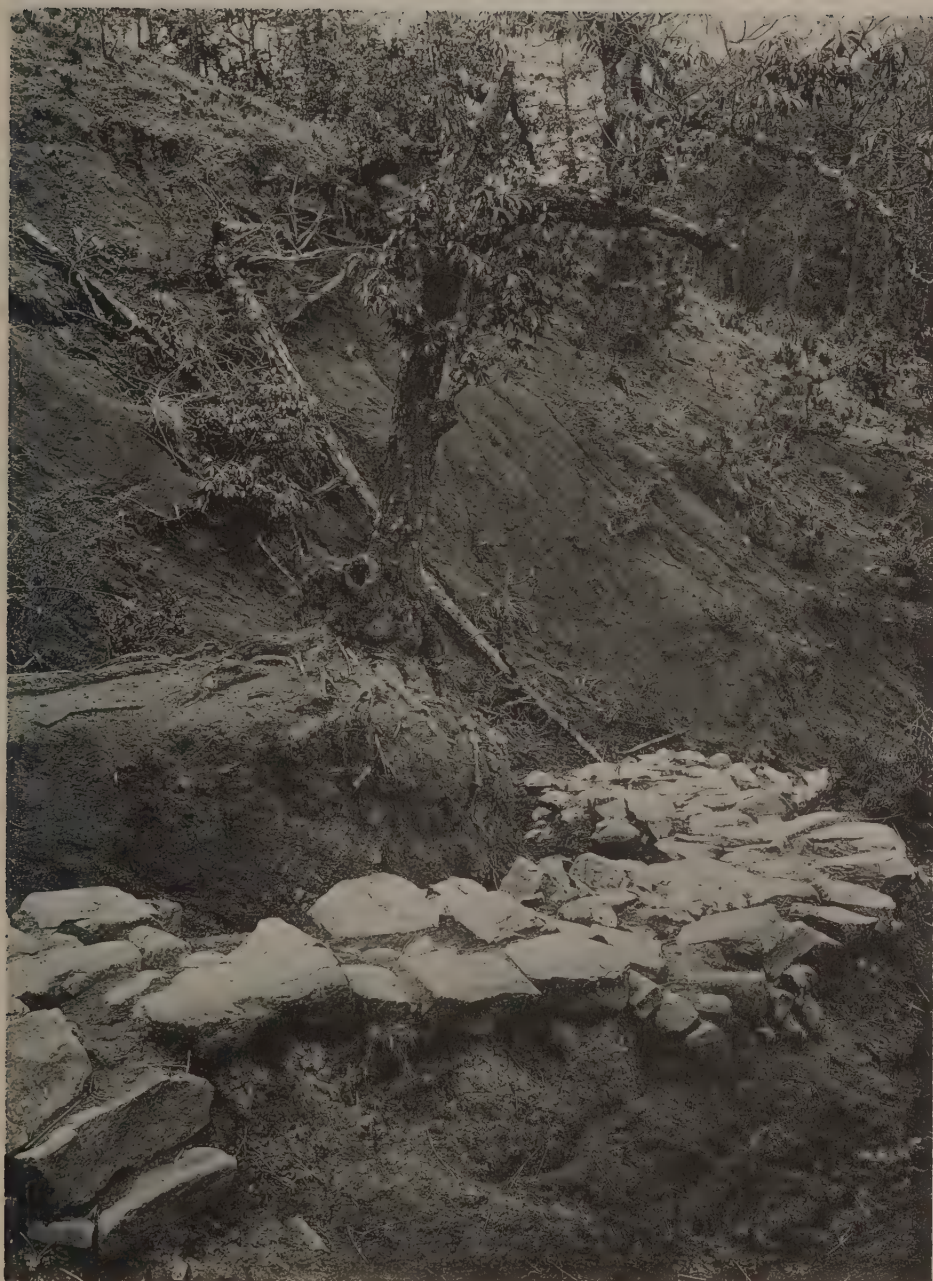


PLATE 3. — A TYPICAL YÜN-NAN HIGHWAY

雲南模範公道

This road is as old as the hills and leads from Li-chiang 麗江 to La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴, a salt-well station east of the Mekong.



PLATE 4.—WEST SHORE OF THE TA-LI ERH HAI

大理洱海西岸

Fishing boats with cormorants in the foreground. The trees are willows. The lake is thirty miles long and from three to seven miles wide, its elevation is 6,800 feet above sea level.



PLATE 5. — KUAN-YIN SSU BETWEEN HSIA-KUAN AND TA-LI

大石庵下關大理之間

The shrine is built over a rock (seen behind the soldier on the right) which is supposed to have been carried here by the Goddess of Mercy, disguised as an old woman. Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺, or Temple of the Goddess of Mercy, is thus also known as Ta-shih An, Great Rock Shrine.



PLATE 6. — TWO OF THE THREE PAGODAS OF SAN-T'A SSU

大 理 三 塔 寺 之 二 塔

These famous pagodas stand to the north of the city of Ta-li. They were built by a master mason of the T'ang dynasty in A.D. 632. They withstood two earthquakes, one on June 17, 1515, and another on March 16, 1925. At both times, the city of Ta-li was completely destroyed. Photographed April, 1922.



PLATE 7. — MIN-CHIA PEASANTS

民 家 農 夫

The Min-chia tribespeople are said to be the original inhabitants of the Nan-chao Kingdom. They are now scattered all over Yün-nan, but their main stronghold is still Ta-li and the region of Yün-lung 雲龍. They carry their loads by means of a peculiar yoke which rests on their shoulders, a strap passes over the forehead. When stopping to rest they use a stick to prop the wooden yoke, and the left hand rests in the head strap. Chu-ko Liang (A.D. 181-234) is said to have invented these yokes during his conquest of Yün-nan when he employed the Min-chia as carriers.



PLATE 8. — MIN-CHIA WOMEN

民家農婦

The Min-chia women are the main burden bearers. The load is carried on a wooden yoke, secured by a head strap. Firewood for the market of Chien-ch'uan, north of Tai-li.

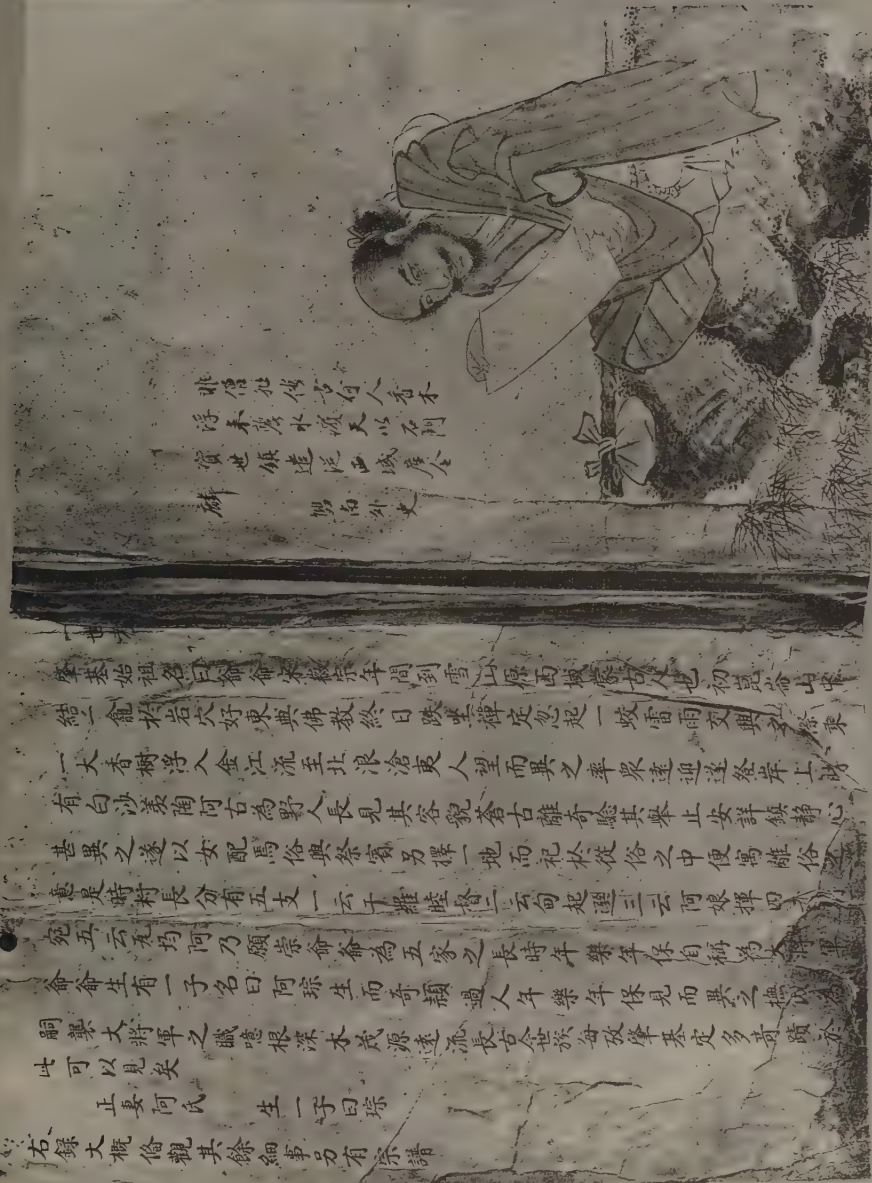


PLATE 9. — YEH-YEH, ANCESTOR OF THE MU FAMILY

俞 爺 一 世 考

Yeh-yeh is considered the first ancestor according to the Second Genealogical Chronicle. He arrived in Li-chiang during the reign of Hui Tsung of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1101-1125).

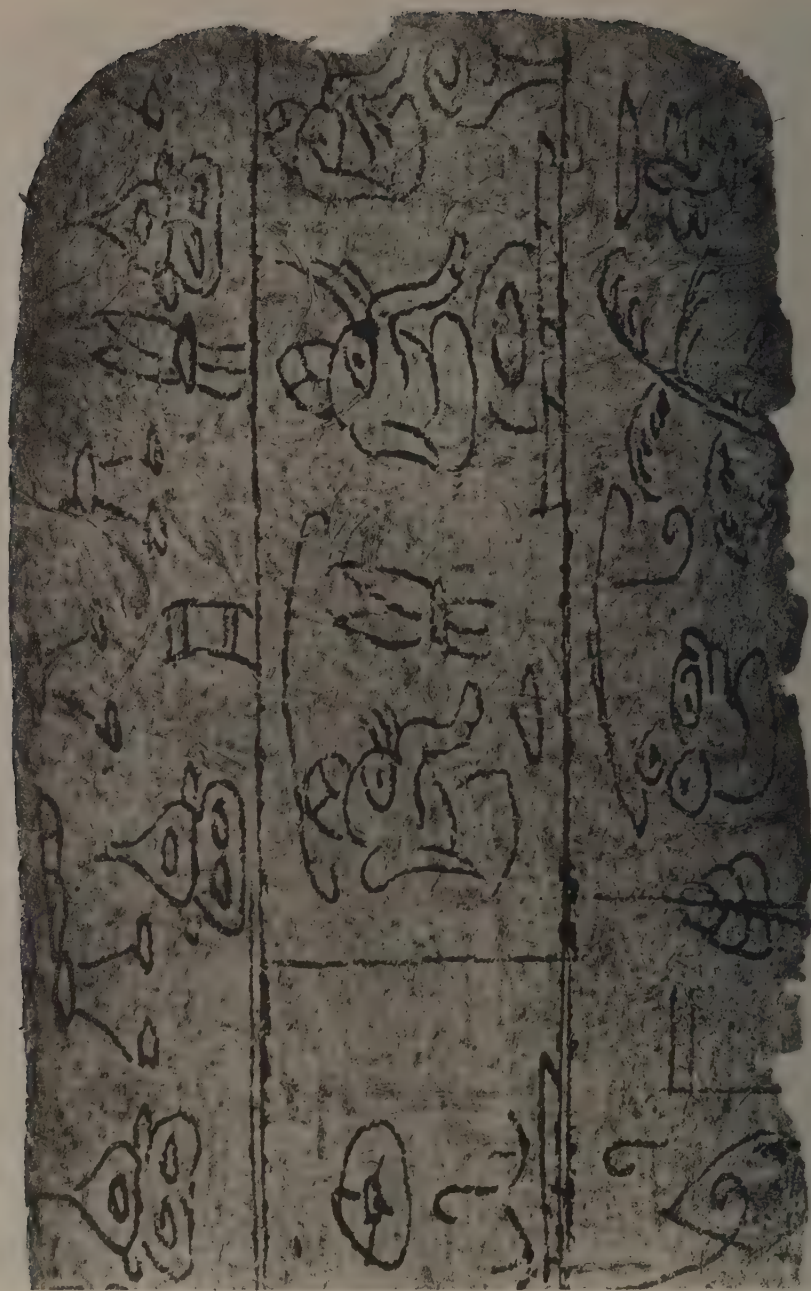


PLATE 10.—AN ANCIENT NA-KHI MANUSCRIPT

古 麼 些 象 形 文 字 書

Second half of a page from the manuscript *Ts'o mbër ssaw*, relating the origin of man. The second rubric of the second line is explained on page 77, *First sentence*; *Second* and *Third sentence* on page 78.

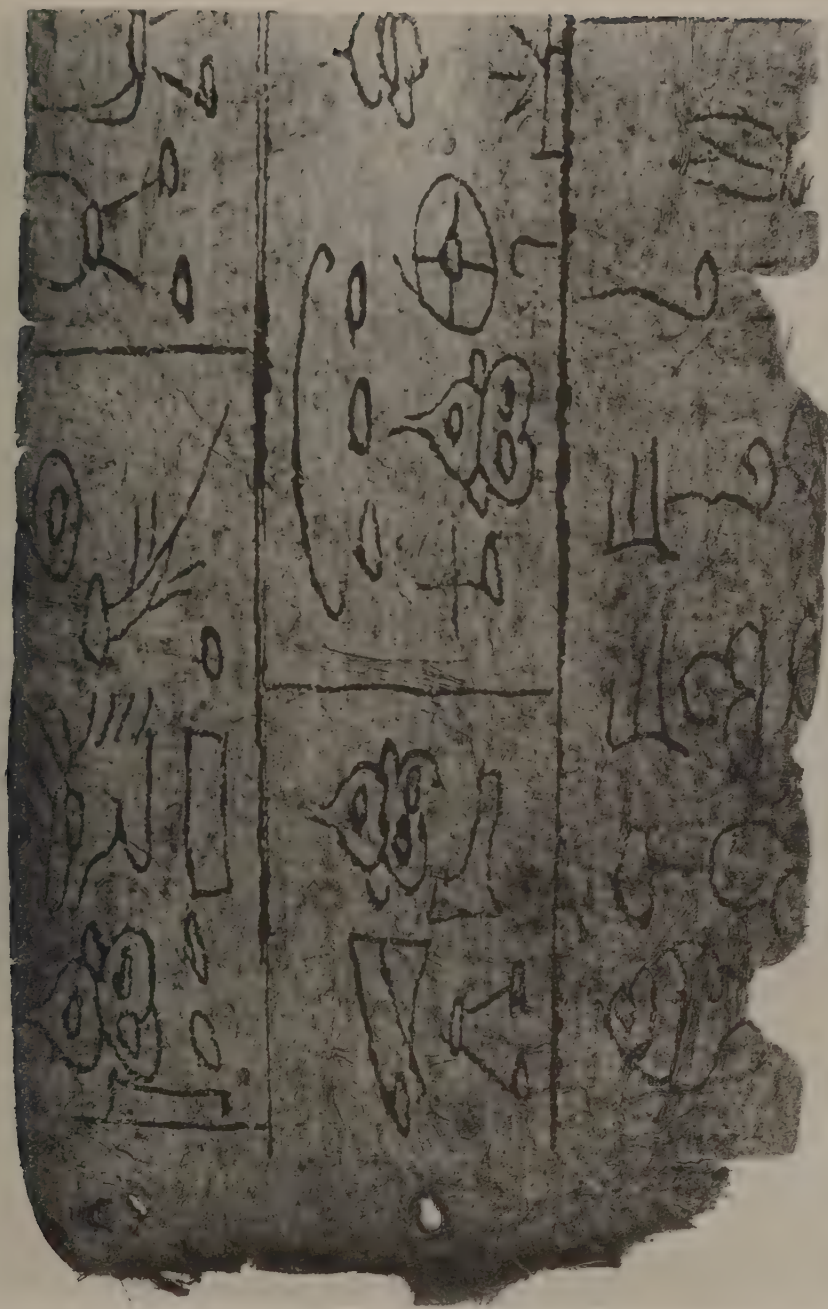


PLATE II. — AN ANCIENT NA-KHI MANUSCRIPT

First half of the page figured on plate 10; the third line is explained on page 78, *Fourth sentence*; *Fifth*, *Sixth*, and *Seventh sentence* in part on page 79.

此為我牟氏
始祖阿琮一
世之像也
他像家象
主雪山成國
主雪山成國



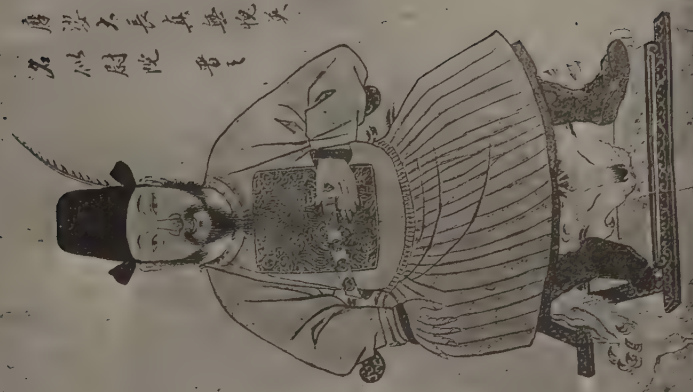
二世考

牟保阿琮即命命子也生七歲不學高祖文宇及長帝過言其家
書以有神通之說且制本方文字偶入玉龍山見一石臺中清水教前
林為音遂請禽獸等語眾相稱異右達大理詔王段氏不信未幾
時有拔鵝飛噪問之言山後有鳥窠作食俄二鳩相鳴再請云此鳩言
所破春熟可以就食鵝鵝原不可破頂拓樹巢鴈使視果應在是有
屢驗加禮是後無在唐贈時摩女春妹枝分部相與詞成感其推誠
服眾教德化人各歸尊主夫志信以開金鋪之業而順子順孫無違
福天堂偶生我善國國鳥思藏等界載活生和聖人嗚呼
能續蓋有由些是故君子創業垂統君可提於千百世焉
正妻阿室丘係美陶大化戲女
生一子曰良能父位

右錄大統備視其餘細事另有宗譜

PLATE 13. — THE THIRD GENERATION. A-TSUNG A-LIANG
阿琮 阿良 三世 考

擒渠眉節破閭石顏
虜安大長真無愧英
名似尉陀 晉

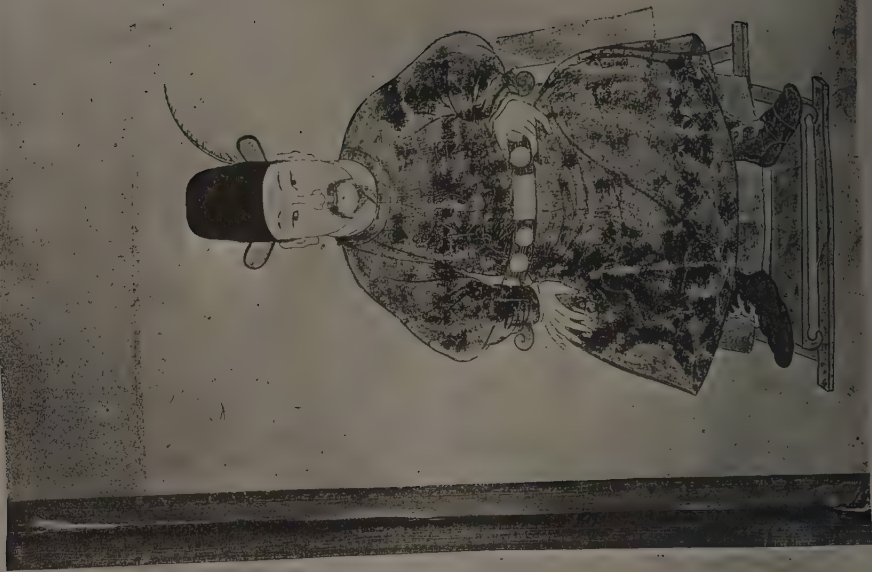


三世考

阿琮阿良宗理宗實佑元年蒙古憲宗命御弟元世宗忽必烈親征大理良迎兵
於利巴江賜食甚厚龍澤隆理將拔賊為恭寧車官民官賜地名云爾江卸後遂
破巨津州生擒叛賊巧堅茶罕章宣慰司尋而攻拔大各寨乃同起大理擒拔賊酋功
別蒙古將兀良合台之右陞授副元帥錫節鐵虎符金牌一面兀良合台還鎮大
理察良遠鎮摩挲拔乃錫命賴乞泰監貞吉後又破擒城華馬國世祖至元中加
授銀印重肆拾捌兩一類為提調諸路統軍司其所屬者越郡都魯興府永寧等
北殿府諸州縣之斯白根榮木費獲等處地方至元七年遷營

皇帝親給
記章恩榮

詔命授金紫先撥大夫統軍司建府儀同三司 正妻阿實子先係干羅木土
詔封國夫人 生三子長男阿胡繼父職



四世考

阿良阿胡 良之嫡長繼父襲元帥之職

至元九年為茶罕章管民官而襲元帥

成宗元貞元年蒙

皇帝聖旨褒嘉給

龍章恩榮

詔命授正奉大夫護軍宣慰司

正妻阿室刺母係義陶氏和揮女

詔封妃夫人

生三子長男阿烈繼父職



五世考

阿胡阿烈 胡之嫡長繼父察元帥之職

順帝至元十三年改置康江路軍民總管府所屬府壺北勝
州宋通安巨津寶山蘭州永寧拔基順州縣壺臨西十五年
授弟阿吉巨甸軍民管民官安撫司并蒙

皇帝聖旨褒嘉恩榮

詔命授太中大夫輕車都尉總管

正妻阿室大蒙阿加係刺巴刺土女

誥封肥夫人

生子阿甲繼父職



六世考

阿烈阿甲

字元德

順帝至元二十二年罷府置宣撫司尋改為

通安州知州蒙

皇帝褒嘉恩榮

詔命授朝請大夫騎都尉上州尹知州加正三品

正妻阿都剌川蒙古氏

詔封恭人

生四子

長男阿得繼父職

Beyond, the country road is paved and slippery and passes through wheat-fields with thousands of graves to the west up the hill-sides, that is the foot-hills or slopes of the Ts'ang Shan. Traffic is heavy on this road, especially in the month of April when the annual fair is in progress. The hills are bare and brown, the lower slopes, as already remarked, being covered with graves. Here is also a thirteen-storey pagoda, the apex of which is in ruins.²⁸

Sails are visible on the lake and boats crossing the placid waters to the district of Tung-hai 東海, East lake [the district is actually east of the lake]. Hundreds of people were on the road, the men all wearing low, broad-brimmed hats covered with a sky-blue oil-cloth, and long streamers of the same color knotted in front over the chest or hanging loose down to the knees. Straw-hat sellers were to be seen; the hats are made from rushes, most of them plain, others ornamented with gaudily colored straw, pink, blue, and yellow.

Fifteen li bring us to the temple of Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺 (Goddess of Mercy Temple)²⁹ (PLATE 5). In front of it kitchens and restaurants were doing a roaring business, for it was at the time of the fair when, in 1922, I made my first visit to Ta-li, coming overland from Siam via Chieng-mai, Keng-tung, Chiu-lung-chiang 九龍江, Ssu-mao 思茅, Ching-tung 景東 and Meng-hua 蒙化. The village near the temple is called Yang-ho-p'u 陽和舖.

Tradition relates that when the soldiers of Han arrived at the frontier, the Kuan-yin Ta-ssu 觀音大士³⁰ changed herself into an old woman and carried a large rock by means of a rope made of rice-straw. When she saw the soldiers she spat at them. The soldiers remarked that if the old women of the country could perform such work what must be the strength of the young; and this was sufficient to put fear into the camp. The Kuan-yin's rock is now in the court of the temple in the center of a pool containing gold-fish, and with a shrine over it. The old temple was destroyed during the Mohammedan Rebellion (1855-1873) but was rebuilt afterwards. Volumes could be written

cumference is over 300 li. There are three islands in the lake, the southern being called Yü-chi tao 玉几島 (Jade table island), the central one Ch'ih-wen tao 赤文島, and the northern one Chin-so tao 金梭島 (Golden shuttle [weaver] island).

²⁸ This pagoda is called I-T'a Ssu 一塔寺 (Single pagoda). It is also known as Hung-sheng Ssu 宏聖寺 and is situated south-west of the city of Ta-li. It is over 100 feet in height and is said to have been built by A-yü Wang (King Aśoka of India). This has also given the pagoda the name of A-yü Wang t'a 阿育王塔 (Pagoda of King Aśoka). It is hardly possible, however, that Aśoka should have built it. The *I-t'ung chih* of Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶 - 統志 (Chinese Geography) records that it was built during the time of the Sui Emperor Wen Ti 文帝 (581-604). The pagoda stands below the seventh peak of the Ts'ang-Shan range.

²⁹ The real name of the temple, which is written on a board over the entrance, is Ta-shih An 大石庵 (Great rock Shrine). It is also commonly called Kuan-yin-t'ang 觀音塘 and Shih-li-t'ang 十里塘 (Ten-li post-station), as the distance from Ta-li to this temple is commonly reckoned as 10 li.

It is not known when the temple was first built, but the dates of its restoration or rebuilding are extant. It was first rebuilt in 1807; in the reign of Hsien-feng (1851-1861) soldiers destroyed it by setting fire to it. In the second year of Kuang-hsü (1876), the Ta-li Governor, Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科, rebuilt it. Yang was a native of the district of Li-chiang, having been born in the salt-well village of La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴. His ancestors hailed from Ching chou 靖州 in Hu-nan 湖南.

³⁰ The word Ta-ssu stands here for the Sanskrit term Mahāsattva (perfected Bodhisattva, greater [*mahā*] than any being [*sattva*] except Buddhas).

about the history of this region, which, however, does not come within the scope of this work. It is my hope some time to write a history and geography of the entire province, when this particular region will be fully treated.

The city of Ta-li. — Fifteen li bring us to the city of Ta-li, elevation 7,000 feet.³¹ It is built on the sloping plain between the Ts'ang Shan Range and the

³¹ In the days of Yü Kung 禹貢 Ta-li was the land south of the division of Liang (Liang Chou 梁州). In the Han dynasty, Wu Ti 武帝 (140-87 B.C.) opened up the land of the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians), and created the territory of I-chou Chün. In the Later Han dynasty (25-220) Ta-li belonged to Yung-ch'ang Chün 永昌郡. Under the Minor Han (221-264) it belonged to Yün-nan Chün 雲南郡, i.e., the region of the ancient Yün-nan hsien, south-east of Ta-li and Chao chou. In the beginning of the Chin dynasty 晉 (265) it remained unchanged. During the reign of Yung-chia 永嘉 (307-312) it was divided and the district of Tung-ho-yang Chün 東河陽郡 was established. The *Sung Shu* 宋書 states that in the fifth year of Yung-chia of Chin (311) the Tz'u-shih 刺史 (Governor), Wang Sun 王遜 of Ning chou 寧州 (the modern Lin-an 臨安, south of K'un-ming), divided Yung-ch'ang and Yün-nan and established the Chün of Tung-ho-yang to control two prefectures, namely, Tung-ho-yang and Yeh-yü 牂牁. Under the Sung and Ch'i dynasties Ta-li remained unchanged. At the end of the Liang 梁 dynasty (about 555-556) it fell into the hands of the Man (savages). In the fourth year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (621), K'un-mi sent an envoy and they submitted. In the seventh year of T'ang Wu-te (624) the Emperor caused the land of Yün-nan chou to be administered. (It was called Yün-nan chou when the Meng family gained control over it. Another name for it was K'un-mi 昆彌.)

The K'un-mi of the T'ang Shu (History of the T'ang dynasty) is the K'un-ming 昆明 of the Han dynasty, which lay west of the Ts'uan-man (Ts'uan or Lo-lo savages); it became the land of Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河. In the third year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (629) it became K'uang chou 匡州. After the period of T'ien-pao 天寶 (756) it came under the control of Nan-chao, and the Nan-chao Kingdom established its capital in this place; it was also called the Western capital. Later it was changed to Chung-tu 中都, or Central capital. In the time of Shih Chin 石晉 (Shih Ching-t'ang 石敬瑭 is here meant, the first Emperor of the Later Chin 後晉 dynasty who ruled from 936-942, his reigning title being T'ien-fu 天福) the Tuan family possessed this land and called it Ta-li Kuo 大理國. (The Ta-li Kuo existed from 937-1094.) In the third year of Yüan Hsien Tsung, 憲宗 (1253) it was brought to submission. In the sixth year (1256) were established the Shang 上 (Upper) and Hsia 下 (Lower) Wan-hu fu 萬戶府 (Cities of 10,000 families). In the seventh year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1270) they became the Ta-li Lu 大理路 (Circuit of Ta-li). In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382) it was again changed to Ta-li fu 大理府, controlling four chou, three hsien, and one Chang-kuan-ssu 長官司.

So much for the history of Ta-li, which has been translated from the *Tu-shih Fang-yü-chi-yao*, ch. 117, pp. 1a and 1b.

The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao* ch. 24, fol. 6a, states that the Ta-li ch'eng was near the suburbs of T'ai-ho ch'eng, and was the Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 陽苴咩城 which in turn was the Grand Ya-men of the Nan-chao Kingdom. The *T'ang Shu Ti-li chih* states that it was twenty li from T'ai-ho ch'eng. In the 14th year of T'ang Ta-li 大歷 (779) I-mou-hsün of the Nan-chao Kingdom built the Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 陽苴咩城. The *Ta-li hsien chih kao* ch. 3, fol. 6a, however states that Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng is the present district city (Ta-li) and that I-mou-hsün during the reign of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (about 794) robbed Hsi-ch'uan 西川, suffering defeat he returned and being afraid, he built the tamped wall of Yang-chü-mieh, fifteen li long and broad. He changed his residence to this place and changed the name to Ta-li.

We further read that Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng was situated below the central peak of the Ts'ang Shan and was the ancient Yeh-yü ch'eng. The *Nan-chao Yeh shih* ch. 上 fol. 12, states that P'i-lo-ko built Yang-chü-mieh north of T'ai-ho ch'eng in the second year of T'ien-pao (743). The *Man-shu* fol. 23, states that originally all the Ho-man 河蠻 dwelt at T'ai-ho ch'eng, Ta-li ch'eng 大磬城 and Yang chü-mieh. In the twenty-fifth year of K'ai-yüan (737) Meng Kuei-i 蒙歸義 (P'i-lo-ko) drove out the Ho-man and took possession of

lake, and does not differ from other Chinese towns of this province. There are two south gates but only single north, east and west gates. The second southern gate to Ta-li is the famous Wu-hua lou 五華樓 (Tower of five glories) built by Sheng-feng-yü 晟豐祐,³² in the 10th year of T'ai-chung 太中 (856). In it the sixteen princes of the Hsi-nan-i held a conference; when Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) reached Ta-li he quartered some of his soldiers in it. The Wu-hua lou was erected on the foundations of another structure, called Wu-hua t'ai 五華臺, built in ancient times. This old edifice was supposed to have been very large. It was rebuilt in the third year of the period Chih-yüan 至元 (1337).

The earthquake of 1925 had done much damage, even to the massive Wu-hua lou, but nothing happened to the San-t'a 三塔 (Three pagodas), landmarks of Ta-li. One leans considerably, like the tower of Pisa. From the larger central pagoda a gilded bronze Garuda, which the people called a duck, fell from the top, together with a globe and rings of the same metal. Within the globe was found a Chinese work printed during the Yüan dynasty and a small model of the main pagoda. These were sent to the then governor T'ang 唐 of Yün-nan, who is said to have distributed the Yüan classic leaf by leaf among his friends.

The San-t'a are north of Ta-li below the 16th peak of the range; they were erected in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (632) by order of the military official Wei ch'ih Ching-te 尉遲敬德.³³ Around the pagodas have

T'ai-ho ch'eng. Several months afterwards he captured Chü-mieh. From this it would seem that Yang-chü-mieh or Chü-mieh as it is often written existed before P'i-lo-ko.

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382), Military Commander Chou, 周 built a brick wall. The following year the wall was widened. It was rebuilt ten times, the last time in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882).

³² Feng-yü tried to imitate Chinese custom and did not use his father's name 晟 as was the custom with aborigines. He simply called himself Feng-yü, while on stones he had his name engraved as Ch'üan 勸. He ruled as King of Nan-chao from 824 to 859. The *Ta-li fu chih*, ch. 23, fol. 2a, states that the old Wu-hua lou does not exist. Its foundation, however, is said to be in the center of the present city. It covered an area five li square, was 100 feet high, and could hold 10,000 people. When Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li, his soldiers dwelt to the south of it. Ming soldiers completely destroyed it. There is still a gate-tower in the centre of the city called Wu-hua lou; but the name is the only survival of the original structure.

³³ These pagodas withstood a terrific earthquake in the 10th, or *i-hai* 乙亥, year of Ming Cheng-te, in the fifth moon and 6th day (June 17th, 1515). The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 95, p. 5a, states that all the walls and houses fell, and that the central pagoda was bent and cracked like a split bamboo, but that after 10 days it became completely whole again.

The actual date of the building of the San-t'a Ssu cannot be fixed with certainty, as various Chinese works give different dates. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 478, fol. 23b, gives the reign of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (713-741). The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 5a, states that they were built in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan (632), and that at the beginning of the reign of K'ai-yüan (713) they were rebuilt. The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao*, ch. 66, fol. 23b, states that the Nan-chao King invited a T'ang 唐 (Chinese) mason, by name Kung T'ao-hui-i 恭韜徽義, to build these *t'a*. Later they were destroyed but in the beginning of the Yüan dynasty were rebuilt. In the 9th year of Ming Cheng-te, the fifth moon and 6th day (May 29th, 1514) there was an earthquake. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* it gives the 10th year, as mentioned previously, and as it gives the cycle of the year *i-hai* 乙亥 I presume 1515 is correct; on page 4, however, it gives the 9th year. The pagodas were repaired in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882) by a Buddhist priest.

been built barracks for the regular troops stationed at Ta-li. The San-t'a Ssu 三塔寺 (PLATE 6) are also called Ts'ung-sheng Ssu 崇聖寺 and near them is the grave of the P'ing-chang 平章 (Minister of State) Tuan Kung 段功, a member of the ruling house of Tuan under the Yüan dynasty. He died in 1366.

As has already been remarked, Ta-li (the name is said to be of Tai or Siamese origin, *i.e.*, T'a-lé = lake)³⁴ is of great historic interest, but does not come within the scope of this work. An aviation ground has been laid out between Ta-li and the lake.

Fourteenth stage. — From Ta-li to Teng-ch'uan 鄧川³⁵ is a distance of 90 li. Elevation 7,100 feet.

The trail leads across sandy and rocky stream-beds, which descend from the Ts'ang Shan Range, and over ditches and brooks. In the distance is a long, narrow spur extending from the Ts'ang Shan towards the lake: this is the Shang Kuan 上關 (Upper Pass).

We pass a small hamlet which has escaped both earthquake and bandits, and now follow close to the foot-hills as far as the village of Chou-ch'eng 周城, 50 li from Ta-li. Many large *Ficus stipulata* trees, their trunks surrounded by stone enclosures for people to rest their burdens on, are met with along the road.

From the last village, which is a lunch-stop, it is 20 li to the village of Shang-kuan (also called Dragon-head). The elevation is 7,100 feet. The poor, miserable hamlet is in absolute ruins, having been burnt and looted by the bandit chief, Chang Chieh-pa 張結疤 (Chang the Stammerer). A sordid scene unfolds as one enters the gates of this former stronghold. No inn was available, not a single house intact, and at the time of writing — 1934 — nothing had been reconstructed. The village of Sha-p'ing 沙坪, only two li beyond, shared the same fate as Shang-kuan, and the large schoolhouse, which once served me as shelter, existed no more.

³⁴ PROFESSOR GEORGE COEDÈS, Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, in answer to an inquiry regarding the possible Siamese origin of the name Ta-li, writes: "The Siamese word for 'lake' is *da-lé*, pronounced *l'a-lé*, but it is most probably a loan-word from Khmer *danlé* pronounced *tonlé* (Tonlé Sap, Cambodia's Great lake). The use of Cambodian loan-words is usually restricted to South Siam, and I do not think that *da lé* or *l'a lé* exists in any Northern T'ai dialect. The etymology of Ta-li from *da lé* appears to me as extremely doubtful."

As to the origin of the name Ta-li, the *Ta-li hsien-chih kao*, ch. 3, fol. 5a-5b, states that in the T'ang dynasty the Meng family absorbed the other five kingdoms, that is, they united the Liu chao 六詔 (Six kingdoms). In the second year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元, in the reign of T'ang Te Tsung (785) (this should read first year of the period Cheng-yüan 貞元, as there was no second year of Hsing-yüan) the grand-child of Ko-lo-feng, I-mou-hsün, called himself the Jih-tung Wang 日東王 (King of the Orient) and took as his dynastic title Ta Li 大禮. It was not until the second year of the period T'ien-fu 天福 of Emperor Kao Tsu 高祖 of the Later Chin dynasty 後晉 (937) that Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平 established the dynastic title Ta Li 大理. The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 14b, and the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, however, state that it was I-mou-hsün who first established the name Ta-li, or Ta Li 大理, as his dynastic title in the first year of Hsing-yüan 興元 (784). Ta Li 大禮 means "great decorum" or "great propriety," while Ta Li 大理 means "great principle." As can be seen, there is therefore some discrepancy in establishing the date, etc., of the name Ta Li 大理.

³⁵ The ancient name of Teng-ch'uan was written T'eng-ch'uan 騰川.

Beyond Sha-p'ing, at the end of the lake,³⁶ the trail climbs the rocky spur among old graves, skirts the red hill-sides above the marshy plain to the east, thence through a lovely wood and out onto the eroded, red, rocky hills. High ranges enclose us on both sides. We descend to the walled town of Teng-ch'uan,³⁷ crossing by a bridge over a small stream called the Ch'i Shui 溪水 which forms the moat of the city, and flows past the south gate. A long street descends into this forlorn place, which dips northward. There are no inns for caravans, but a large school-house, or former Confucian temple (Wen Miao 文廟), gave us shelter. The temple, situated in spacious grounds, is in fairly good repair. An agricultural station and the yamen of the magistrate adjoin it. The plain is very fertile and the wheat-fields were the best so far encountered. Buckwheat is also grown.

Fifteenth stage. — From Teng-ch'uan to Niu-kai 牛街 is a distance of 90 li. Elevation 7,500 feet.

From the town we descend to the plain, where we met hundreds of Min-chia peasants carrying local produce to market, such as cereals, rice, pears, mats, reeds, wine in earthen jars, hides, vegetables, etc., and in such quantities that I was astonished and wondered who would buy all these things. It was an endless procession, for it was market-day in Teng-ch'uan. The trail leads between fields and through a large marsh with tall rushes growing in it which are used in making mats and the Ta-li hats.

³⁶ At the north end, 15 li south of Teng-ch'uan near Sha-p'ing, there is a marshy pond separate from the Ta-li Lake, though its waters drain into it. It is called Shang Erh Ch'ih 上洱池 (Upper Erh Ch'ih).

³⁷ In the Han dynasty, Teng-ch'uan was in the territory of I-chou Chün, in the prefecture of Yeh-yü 楸榆. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty it was the T'eng-pei chou 潯陽州, dependent on Yao chou 姚州, the seat of the Tu-tu 都督 (military governor). Afterwards it became the T'eng-t'an chao 蓬談昭 by conquest. It was united with Nan-chao and the latter established the t'an 賧 of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川. Afterwards it was changed to the city of Te-yüan or Te-yüan ch'eng 德源城.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty there was established the Sub-military station of 1,000 families of Te-yüan.

In the 11th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1274) the name was changed to Teng-ch'uan chou 鄧川州, dependent on Ta-li. This name was retained in the Ming dynasty. To-day it is called Teng-ch'uan hsien.

In the third year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (1569) the T'u-chih-chou 土知州 (native prefect) A 阿 was done away with and a transferable official appointed, under whom were registered or enrolled the families of 12 li (communes), and who controlled one hsien. (From *Tu-shih Fang-yü-chi-yao* 讀史方輿紀要, ch. 117, p. 8b.)

In ancient days Teng-ch'uan had no wall. The first was built, of tamped earth, by magistrate Chou Wen-hua 周文化 in the third year of Lung-ch'ing (1569).

Later it sank in the sand and water and the city was without a wall; it was not rebuilt until the 14th year of Ts'ung-cheng (1641). It had three gates — in the east, south, and north respectively. It was rebuilt several times, but in 1762 it was replaced by a brick wall which was then three and seven-tenths li in circumference and had four gates.

The town is most peculiarly situated on a steep slope, with the Ch'i Shui 溪水 flowing past the highest part of the town just outside the south gate, which has a small stone bridge in front of it. This stream which encircles the city debouches into the Lo-shih Chiang 羅時江 to the north. One steps from the bridge down into the gate and on down the long, steep street which leads through the town. In summer Teng-ch'uan is said to be frequently inundated with flood water. A common saying is that the magistrate who built the wall was

Twenty li of level going, after passing the village called Yu-so 右所, bring us to another small hamlet at the foot of the embankment of the canal³⁸ which carries the waters of the Lang-k'ung Ho 浪穹河 [here the stream is called the Mi-chü Ho 彌直河] into the Ta-li Lake. This is the hamlet of Chung-so 中所 where we cross a bridge³⁹ over the canal to the eastern embankment. Elevation 7,000 feet. The slopes of the canal banks are wooded mainly with Albizzia trees, Rhus, Zizyphus, etc., giving welcome shade to the traveler. Here we met with large salt caravans with their dirty, grey, cylindrical blocks of salt,⁴⁰ also many tribespeople carrying loads of firewood by means of yokes around their necks. The yokes in turn are fastened to straw bands borne over the forehead (PLATES 7 and 8).

As the trail nears the Lang-k'ung gorge, the stream is bounded only on the east by the embankment, the mountains to the west forming its other bank. Here the path enters a deep ravine, bare of trees, except for some *Opuntia* cacti which grow among the black boulders and line the trail or road — for this part of the highway has been improved and graded, and can almost be called a road. The old trail, which led purposelessly up and down over the hill-side, had been abandoned since my first visit in the spring of 1922. Half-way up the gorge we come to a bridge, elevation 7,225 feet, over the roaring torrent known in ancient days as Hsi-erh Ho.⁴¹ On the other side of the gorge a trail leads to the hsien city of Lang-k'ung,⁴² formerly known as Erh-yüan 洱源; from there it is 100 li north to Chien-ch'uan, and 45 li south to Teng-ch'uan.

executed with his entire family and relations by order of the Emperor, so that there remained no descendants.

³⁸ This canal is called by the Na-khi, Bu-ndo-lo-gko (Hind part of a pig). *Lo-gko* means "inside."

³⁹ This bridge is called Te-yüan ch'iao 德源橋, and was built by Wang Kan 王綱, a native of Teng-ch'uan, during the reign of Ming Ying Tsung, period T'ien-shun 天順 (1457-1464).

⁴⁰ The salt comes from the salt-well of Ch'iao-hou ching 喬后井, situated on the east bank of the Pai-shih Chiang 白石江, which is really the Yang-pi 漾濞, the Chinese calling the upper part of that river the Pai-shih Chiang. The Chinese military map of Yün-nan, printed in the seventh year of the Republic (1918), gives three names for the river: the Kung Chiang 工江, Pai-shih Chiang 白石江, and Yang-pi 漾濞. The strangest thing about this map, however, is that the northern part of the Yang-pi, or Kung Chiang, flows into the Mekong near a place called Hsiao-tien 小甸; the central portion, or Pai-shih Chiang, flows west of the Ts'ang Shan; and the lower part, called the Yang-pi, according to the same map, flows again into the Mekong, this time north of the town marked Yün chou 雲州! This error has, however, been corrected in a later edition published in 1928. The Yang-pi has its source at the head of the valley, 50 li south of Shih-ku 石鼓, flows by Chien-ch'uan 劍川, where it receives the outlet of the lake, and then straight south, and west of the Ts'ang Shan range, into the Mekong. No large river enters the Mekong below Wei-hsi. It is impossible to say what the Kung Chiang is, and where it enters the Mekong.

⁴¹ This river has its source 20 li north of Lang-k'ung in the mountain called Pa-ku Shan 罷谷山; it is the present-day Lang-k'ung River. Chinese geographies say that it flows east of Ta-li and then joins the Yang-pi Ho. They consider Ta-li Lake, into which the river flows at Teng-ch'uan, as a continuation of the river, and the Hsia-kuan Ho, the exit of the Lake, as the same river.

⁴² During the Han dynasty Lang-k'ung belonged to the land of Yeh-yü (the present Ta-li region).

Our trail keeps to the east slope of the gorge and ascends to the end of the ravine, or rather its beginning, on a narrowing plain. Here stood a village, but nothing is left now except charred ruins, it having been burnt down by the bandits. We emerge into a red, hilly country, and here the Lang-k'ung River receives an affluent.

The trail follows the left bank of the stream along the foot-hills and by the village called Hsün-chien-ssu 巡檢司, thence across the gravelly stream-bed, and continues on the right bank between roses and *Pyracantha* bushes. We cross a gravelly plain to the base of a red hill, which we ascend to the top, at an elevation of 7,550 feet. Here, to the right of the trail, is a small but beautiful lake called Kan-hai-tzu 乾海子. We now descend between pine-covered hills to a plain on which is situated the hamlet of Ying-shan-p'u 應山舖, elevation 7,350 feet. To our right is a steep, rugged mountain mass cut up by deep ravines or chutes. It is a sacred mountain called Fo-kuang-chai Shan 佛光寨山 or simply Fo-kuang Shan;⁴³ half-way up the mountain is a cave said to hold 10,000 people. A temple, called Ling-kuang Ssu 靈光寺, is visible on the slopes; the temple was built in the first year of Wan-li (1573) by the village police chief Lü Meng-hsiung 呂夢熊.

From here we follow over the well-cultivated plain, wheat being the most abundant crop, past the villages of Wen-pi-ts'un 文筆村 and Ch'ang-ying 長營, until we finally reach the hamlet of San-ying 三營 (Three camps). It is a long, narrow village with a peculiar gate in the center. Elevation 7,500 feet. On this stretch we met long processions of Min-chia women carrying furniture, latticed Chinese doors and windows, baskets or huge stacks of straw hats, and — these were in the majority — huge juniper coffin-boards seven feet long, four inches thick, and three feet wide. These came from Pai-mang Shan 白芒山, many stages to the north, where there are large forests of immense junipers — *Juniperus wallichiana*. They are floated down the Yangtze to Shih-ku and are thence carried to Teng-ch'uan and by boat on the lake to Ta-li.

From San-ying it is five li to Niu-kai 牛街 (Cattle-market).

A short distance beyond San-ying is a limestone hill called Huo-yao Shan 火藥山⁴⁴ (Fire medicine or powder mountain): it is about 300 feet high, with a pagoda (*wen-pi* 文筆) on the top. The rocks are full of holes and the entire hill is honeycombed; it is the only limestone hill in the immediate neighborhood. At its foot are boiling hot springs, the water being crystal clear as it boils and bubbles up (temperature 170° F.). Steam rises everywhere between the rice-fields and the people wash their clothing in the boiling pools. In February, 1935, this peculiar mountain suddenly erupted. A severe earthquake preceded the eruption, the noise emanating from the mountain sound-

⁴³ It is also called Fo-kuang-chai 砦 and I-nü Kuan 一女關 (Pass of a woman). The latter name has reference to a narrow slanting defile back of the mountain. It was in this cave that Chu-ko Liang, marquis of Wu 武, captured Meng-huo 孟獲. Later in the Ming dynasty in 1383, General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 suppressed a rebellion of native chiefs who fled into this cave. At that time 13,000 people in all were decapitated and 400,000 families of the native tribes made their submission. It was then that Li-chiang made its submission to the Ming, and the Mo-so were pacified.

⁴⁴ Also called Huo-yen Shan 火焰山 (Flaming Mountain).

ing like thunder. Immediately after the earthquake flames burst forth from the mountain, so that the heavens were reddened. This lasted nearly an hour, after which no fire was visible. Later the people went to see the hill and found that a large section of it had fallen in, covering up several of the hot springs which flowed from its base. No one was injured.

Niu-kai is a village in ruins, thanks to the activities of the bandit chief Chang Chieh-pa and his hordes; when I passed through in 1928 he had only a few days before made his submission to the Yün-nan government. More exactly: holding a Belgian missionary as hostage, whom he threatened to kill should the governor of Yün-nan send further troops against him, he brought the governor to accept his own terms. Thus he was established as military ruler of the entire district. He sat with 1,000 of his bandits in the poor village which he had all but burnt to the ground, and the impoverished peasants had to feed the brutes who had ruined their homes. The village consists of about 600 families, and lies on the slopes of the foot-hills, at an elevation of 7,500 feet. It belongs to the magistracy of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶.

Sixteenth stage. — From Niu-kai to Tien-wei 甸尾 is a distance of 70 li. Elevation 7,800 feet.

From the village of Niu-kai the trail keeps to the foot-hills which encircle the plain to the right. Somewhat beyond the village a path branches off at the end of the plain, into a deep valley which leads to Ho-ch'ing. This is the shortest way to Li-chiang.

Our trail leads across the Niu-kai plain to a limestone mountain with smooth cliffs on which inscriptions are still discernible dating back to K'ang-hsi (1662-1722). The mountain is called Kuan-yin Shan 觀音山 ⁴⁵ (Goddess of Mercy Mountain), and so is the village a short distance beyond; a Buddhist temple ⁴⁶ nestles at the foot of the cliff. In the south it joins on to the Tien-ts'ang Shan. Half-way up the mountain is a cave called T'ai-chi tung 太極洞 (Cave of the ultimate immaterial principle, *i.e.*, of the Chinese cosmology). In the center of the cave is a pond called Chin-lung t'an 金龍潭 (Golden dragon pool) which is said to be very deep (the depth being unknown).

A short distance beyond, at a tiny temple, the trail ascends the red hills covered with oaks, pines, *Pinus Armandi* and *P. yunnanensis*, *Alnus*, *Castanopsis Delavayi*, rhododendrons, roses, *Berberis*, etc., up over limestone mountains, through oak forest, to a pass with a few houses called Ch'ou-shui-ching 臭水井 (Stinking water-well). At this place many hold-ups and murders were committed by the bandit hordes of Chang Chieh-pa. He strung up his victims by the thumbs to branches of high trees, and tied rocks to their feet;

⁴⁵ The name originated from a likeness of Kuan-yin cut into the rock of the mountain by Ko-lo-feng 閣邏鳳 (King of Nan-chao, 748-778) of the Meng family. Other names for the mountain are Fang-chang Shan 方丈山 (Abbot Mountain), Lien-hua Shan 蓮花山 (Lotus Mountain) and Hsiang-yün Shan 祥雲山 (Auspicious cloud Mountain). It is one of the seventeen famous mountains of the Nan-chao Kingdom. (From the *Ho-ch'ing chou chih*, ch. 4, fols. 5b-6a).

⁴⁶ The temple is called Miao-hsing An 妙行菴 (Hall of the practice of the Excellent or the Unfathomable). A board bearing the above characters is over the temple gate. It was presented by the Na-khi chief, Mu Hsing 木興, in the 33rd year of K'ang-hsi (1694). Mu Hsing was born in 1667 and died in 1720.

lighting a fire beneath he left them to their fate. It was always a dreaded pass for caravans. At this summit are large groves of oaks (*Quercus Delavayi*); the elevation is 8,930 feet. The motor road passes below and to the west of it.

The trail here descends a little, only to climb again to 9,250 feet, and then continues downward between round, low hills of yellowish-red clay, over a shallow basin-like depression which in the rainy season becomes a pond. This is called the Yeh-ya t'ang 野鴨塘 (Wild-duck pond). The trail goes down between pines to the village of the same name, which we found entirely in ruins, having been looted and fired by the brigands. The path leads steeply into a circular, unproductive, gravelly basin of which only the terraced slopes are cultivated. A big stream issues from the right, which in the summer is an unfordable torrent. It is here called the Sha-pa Ho 沙壩河, as it flows through a sandy plain lined with old poplars and willows. It is a treacherous river and has carried away several bridges; lately a new one of stone has been constructed. At the other end of the little sandy plain is the hamlet of Yeh-chi-p'ing 野雞坪 (Pheasant flat). Elevation 8,500 feet.

From this basin we climb over pine-covered hills on the top of which the trail continues. A little westward and ahead is the mountain mass of Lao-chün Shan 老君山 or Mountain of Lao-chün or Lao Tzu, the founder of Taoism. Beyond this mountain is visible La-pa Shan 拉巴山 (La-ba Ngyu in Na-khi), between 14,000 and 15,000 feet in height. To the extreme left, or south-west, is another high mountain which divides the Mekong from the Yang-pi. It is called Hsüeh-p'an Shan 雪盤山 (Snow-basin Mountain), but more commonly Yen-lu Shan 鹽路山 (Salt-road Mountain), for salt is brought over it from the salt-well of La-chi-ming 喇雞鳴, west of Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 (Handel-Mazzetti on his map calls it the Ye-lu-schan).

The trail descends over a gravelly ridge winding along valley slopes with a roaring stream to our left, down to the plain of Tien-wei; we cross the same stream which we passed over at Yeh-chi-p'ing and arrive at the village of Tien-wei, after going through large groves of old oaks. Half of the village, situated on the slopes of a hill across the plain, was destroyed. The distance from Niu-kai to Yeh-chi-p'ing being 53 li, the latter is the regular lunch-stop. The elevation of Tien-wei is 7,800 feet.

Seventeenth stage. — From Tien-wei to Chiu-ho 九河 is a distance of 60 li. Elevation 8,150 feet.

The trail leads from Tien-wei past a temple downhill to the Chien-ch'uan plain, leaving the Chien-ch'uan Lake (Chien Hu 劍湖), which is said to be 60 li square, to the east. We pass a new bridge, called Hai-hung ch'iao 海虹橋 (Lake rainbow bridge), over the Tien-wei Ho (the river makes here a semi-circle like a rainbow), which is none other than the Yang-pi River, by the village of Shang-teng 上登; at its entrance opposite the bridge, there is a large, now ruined, temple which is three li from Tien-wei. On the Chinese military map the town of Tien-wei is south-east of the lake, though in reality the lake is east of the town. The plain is intensively cultivated, while on the hill-sides grow *Catalpa Duclouxii*.

From the trail one has the first good view of the Li-chiang snow-range (Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 — Jade dragon Mountain), although it is already visible

from Tien-wei. In the distance can be seen the northern peak of the range, separated by the Yangtze from the main range. This peak is called in Na-khi, Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv (the Ha-pa Shan 哈巴山 of the Chinese), simply called Hsüeh-shan 雪山 (Snow mountain) on the Chinese military map.

We follow the edge of the plain, skirting the foot-hills between fields of wheat, beans and peas (only the northern part of the plain is cultivated with rice), pass the hamlets of Han-teng 漢登 and Hsi-chuang 西莊, a distance of ten and a half li from Tien-wei; then Chu-chüan-ch'ang 豬圈場, and from there to Shui-chai 水寨. From this last village it is only a short distance to the walled town of Chien-ch'uan 劍川. Here we met hundreds of Min-chia peasants carrying heavy loads, some enormous earthen jars and pots, others mats, firewood, and pigs in baskets. Very large pigs were slung on poles between two men, the pig securely tied in a mat.

About 20 li from Tien-wei begin the walls of Chien-ch'uan (Rapier stream). This place is renowned for its carpenters, who are clever wood-carvers, and makers of furniture.⁴⁷ Chien-ch'uan is at an elevation of 7,750 feet. To the west, on the grassy slopes of the foot-hills, are thousands of graves. Here is the favorite camping place of the Tibetan caravans which come from the north to Ta-li and beyond. Above the graves on the hill-side is a large Buddhist temple called Ti-tsang Ssu 地藏寺 (Temple of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, Lord of the Earth).

The trail passes between irrigated wheat and rice-fields to the hamlets of Pan-teng-ho 板登河 and Yung-p'an-ts'un 永盤村. We follow the left border of the plain, which narrows towards the north, passing the villages T'ai-

⁴⁷ Chien-ch'uan is the ancient territory of the Man-i (savages). The Hsi-i (Western barbarians) called the town Lo-lu, for in their language *lo-lu* meant lake, and had reference to the Chien Hu or Chien-ch'uan Lake near which the town is situated. In the T'ang dynasty (618-906) it was the I-tu Lo-lu ch'eng 義督羅魯城. I-tu was one of the 10 original *chien* 賧 (districts) of the Nan-chao Kingdom. (*Chien* is the Chinese transcription of the Tai word *keng* or *xieng*). The Lo-lu ch'eng is the present-day foundation of Wa-yao-ts'un 瓦窑村 (Tile kiln village). It is 15 li south of Chien-ch'uan. The walls of the Lo-lu ch'eng were built in the T'ang dynasty. In the beginning of the reign of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (about 786), Nan-chao fought Chien-ch'uan and captured the entire territory. Their chief changed his residence to Chien-t'an 劍賧 and changed its name to Chien-ch'iang 劍羌. The Nan-chao Kingdom established the government of Chien-ch'uan. In the Sung dynasty it was changed to I-tu t'an 義督賧 and was also called Po chou 波州.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty there was established the *so* 所 (Sub-military station) of the 1,000 families of I-tu (I-tu ch'ien-hu *so* 義督千戶所).

In the 11th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1274), the name was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien (Magistracy of Chien-ch'uan) under the rule of the Ho-ch'ing Lu 鶴慶路 (Ho-ch'ing Circuit). The *Chien-ch'uan chou chih*, ch. 3, fol. 15b, states that the military and civil yamen of the governor of the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing was established in the 8th year of Chih-yüan (1271) and the I-tu 義督 was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien dependent on the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing. In the 17th year of Ming Hung-wu (1384) it was raised to a chou and the families of 18 li 里 (communes) were registered there. In ancient days Chien-ch'uan had no wall, but during the reign of Hung-chih 弘治 (1488-1505), magistrate Li Wen 李文 built a tamped earth wall. In the 15th year of Ts'ung-cheng (1642) the wall was changed to a brick one, 16 Chinese feet high, and 12 thick. The moat was eight feet wide and five deep. During an earthquake in 1688 the wall fell, the towers toppled over the gates, and it was not rebuilt until 1690; it was once more rebuilt in 1712 and again destroyed by an earthquake in 1751. In 1860 the Mohammedans flooded the town with water from Lake Chien and many lengths of the south-eastern part of the wall collapsed. It was finally rebuilt.

p'ing-ts'un 太平村, Liu-chia-teng 劉家登 and Tien-hsin-ch'iao 甸心橋. The village of Mei-tzu-shao 梅子哨 is not on the Chien-ch'uan plain but beyond a narrow ravine, the slopes of which are covered with pines. Opposite the village, in a lovely pine forest, are numerous graves. This or the village of Kan-mo-ho 乾磨河 is the regular lunch-stop for the day. Five li from this village will bring us to the end of the stage, the village of Chiu-ho 九河 (Nine streams),⁴⁸ but there are still the villages of Chiang-tung 江東 and Wen-mu-ho 文木河 to be passed. Ere reaching Chiu-ho there is a beautiful isolated hill with a lovely forest of oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), and thence we travel along the foot of a rocky hill entering the long valley which leads to Shih-ku 石鼓 on the Yangtze. Chiu-ho is situated on a low spur at an elevation of 8,150 feet. It is a miserable hamlet with a single dilapidated temple. Caravans bound for Li-chiang usually prefer to go beyond it to the hamlet of Tu-wo 杜娥 also called Tu-wu 杜吳 on Chinese maps (Na-khi, Dtu-wù).

We have now arrived at the border of the Li-chiang district, to which the village of Chiu-ho belongs. South of it is Chien-ch'uan territory.

⁴⁸ Chiu-ho is called in Na-khi, Gkyi-wù; and Kuan-shang 關上, at the end of the valley which extends north of Chiu-ho, is called Gkyi-wù Ts'o-k'ò.

CHAPTER II

THE LI-CHIANG DISTRICT

Eighteenth stage. — From Chiu-ho to Li-chiang 麗江 is a distance of 90 li. Elevation, 8,200 feet.

From Chiu-ho we follow the plain, leaving to the left the large village of Nan-su-mei 南蘇梅 and five li further on coming to the village of Pei-su-mei 北蘇梅,¹ the names meaning Northern and Southern Su-mei respectively. Opposite the village and the temple is a small open-air theater where we used to stop with our caravan on former journeys. In this region the walnut trees were still leafless. This at the end of April. The hills forming the western valley wall are a brilliant red and covered with pines (*Pinus yunnanensis*). Many villages are scattered along the foot-hills, some extending up their slopes (see description of Chiu-ho li, p. 178). Small trails lead from this valley to Lao-chün Shan 老君山, which has always been a rendezvous for brigands. From the village of Pei-su-mei, it is five li to the Na-khi hamlet of Tu-wo (P'u-wu in Min-chia) where the Na-khi caravans prefer to put up for the night. Both villages are situated at the eastern side of the valley; here, also, the hills are covered with pines and numerous walnuts; the latter, mostly cultivated, can be found along the road, besides pears, peaches and plums.

The trail meanders over the gravelly valley floor past Wu-li-p'ai 五里牌, then P'o-chio 坡脚 (Foot of the hill) or Kuan-shang 關上 (Na-khi, Ts'o-k'ö), 30 li from Chiu-ho. This is the last village in this valley, at the head of which is a beautiful, deep blue lake, the head-waters of the Yang-pi River. The lake is called Bbu-t'u-ndër (Shrimp pond), in Na-khi. From here it is a drop of 2,000 feet to the Yangtze and a distance of about 50 li to Shih-ku. The valley is inhabited mostly by Min-chia in the lower, and Na-khi in the upper part.

From the village of Kuan-shang the trail is paved, but is in a most terrible condition, and the grade next to impossible. It ascends from an elevation of 8,300 feet at Kuan-shang, over the partly forested mountain called T'ieh-chia Shan 鐵架山 which hems in the valley to the east, to the top of a pass at 9,800 feet, and shortly to another pass 10,100 feet above the sea. Here we have emerged on a rather large, dry plateau, the trail leading between low, round, wooded hills. The Na-khi come from their villages and cultivate the gentle slopes of the hills, mostly with buckwheat and oats. On both sides of the trail are large sink-holes from which the plateau derives its name, Lo-shui-tung 落水洞 (Sinking water caves).² These holes, which are apparently of great depth, remind one of volcanic blow-holes or small craters; but here all is lime-

¹ The village is called Ts'o-k'ö-muan in Na-khi (Lower Ts'o-k'ö). Transcribed in Chinese characters it is written Ts'o-k'uei-mou 錯虧謀. It is also called Nan-kuan-chan 南關站.

² "The topography of this down country is very old and in striking contrast to the valley which leads to the Yangtze and Shih-ku, and in which Kuan-shang is situated. The features of the down, with its gentle, rounded hills and shallow valleys, were developed before the formation of the Kuan-shang valley. The rocks exposed in the western part of the downs belong to the Kaoliang Series. The latter consist of phyllites and chloritic schists, quartzites, crystalline limestone, and limestone breccia. They belong to the Archeozoic or earliest era of geological history." (GREGORY)

stone, and the entire plateau is apparently hollow, as is the region of the lake of La-shih-pa 刺是壩. The walls of the sink-holes are covered with oaks and pines, the floors giving way in the center to funnel-like shafts.

The trail leads east over the undulating plain of yellow clay and extensive limestone outcroppings, which remind one of the lava-flows of Hawaii, but are grey in color. These outcroppings are taken possession of by deep pink *Rhododendron racemosum* bushes which, with a prostrate form of *Quercus semicarpifolia*, form regular carpets.

Straight ahead is the famous pyramidal mountain Wen-pi Shan 文筆山 (Pencil Hill), called Sä-bpi zhër nv-lv, or Sä-bpi a-naṅ Ngyu, in Na-khi, whose slopes had suffered badly during the earthquake in 1925, when the whole western face of the mountain slid down, forming a huge talus slope. The mountain is renowned in Tibet. It represents a mountain deity called Zhi-da-mung-po (gzhi-bdag-smug-po གཞི་བདག་སྐུ་པོ་). (See: *San-pi-wai-lung* p.

184).

Further the trail turns north-east over the same plateau (called in Na-khi, La-bpiu-k'o), at an elevation of 10,000 feet, and then descends to a little shrine called the Shan-shen Miao 山神廟 (Shrine of the mountain spirit). It continues on down to a lower plateau — again with sink-holes — the level places being under cultivation. From here the Li-chiang snow range is now visible to the north.

The crops on this plateau are dependent wholly on rain, for it is entirely waterless. The lowest part stands at 9,400 feet, and the dusty trail seems endless, but descends at last through pine forest to the plain of La-shi, in Chinese La-shih-pa 喇是壩 (also written 刺是壩). The caravan-stop is at the hamlet of Sä-bpi wüa-ba (also called Sä-mbi wüa-ba in the Dto-mba or Na-khi priest books). Elevation 8,700 feet.

Beyond the village a wooden bridge leads over the La-lo-k'a stream, whence the trail runs between the La-shi K'ü (Lake of La-shi), and the mountains and then north-east towards the pass over the spur which joins the southern end of the Li-chiang snow range with Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 and Wen-pi Shan 文筆山. The pass is called in Na-khi, La-shi gkaw-gku, is 8,750 feet above sea level, and 20 li from La-shih-pa. From its foot it is eight li across the plain to the town of Li-chiang.

As the region to the south of Li-chiang is inhabited mainly by the Min-chia tribe it may not be out of place here to say a few words about these neighbors of the Mo-so, or Na-khi.

THE MIN-CHIA TRIBE (PLATES 7, 8)

The Min-chia 民家, called Lā-bbu by the Na-khi and considered by them as their second elder brother — the first being the Tibetan, whom they call Gv-dzu — are known to the Chinese, especially in their literature, as Pai-jen 白人 (White people). In their own language they call themselves P'ër-tsu, colloquially they speak of themselves as P'ër-nv-tsu. They are scattered over much of Yün-nan and formed once the principal population of the ancient Nan-chao Kingdom. Unlike the Na-khi they have no written language. They are much intermingled with the tribes which live in the neighboring region of

Ta-li. From their stronghold, which is the Ta-li plain, they extend north to Ho-ch'ing, one day south of Li-chiang, and thence south-west, where they occupy exclusively the valley of the P'i Chiang 泚江 with its two towns, Yün-lung 雲龍³ in the south, and Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 in the north.

The K'un-ming plain is to some extent also peopled by Min-chia, and the women are easily recognized by the brilliant red trousers they wear. They are now a mixed race and, as Terrien de Lacouperie says, "their language bears out the same testimony." In his paper on the pre-Chinese languages he says, "Chinese, Mo-so, Lo-lo, and Tibetan words have been adopted instead of the original vocables, but the Mon character of the language is still recognizable in many words, and the positions of the genitive and of the adjective are in accordance with this indication." The Min-chia are not related to the Tibeto-Burman stock to which the Mo-so or Na-khi belong, but are akin to the Palaung, Wa, and others of the Mon-Khmer race. As I have not studied these people, I shall simply give translations of texts regarding them from Chinese works such as the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Great Topography of Yün-nan), etc. See: FITZGERALD C. P., *The Tower of Five Glories*, 1941.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 199, pp. 8b-9a, states: "Pai-jen first dwelled at Ta-li and Pai-ngai-ch'uan 白崖川. Accordingly they belong to the division of the Pai-man 白蠻 of Chin-ch'ih 金齒 [Chin-ch'ih ch'eng 金齒城 is the present-day Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌) in south-west Yün-nan]. Because the custom of the Pai-i 百夷 was to cover two of their front teeth with gold, they were called the Chin-ch'ih-man 金齒蠻" (Gold-teeth savages). This custom still prevails in Yün-nan; especially in the capital, where Chinese dentists are more busily engaged covering perfectly sound canines with gold than in genuine dentistry.

"To the west of Chin-ch'ih were the T'u man 土蠻 (Aboriginal savages) to whom belonged eight tribes, the Chin-ch'ih, Pai-i, P'o, O-ch'ang 峨昌 (Marco Polo's Vo-chang), P'iao 驃 (evidently the natives of eastern Burma are meant), the Hsieh 緬, Chü-lo 渠羅 and Pi-su 比蘇. The Chin-ch'ih-man were originally the Mang-shih-man 芒施蠻. At the time when I-mou-hsün fought all the savages, the Chin-ch'ih tribe were weakened. Afterwards they increased and flourished. For that reason there was established in the Chin-ch'ih and other [tribal] lands an An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification commissioner). Afterwards the Pai-jen dwelled in the territory of Ching-tung fu 景東府,⁴ Yün-nan, Lin-an 臨安, Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, K'ai-hua 開化, Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, Yao-an 姚安, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei 永北 and Li-chiang.

³ Latitude, 25° 49'; Longitude 99° 22'. According to the K'ang-hsi dictionary the character 泚 is read *ts'u* and never *p'i* or *pi*. The people of Yün-lung call their river Pi Chiang, also often P'i Chiang. The character 泚 used on the local military map and in Yün-nan generally is therefore wrong; it should be 泚, which according to the K'ang-hsi dictionary is pronounced *pi* or *p'i*, and is also given as the name of a river. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 478, fol. 11a, states it is also called Lo-ma Chiang 離馬江 and Shun Chiang 順江, it has its source in Lao-chün Shan.

⁴ Pi-su was one of the eight *ch'eng* (cities) of the State of Yung-ch'ang, which was the Li-chiang district during the Later Han dynasty, and is not to be confused with the present Yung-ch'ang just mentioned. During the Nan-chao Kingdom the Pai-man captured Ching-tung, after it had been established by the Meng family as Yin-sheng fu 銀生府.

"The Pai-jen are also called Min-chia-tzu (Sons [descendants] of the families of the people).

"They are a branch of the ancient Pai Kuo 白國. Anciently they were erroneously called P'o and afterwards the P'o and Pai were considered one tribe. In point of fact, they have nothing in common.

"They are distributed everywhere over Yün-nan. Their customs are not very different from those of the Chinese.

"The Pai-jen are the descendants of Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求 of the Pai Kuo. [He was the King of Chien-ning 建寧 who in the 23rd year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) abdicated in favor of the Meng family. The city of Chien-ning is the present Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, the former Pai Kuo or White Kingdom]. The Chao 趙, Yang 楊 and Tuan families 段氏 are their descendants.

"They believe in Buddhism and sorcery."

The *Tien hsiao-chi* 滇小記 (Brief History of Tien), fol. 59b, states: "The Pai-jen are the scattered descendants of the ancient Pai-Kuo. They are now distributed all over Yün-nan. Colloquially they are known as Pai-erh-tzu 白兒子. Tradition relates that they were the followers of Chuang Ch'iao 莊騫 who came to Yün-nan from the State of Ch'u 楚 and later [about 280 B.C.] established the Kingdom of Tien, and made himself King of Tien" (Yün-nan).

知命早克龍中
 氣能五則平鵬
 為軍明家三百
 河山永世長符
 一脈分晉之



木世考

知府阿甲阿得官拜木得字自基訴恒忠元末任過安州和州陞
 改罷以宣撫司副使 大明洪武十五年率衆野順蒙征南將軍秦
 國蒙

欽賜木姓後隨從兵官征南將軍太子太師穎國公傅友德克仲光寨元右丞
 哥顏高身於父宮藩大酋卜剌將領賊家侵占北浪滄地面令長男阿初
 攻退兀陳寨擒高六惠之裔土酋偽平章高生哥為大殺戮後
 敗州四又領兵跟隨傅國公攻破石門國鐵鎖城等處有功朝朝

太祖嘉其偉績授

誥命一道陞改授世襲土官知府職事中順大夫防固石門鎮禦土著錫匾

額四字云誠心報國 洪武二十三年庚午十月卒 公於元武宗至大

年辛亥生 正妻阿室社係照磨訪三必村和畧可女

誥封恭人生三子 長男阿初從父職

PLATE 17. — THE SEVENTH GENERATION. A-CHIA A-TE (MU TE)
 阿 甲 阿 得 木 考
 世 得 七 考



八世考

知府永初字欽元號始春崇武十六年永襲已有常績授千夫長某歲百戶職重經各處征伐生擒衆賊五次有功於二十四年永襲父職本年赴京朝覲

欽賜

誥命一進級中順大夫世襲土官知府總督都督馮城征進永寧州攻破懷柔等境句交等叛賊又同都督寧遠侯何福捷應官軍征服四川鹽井衛左所等處叛賊有功又同大理衛李指揮征進平石阿惱元亨寨生擒叛賊有功隨就置麓江軍民府領給印信一顆撥扶

秋命俸楊塘鎮勅勅西番禮祭機變之宜捐捐體統行軍以彰國威即令長男阿土赴京朝

賀蒙

欽賜甚厚永樂四年賜晉鎮

敕書一通叙巨津臨西等處功事陞授中憲大夫其永初功會于尊累難以盡述俱載

宗譜

公生於元至正五年己酉於洪熙元年己巳十二月卒

正妻阿室阿木相官名阿室據係通安州土千戶阿木女

誥封奉人後生父子

長男永土繼父職



九世考

知府木土 字象民 號培元

永樂十七年 賜馬匹方物 隨例進

貢崇

欽准 替職 賜鈔錠 綬及女 德乙 遣老 後蒙 興情 崇

欽頒 勅乙 通令 宣不 令調 崇

帝命 特封 為中 順大 夫世 襲公 府

宣德三年 先石門 閩阿 弓丈 肆刻 不後 領兵 攻捕 隨開 新通

牧服 敗郭 氏人 年又 集兵 肆掠 仍領 兵攻 捕遂 傾心 歸服 又亦 寧

舊賊 擄廣 山賊 州王 親領 兵復 策取 回花

生於 元至 正甲 辰於 宣德 八年 癸丑 卒

正妻 阿室 甫係 勅處 府土 知府 高仲 女官 名高 氏誼

正後 五年 以子 軍功 蒙賜

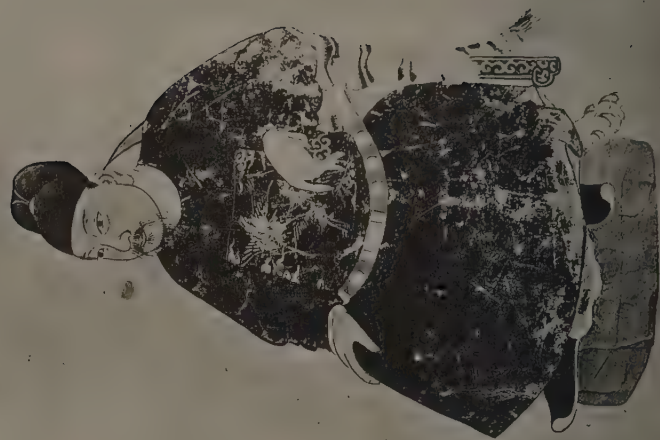
帝命 乙通 贈太 中大 夫泰 職銜

正妻 高氏 贈封 誥人

生七 子長 男木 森繼 父職

PLATE 19. — THE NINTH GENERATION. MU T'u

木 土 九 世 考



十世考

知府木森 字升榮 号大林

宣德九年保勘繫職上任領兵漫保兵官定遠王休忠敬晟征
進麓川徇寇省時為至軍馬逃散惟丽江奮勇先降過江燒營
冊七亥致生擒賊首獲象二隻又得新首三級崇賜象鞍碗
花牌銀疋等項復蒙

詔命乙通給授太中大夫資治少尹雲南布政使司參政戰事
昭討二代在省上任記巡撫雲南都御史丁汝璈舉撫
獎勵總制靖遠侯王忠毅公征麓川進兵阻克前後俘擒各
叔又獲象二隻及破思任發冊寨召功
公生在洪武三十四年辛巳年正月死於六年卒

正妻阿舍里係木保巡檢阿依女

譜封故人生三子長男木發襲父職



十一世考

知府木欽字惟高號峻喬

正統七年保勘衆職上任景泰二年藩寇阿剌侵據巨津州三年朔州知州被賊謀害奉文親率兵追擊獲賊無數又六年寶山州白鹵等處被寇賊劫掠奉文率兵征討生擒賊首天順六年得勝剌賓魯普兀寨亂罪休羅占普兀寨八年得勝剌賓魯普兀寨里保見能兀寨里保梅夫兀寨成化四年得勝你那母來存寨諸兀寨木却兀寨岩甸寨六年得勝你那母留平接果加兀寨柯必兀寨剌木兀寨剌何場泰十八年得勝照可耳孫剌哥均里場其玄伍丁十九年得勝忠甸早兀寨二十年得勝忠甸僧羅謀隨例差人進貢殿功蒙賜

誥命給授太中大夫世襲知府

公生宣德己酉年於成化二十一年乙巳卒 正妻阿室順係鄧慶高知府女

誥封淑人 生十三男長木泰襲父職



PLATE 23. — THE THIRTEENTH GENERATION. MU TING

木 定 十 三 世 考

十三世考

知府木定字靜之號永明

宣統十六年襲職正德三年得勝你那從仲寨天龍寨阿得音等處又陶目以下夷
象躍服升遠五大香甸又得勝那古牙烈瓦寨風羅寶彌寨並羅瓦失瓦寨命內碑
失瓦寨光失侍甸殺降得勝中甸十那瓦寨你那各娘刺紅瓦寨風羅長安寨
你那陶陶寺處又得勝中甸弓甸子晉瓦寨永寧麻瓦寨風羅香谷飛寨風
羅瓦托處可死寨永寧木堡瓦寨麻瓦寨又攻破你那陶索寨處羅也音寨木
勝寨又救護那封永寧有功鎮院會

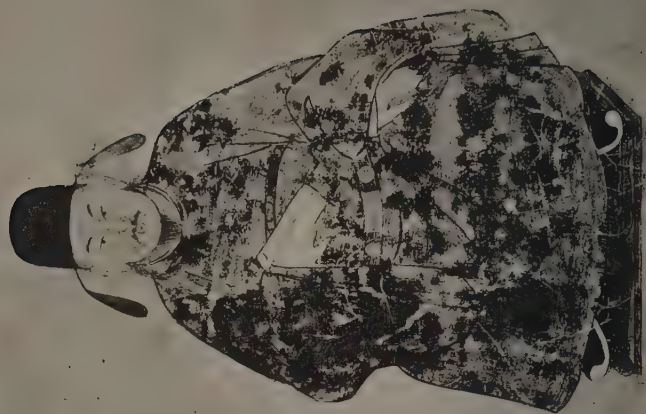
題紀錄牌表裏又得勝你那欠保五村刺加失村以下又得勝黑可羅那村以上
立西山下又得勝你那必魯各寨盤井那勝寨隨奉

諸命一遺授中憲大夫母襲土官知府

公生成化二十年於嘉靖五年丙戌卒

正妻阿寧看官名高氏延壽妙香係壯勝州高知州女

諸封恭人 生二子長男木公繼父職



十四世考

知府木公常魁號雪山又高松嘉靖六年襲職本年得勝係即必魯各寨指揮即
 勝寨間常向原寨欠甸寨本年尋安風作殺七年內犯圖省調府兵有功賞蒙總
 兵官征南將軍太師黔國公沐敏靖公給勛征錄奏
 間八年得勝建立永寧大洞寨海環寨當孫天勝寨小寨鼠羅光世寨忠甸年各
 年得勝十五年安撫那勝天柱寨鼠羅鐵柱寨看押寨平處天保寨金柱寨里托
 等處中甸高勝寨九年安撫叛亂忠調府兵其遠待征蒙兵部尚書毛題孫分定晴道
 命賞白金又得勝看水勝新寨天保寨勝保寨係即天高寨長勝寨命長男阿司領兵
 得勝毛係各親相常來魯古以下又安撫中甸干間各伴以下立中甸天生寨驢寨
 諸命一通投中憲大支世襲知府嘉靖五十四年寧遠提督
 公生安治一年於嘉靖三十二年九月卒
 正妻阿室營官石鳳氏贈儀武父府鳳知府女生一子田高繼父職
 諸封恭人嘉靖四十年以子進謁
 諸命一通投中憲大夫正妻鳳氏為故人

十五世考

知府木高字守賢號端來人元江嘉祥人子建立初理大府後全撫四牛慶

知麗江軍民府木牛爵解理立風羅那水人字東六各下歸降中平人其戰來

來因忠甸令長男領兵攻殺賊有頭家親六人賊人起見

貢三盡九給席羅十金馬十匹

諭命一追殺賊天大其便辭畧而誠一戰國朝附奉親化行遠徵成水力蕃以侍官為

忠孝兩建國而舉文武兼全諸時院兩官原三品以列九卿永為木世家

諡封正長馬金木世家也夫忠孝三品淑介

勅賜王晉木世家四字建坊并賞銀報表權寶六千六百兩十三年令長男同和殺賊勝

俘獲前進風羅安機羅等立屋地寨又達長男征討巴地各五等處賊凱勒魯早誌

公生正德十年乙亥於隆慶二年戊辰卒

正妻阿壘毛官名左氏叔人蒙化左和府女生三子長男木東顯父職



PLATE 25.—THE FIFTEENTH GENERATION. MU KAO



十六世考

知府木東字震陽號文品又歸華 隆慶三年保勘製知府世職本年建立你那天

嘉泰六年你那利十毛扣刀胡目白身叩頭悔前從父建立香水雷勝寨

秋賜西北曹驍四字建建坊及賞綠緞表禮賞鈔六百錠本年親征到秋地命長男阿勝

統兵前進那其番你保等處斬賊甚多五年薨賊犯男你那主怯命長男阿勝

領兵討賊預擊敵萬占據刀那丁思江口阿西集甚岩震二厥北營拒敵後力攻破

賊首復擒累父安孃的米宗卒卯木春十陶其尾阿西你王累哨等處荒服地方恩

皆平服七年建立香水勝則寨又立堡揚寨隨例北京進貢奉

詔命一道陞授中憲大夫 正妻高氏封淑恭生三子

公生嘉靖十三年申年於萬曆七年己卯卒

正妻阿室官名高氏側係北勝州高知州女

長男木旺繼文職

父子皆殉義尤非尋常
臨千秋西顧雪垂白表
忠魂不香左 哲之



十七世考

知用木旺字萬春號五龍又神崗萬旺年侯勳報職本年建立照可立習各天靈寨十年
永寧會五哥兵發傷龍野村寨二十七處親領兵殺退本年八月又親領大兵分軍前至關頭
刀立左所約領兵團營投清解圍十一年西寇叛助助數十又親領兵殺進永寧攻克阿
羅光立寨又建立天佑寨本年征觸身助助銀又建立香桂寨隨至刺他擒得者水殺買羅相
丈明原等一謀地方又建立卜瓦寶之寨本年刺他西席時結五所表圖香桂寨親領援急得
勝本年豪建撫肅其奏給

諸命一通授中憲大夫正事羅氏軍封為恭人本年建立照可均魯瓦寨又建立依那三巴丁佳

鐵鎖榜又修你耶昭恭城又建立已托卜習城編寇圍困永勝親領兵前去救援遂於解寨

皇帝詔云木旺性生忠孝才極武文賜勳崇善心守既遠值

王師西討不辭赤凡類供常事忠義中朝子護國忠侍年跡亂逆身戰於臨式九原增雅知陟降之

在天可世其曰卜賜親之長世字語 崇禎四年以援追將二品給

諸命一通授封通奉大夫布政使職銜

公生嘉靖三十年於萬曆二十四年丙申年

正妻阿室能官名羅氏寧侯蘭外羅知外女追

封為夫人 生三子長子木香繼父職



十六世考

知府木青字長生號喬岳又號鶴松永集職之先萬歷二十年雲龍
州力拒胡五井司提舉皇盛作耗奉征南將軍蔡國公及尚書明文親
領兵隨征有功蒙獎花牌表禮二十四年襲職管事二十五年順寧
大侯州逆叛撥助餉銀四千隨例進貢當給
詔命一通授中憲大夫正妻羅氏春封為恭人隨奉文親領土兵進征大
侯州逆卒於軍後以子進封給
詔命封通政大夫布政使司職銜
皇帝詔云有賈萬年師攜軀赴義者凡廟堂之所祀子也爾乃士節未
增之父不得於身則得於子而身殞則名益彰堂莫實式彰之服此休
光有子永懷等語公生隆慶三年己巳於萬歷二十五年丁酉年
正妻阿室加官名羅氏春係蘭州羅州女
詔封夫人 生一子木增能父職



PLATE 29. — THE NINETEENTH GENERATION. MU TSENG

木增 (木生白) 十九世考

He was also known as Mu Sheng-pai and was the most famous of the Na-khi rulers.

十九世考
知術木增字長卿號壽岳又生白萬歷二十六年休勒襲職本年有水阿丈刺毛坡殺制
待勝次年又平奢水好虎坂本司代表奏
欽准准襲職木牛曉領兵到也甸平服于哥瓦犯托發蘭音丰和殺降又剿黑可把禮購
得勝通詳三臺題敘通例進貢奏慶
聖旨欽賜及委舒縣察殺抄羅龍鐵等項并給
鎮邊勅一道經因達陽大營銀一萬解京戶部移咨兵部會題蒙
欽加三品服色又差人赴
關陳言十事朝廷覆以忠蓋
欽賜恩義牌坊吏仰戴題
欽陞雲南布政使司右參政天啓四年告政致事又給
誥命一道并進封祖父母本年又勅太工施差奏為母節七年
欽准建坊表揚常烈崇禎元年奉文領兵捕獲雲龍殺賊及助官及然甸蒙總督來題請
欽陞廣西布政使司右布政七年賜度捐修文廟於鄉飲酒禮學道致請後天啓十年候
復照司楊立吏仰覆題
欽陞四川布政使司右布政
勅諭一道着於省城建坊以風勵諸省土司本年創川百戶李永鎮弟兄嘯聚戡州
本府奉文擒獲無遺解院捐坊工用急无涼餉在南柳蒙
欽加太僕寺正卿隨奉
聖旨准太僕寺正卿晉階尋蒙閣放假加移司照會
公五於萬曆丁亥年八月十七日辛於隆武丙戌年八月朔日 正妻阿室子官名報
氏繁係寧州知州木生四子長為木懿繼父職



PLATE 30. — MEMORIAL GATE OF THE MU FAMILY, LI-CHIANG

麗江木氏石牌坊

This gate or *P'ai-fang* stands in front of the former official residence of the Na-khi chiefs. The inscription *Chung I* 忠義 Loyalty and Righteousness was presented — 1620 by Ming Emperor Shen Tsung (Wan-li) to Mu Tseng. In the upper panel are the two characters *Sheng-chi* 聖旨 meaning Imperial decree. The Yamen is now used as the district's public primary school.

心治自明
 惟此精舍
 我受其知
 工命多似
 其性其然

山
 分



知衛木樹子... 必哩... 清康熙... 聖旨... 大清... 康熙... 乾隆... 嘉慶... 道光... 咸豐... 同治... 光緒... 宣統...

PLATE 31. — THE TWENTIETH GENERATION. MU I

木懿二十世考



二十二世考

知府木梯字君章號治安靖之胞弟堽之生父也因請撫養堽為

應龍公素性沉靜惟知誦經拜佛世務人情度外置之而已

康熙十一年清故立應襲職不忍令父獨無恩崇援兄終弟及例

詳巡撫雲南都察院李具題頂龍襲准所請於本年承襲公

雖受職地方外事體皆堽辦理在任六載地方寧靜公得安其淡

漠之天至康熙十九年因患疾溫故堽還堽致仕

公生於崇禎元年正月十五日子時卒於康熙甲申年七月十五日亥

時卒後於康熙二十七年十月二十三朔治遇

章恩子堽具文詳請追野題頒得

詔命一道授中憲大夫世襲鹿江府知府母羅氏虔信蘭州土舍親家

詔封恭人生子張西木堽頂襲父職

PART II

THE HISTORY OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

"RECORDS OF LI-CHIANG"

The following brief historical account of the Li-chiang district has been taken mainly from the Records of the prefecture of Li-chiang (*Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* 麗江府志略), which is dated the 15th day of the third moon of the 8th year of Ch'ien-lung of the Great Ch'ing dynasty 大清記 (April 9th, 1743). It was written by the Li-chiang magistrate, Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣, whose literary name was Wei T'ing 未亭. He was a native of An-fu 安福 in Chiang-hsi 江西 (Kiangsi) and received the degree of Doctor in 1718. He took office as magistrate of Li-chiang in the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736). He was evidently still holding that office when he wrote the Records as he figures as the last magistrate in that work. A preface was written to it by the Inspector, or Hsün-ch'a 巡察 for the Western political Division or I-hsi Tao (迤西道), Chu Feng-ying 朱鳳英, dated the 1st day of the tenth moon of the 8th year of Ch'ien-lung (November 16th, 1743). Another preface was written by Chang Yün-sui 張允隨. He was a Chinese Bordered Yellow Bannerman, and previous to becoming Viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou, he held many minor positions, such as magistrate of Ch'u-hsiung, and provincial treasurer of Kuei-chou. These are the first and only records ever written of Li-chiang, both before and after it came under complete Chinese jurisdiction in 1723. There exist, as far as I am aware, only two copies of these records. One is in Li-chiang, in the joint possession of two families, the other is in the Zi-ka-wei (Shanghai) Catholic Mission Library (Shang-hai Hsü-chia-hui T'ien-chu t'ang-ts'ang-shu lou 上海徐家匯天主堂藏書樓). Through the kindness of the late Mr. Mu Shu 木樞, a descendant of the old Na-khi chiefs residing in Li-chiang, I obtained the loan of the record in Li-chiang for the purpose of having it copied. It is not in the Yün-nan Government Library, but the Peiping National Library and the Peiping Palace Library possess the second half of the work in manuscript form.¹

In the general introduction we meet with these pompous opening sentences: "The great enterprise of turning a frontier, barren and desolate, into a civilized country within a short space of time, can never be accomplished by one or two

¹ The records I found in Li-chiang were in very bad condition, they were printed on very thin paper and many characters had become illegible. I therefore had the Zi-ka-wei Li-chiang records copied, through the kindness of the late Rev. P. C. Baumert, Librarian. In the Department of Education in Li-chiang there is a manuscript copy of a Li-chiang hsien chih which has never been printed, it dates from the 10th year of Kuang-hsü (1884). I had it copied in 1941 but it was lost with the translations of over 700 Mo-so manuscripts, Tibetan books and other rare mss., in the Arabian Sea due to enemy action in the spring of 1944.

subjects only of our Imperial Court. In order to accomplish this arduous task, it is first necessary to appoint a reputable subject, well-experienced in governing, as magistrate of the chief city, one who, through careful management and deep study, will educate the people and correct their customs. Only then will our excellent culture of hundreds and thousands of generations, find root in that land, grow luxuriantly, and unfold its first brilliant flower."

It is said of the writer of the record, Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan, that in his leisure time he would call on old scholars of the neighborhood and try to collect from them all remaining manuscripts relating to the history of this district, also maps, and literature about its mountains and rivers, biographies, etc. This enabled him to write the first record of Li-chiang in two *chüan* 卷, an Upper 上 and a Lower 下, each consisting of six chapters. The printing blocks of these records were destroyed during the Mohammedan rebellion. It is very strange that no magistrate since 1736 had the time or interest to keep these records up to date, and issue a new edition, as Li-chiang is one of the most interesting regions and certainly the most beautiful of the entire province.

Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan says that Li-chiang had been part of the Chinese Empire since the days of the Yüan dynasty, and was at the time he wrote (1743) a safe rampart of the western frontier of Yün-nan. He tells us that the officials of the Yüan and Ming dynasties had adopted only a vague policy in ruling the district and did nothing to mitigate the pain and misery of its people. And, furthermore, "that it had been said that instead of naturalizing them (the Na-khi) into Chinese, those Chinese officials who governed them were themselves naturalized by the Barbarians." The record further states that "the people were employed by their magistrates to do transport work, open the jungle, and become soldiers to fight the bloodiest battles and to sacrifice their lives for the safety of our country. Not a single word of comfort and encouragement, nor any show of mercy or grace, had ever been delivered to these people by past officials." Thus reads Kuan's indictment of the officials who ruled Li-chiang. Kuan held his post under the Manchu regime, and therefore it is easy to see why he enlarges on the benefits the people derived from the Imperial Manchu rule, and why he says that they (the Na-khi) "are now of one mind and of one voice." And this was said to have been due "to the great influence, inspiration, benevolence and mercy exhibited by the Manchu dynasty for 60 years." This was written 20 years after the Chinese had taken over the administration of Li-chiang.

Their magistrate asks these questions: "Why did the Barbarians apply for naturalization in 1723? Why did they not remain in their peaceful barbarian state?" And he answers them with this phrase: "*They had been attracted by the Imperial Benevolence as animals are attracted by sweet grass.*" He closes his preface by stating that "he dare not say that he established anything for these people, but that the bright future and the hopes of Li-chiang will certainly depend upon future capable magistrates of *superior quality.*"

The viceroy in his preface states that "prior to the nationalization of Li-chiang, its native chieftains or local magistrates oppressed the people, they were violent, cruel, greedy and lustful." It is given as a fact that the chief had the right and privilege to deflower any bride, who could only return to her legal, newly-wed husband after having spent three days with the chief.

It was this latter violence which the people could bear the least and which caused them to apply for naturalization. The viceroy closes his preface by saying that "he is pleased to see that the Imperial Rule has spread its influence even to this farthest and *desolate* land, whose people are living a quiet life, and who lack nothing to satisfy their desires."

It is doubtful, however, if the pious hopes expressed by Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan have ever been fulfilled.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE REGION

The following pages are translations of the *Yen-ko* 沿革 (Successive changes) in the history of Li-chiang and the territory to which it belonged, according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 3, fol. 12b.

Between 298 and 262 B.C., we briefly recall, Chuang Ch'iao, a general of the State of Ch'u, invaded the region and established the Kingdom of Tien (see pp. 5-6 for details of this period).

In the fifth year of Han Wu Ti and the period of Yüan-kuang 元光 (130 B.C.) "the Emperor appointed Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如, the Chung-lang-chiang 中郎將 (Lieutenant-General), and the Fu-shih 副使 (Assistant Commissioner) Wang Jan-yü 王然子, and others to proceed with the Imperial Insignia to the Hsi-i (Western barbarians). Thereupon the different rulers of the Jan-mang 冉駹¹ and Yeh-yü 櫟榆² petitioned to become subjects of the

¹ The regions to the north of Tso-tu 柰都, on the western border of the State of Shu, comprised at the time of the Han dynasty a certain number of tribes, governed by their great chiefs. Among them the Jan-mang occupied first rank. Originally there were two tribes, the Jan and the Mang. The Jan-mang changed their residence occasionally in search of pasturage. They advanced up to the western frontier of the State of Shu. In the sixth year of Yüan-ting 元鼎 of the Emperor Wu Ti (111 B.C.) their territories were united into a *chiün* 郡 (a territorial division), which received the name of Wen-shan 汶山. — That is what the *Mou chou chih* says in ch. 1, fol. 7a.

The *Wen-chih chi lüeh* 汶志紀略, ch. 1, fol. 4b, says that in the Han dynasty their territory was called Mien-ssu hsien 綿虬縣, subject to Shu Chün 蜀郡. In the Eastern Han it became the Mien-ssu tao 道, while in the Shu Han it became the Wen-shan Chün 汶山郡. This is the territory of the present Mou hsien 茂縣 in the Min valley, six stages north of Ch'eng-tu, on the north-west border of Ssu-ch'uan. The Wen Mountain, which has given the name to the district, is north-west of Mou chou. On Chinese maps showing the domain of the Fighting States the mountain is situated on the extreme north-western border of the State of Shu, and south of the T'ao Ho 洮河 and the Min Shan 岷山 in the present The-wu or The-wo 鐵布 (The-bu) country 鐵布 (T'ieh-pu). In the Great Geography of China it is considered the Min Shan, but not the Ku Min Shan 古岷山 (Old Min Shan), which is apparently the one in Kansu. The *Wen chih chi lüeh* says that the Yü-kung 禹貢 Min-Shan 岷山 leads to the *Chiang* 江 (Yangtze), and the *Shih Chi* 史記 states that the Min Shan is the Wen Shan 汶山.

The Kan-su Min Shan is a distinct range for the most part composed of grey limestone only the eastern part is conglomerate. To the north of it flows the T'ao River 洮河 and to the south of it the Pai-shui Chiang 白水江 or Pai-lung Chiang 白龍江. Many lateral valleys debouch into these rivers north and south respectively, their sources being among the crags of the Min Shan. The valley of the Pai-shui Chiang is quite broad and fertile especially in its central part. Thus the Min Shan is a distinct and separate range. Of course the entire region is mountainous but the mountains are much lower both to the north and to the south of the Min Shan; they are mere hills in comparison, especially those to the north of it. In the extreme eastern end the limestone extends across the Pai-shui Chiang Valley and there the river flows in a narrow chasm. It is here that the Min Shan connects with the range to the south where two streams, the To-erh-ku Ho 多兒谷河 and the A-hsia-ku Ho 阿夏谷河 join the Pai-shui Chiang coming from the south and having their source in the range over which a pass called the Yang-pu Shan-k'ou 陽布山口 leads into Ssu-ch'uan; the pass is the border between Kan-su and Ssu-ch'uan. From here long valleys lead

Chinese Imperial rule. In the first year of Yüan-feng 元封 (110 B.C.), Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 [born about 145 B.C., died between 86-74], a Lang-chung 郎中 (Senior Secretary of a board), was commissioned to subjugate Pa Shu 巴蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan) in the west, and to seize the territory of Chiung 邛, Tso 作 and K'un-ming 昆明,³ namely the land of Li-chiang."

In the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 (109 B.C.) the generals Kuo Ch'ang

south as the Ta-shen kou 大深溝 which debouches into the Hei Ho 黑河 which has its source south of the range flanking the Pai-shui Chiang to the south. Here all existing maps are entirely incorrect both foreign and Chinese (see J. F. Rock, The Land of the Tebbus in *The Geographical Journal* (R. G. S. London) Vol. LXXXI, no. 2, 1933; p. 108-127, map on p. 112). There follows a maze of mountains with valleys, the main being that of the Hei Ho flowing south to where it is joined by the Pai Ho 白河, the latter having several sources all coming from the south or southeast and flowing north till they mingle with the Hei Ho and then flow east past Nan-p'ing, to Wen hsien 文縣. It is the range to the south of this stream, extending from west to east, to the north of Sung-pan and Lung-an, now called P'ing-wu 平武, which is the Min Shan of Ssu-ch'uan or the Wen Shan of the ancients. A pass known as the Kung-kang Ling 弓橫嶺 leads over it and it is here that the Min Chiang 岷江 or Min River has its source. V. K. Ting on map 27 gives the Min Shan to the south of the Pai-lung Chiang and for the actual Min Shan of Kan-su he gives the name Hsi-ch'ing Shan 西頃山?, both are incorrect. The Hsi-ch'ing Shan of the Tribute of Yü or Yü-kung is none other than the Tibetan Klu(i)-khra-bu-lag, pronounced Lu(i)-chhra-bu-lag which in the *Hsi-yü T'ung-wen chih* 西域圖志 is transcribed Lo-ch'a-p'u-la 羅察布拉. This mountain range which I visited and where the T'ao Ho, called in Tibetan Klu (Lu) Chhu, has its source (whence the range derives its name Lui-of the Lu River), is to the west of the Min Shan and is undoubtedly an extension of it, being also of limestone, but grassland separates the two ranges.

² Yeh-yü is the present Ta-li and was 10 li north-east of T'ai-ho hsien 太和縣. In ancient days, during the Han dynasty, Yeh-yü must have comprised a larger area, for Ma Tuan-lin speaks of the savages of Yeh-yü. The name Yeh-yü first appears during the period Yüan-feng in the second year of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.). The Yeh-yü were a tribe, as were the Ku-hui 故菴 who lived with them in the same territory. The land of the Ku-hui-i was to the east of Teng-chuan 鄧川, whose territory adjoined Yeh-yü. In the 18th year of Chien-wu 建武 (A.D. 42) of the Later Han dynasty the Yeh-yü savages rebelled and killed their chief official.

Under Han Wu Ti, in the sixth year of Yüan-ting (111 B.C.) there were founded 15 hsien (districts) in the Commandery of Yüeh-sui or Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. The first was Chiung-tu 邛都. This is the land south-east of the present district of Hsi-ch'ang 西昌縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. Ting-tso 定笮 was the present Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣, also in Ssu-ch'uan. Ta-tso 大笮 was to the north of Hui-li chou 會理州. Ku-fu 姑復 at that time was the land west of Li-chiang. — From the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 9, fol. 3b. The *Yen-yüan hsien chih*, ch. 2, fol. 6a, says Ta-tso is supposed to be the present Mien-ning hsien 冕寧縣. Actually it is the Mu-li 木裏 and Kua-pieh 瓜別 of Yen-yüan.

³ Chiung 邛 was east of Yüeh-sui 越巂, in the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 of Ssu-ch'uan, and the district of Tso 作 west of it, while K'un-ming 昆明 was the territory west of I chou 益州, the K'un-ming of to-day. Li-chiang at that time belonged to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡 and was called Ting-tso hsien 定笮縣. The Tso were a nomad tribe and so were the Chiung, Jan and Mang. They were also called Tso-tu 作都 and Chiung-tu 邛都. The *Shih Chi* 史記, ch. 123, fol. 8b, relates that Han Wu Ti sent several embassies over four different routes to the western regions of Shu 蜀. Each of the embassies covered one to two thousand li of territory. The northern embassy's route was closed by the Ti 氏 and Tso 作 tribes, and the southern embassy's route was closed by the Sui 僇 and K'un-ming 昆明 savages. In K'un-ming there existed neither a prince nor a chief, but they understood stealing and robbing, and murdered messengers from the Court of Han at every opportunity, so that no one could pass.

郭昌 and Wei Kuang 衛廣⁴ were ordered to subjugate the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷⁵ who had not yet been humiliated and brought into subjection. At that time the king of Tien 滇 (Yün-nan) returned to allegiance and was given a royal seal. His land was made into the State of I chou 益州郡.

At first Emperor Wu Ti sent messengers to Tien to seek a way to the Shen-tu Kuo 身毒國 (India — the region of the basin of the Sindh River or Indus). Ch'ang Ch'iang 常羌, King of Tien,⁶ asked the messengers: "Which kingdom is the greater, the kingdom of Han, or my kingdom?" When the messengers returned and reported this question to the Son of Heaven, he was angered at the disloyal words, and caused a lake to be dug in the south-west of the Imperial city of Ch'ang-an 長安⁷ in the same shape as the lake of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu lake) for the purpose of carrying on manœuvres on the water. In the meantime the kingdom of Tien was attacked and pacified, and the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越巂郡 was established, to which the hsien of Ting-tso 定作縣 (Li-chiang) belonged. A short time afterwards another envoy was sent, but communications with K'un-ming were again interrupted.

During that time, Jen-kuo 仁果,⁸ descendant of King Pai-fan 白飯 of T'ien-

⁴ These two generals were sent to war with K'un-ming because the latter repeatedly obstructed the road to the envoys of Han. They decapitated several ten thousand and made many prisoners, after which they left. In spite of this, the Han envoys, which later were again sent to K'un-ming, met with hostility in Yün-nan, and no Han embassy ever managed to pass through K'un-ming. — From the *Shih* 史記, ch. 123, fol. 12a.

⁵ There were three regional barbarian tribes: the Hsi-nan-i, Hsi-i, and Nan-i (South-western, Western, and Southern barbarians respectively). There is a statement in the *T'ien-yün li-nien-chuan*, ch. 2, fol. 8b, that the K'un-ming-i 昆明夷 are the present-day Mo-so and Li-su of Li-chiang, actually those outside of T'a-ch'eng 塔城, La-p'u 喇普 and other places west of the Yangtze, on the road to Tibet from Yün-nan, etc. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 400, fol. 5a, states that the Ting-tso hsien 定作縣 of the Han dynasty was afterwards captured by the Man-i. During the reign of Chou Wu Ti 周武帝 (561-578) there was established Ting-tso chen 鎮. In the second year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (619), the district or hsien of K'un-ming was established in the chen. The *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 1, fol. 2b states that there were three K'un-ming. The *Han Shu* says K'un-ming extended from T'ung-shih 桐師 north-east to Yeh-yü (Ta-li); this is the Sui 嵩 (Sui chou) K'un-ming and is the present Pao-shan 保山 — Yung-ping 永平 (south-west of Ta-li). In the second year of T'ang Wu-te (619) Sui chou established a K'un-ming hsien which is the Ssu-ch'uan Yen-yüan hsien of to-day. The third was one of three chou, viz.: Yin 殷, Tsung 總, Tun 敦州; but which one is now not known. None of these three K'un-ming, however, is identical with the present-day K'un-ming, the former Yün-nan fu.

⁶ As Wu Ti ruled from 140-87 B.C., Ch'ang Ch'iang must have been King of Tien during that period. In the Hsi-nan-i of the *Ch'ien-Han Shu* 前漢書, ch. 95, fol. 3b, the name of the King of Tien is given as Tang Ch'iang 當羌. The sending of these messengers to India via the Kingdom of Tien took place between the first and fourth year of Yüan-shou 元狩 (122-119 B.C.), for it states that after four years, that is, after 119 B.C., the road to K'un-ming 昆明 (Yün-nan) was closed.

⁷ Hsi-an fu on the Wei Shui 渭水 in the present province of Shensi.

⁸ As the King of Tien, Ch'ang Ch'iang, was entirely engrossed in the Buddhist religion and cared nothing for affairs of state, the peasants made Jen-kuo King of Pai-ngai. Jen-kuo was a descendant of Pai-fan Wang, whose name meant "white rice."

Jen-kuo now governed Pai-ngai (the present Hung-ngai 紅崖), and as both he and Ch'ang Ch'iang contended for the kingdom, Han Wu Ti afterwards established Jen-kuo as ruler of Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國. SAINSON, in his translation of the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, makes a mistake in translating the word *l'ui* as "to expel, chase"; *l'ui* in this instance means "to

chu Kuo 天竺國 (India), was elected by the masses as King of Tien. He established his capital at the city of Pai-ngai and called his kingdom Pai-tzu Kuo. Thus the hereditary office of the Chuang Ch'iao 莊騫 family came to an end.

In the 12th year of the period Yung-p'ing 永平 of Han Ming Ti 明帝 (A.D. 69), Liu-mao 柳貌, King of Ai-lao Kuo 哀牢國,⁹ submitted to the Imperial rule, and his kingdom became the Chün of Yung-ch'ang. The *Yung-ch'ang fu chih* (Records of the prefecture of Yung-ch'ang), ch. 9, fol. 1b, states that

elect, to promote." He translates the passage 仁果者爲衆所推立於白崖, by "Jen-kouo, chased by his people, s'était établi à Pai-yai," while it should read, "Jen-kuo, elected by his people, established himself at Pai-ai."

⁹ The founder of the Ai-lao Kingdom was Chiu-lung 九隆. The State of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, now called Pao-shan hsien 保山縣, between Ta-li and T'eng-yüeh 騰越 (the present T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝) was the ancient Ai-lao Kuo 哀牢國. Its name was derived from Ai-lao Shan 哀牢山. This mountain is 20 li east of Yung-ch'ang fu (Pao-shan hsien), and it is also called T'ien-ching Shan 天井山. The Barbarian, Meng-ch'ieh-tu 蒙伽獨, of the State of Ai-lao, went fishing in lake Chiu-lung 九龍池 (also called I-lo Ch'ih 易羅池) and was drowned. His wife, Sha-i 沙壹, who lived on the slopes of Ai-lao Shan, went to weep on the shore of the lake. She was struck by a floating log, felt affected, and after ten months gave birth to a son — and in all to ten sons.

Afterwards she conducted her ten sons to the shore of the lake. The log changed into a dragon and said to her, "Where are my sons?" Nine of the ten sons were frightened and ran away. The youngest remained, and the dragon licked its back. In the language of the Ai-lo man (savages), *chiu* 九 meant "back" and *lung* 隆 "to sit" or "to keep one's seat." It is from this that the family name Chiu-lung 九隆 originated.

Another tradition relates that the woman Sha-i was fishing for herself when she was struck by the log, etc.; and that at the foot of Ai-lao Shan there lived another woman, by the name of Nu-po-hsi 奴波息, who gave birth to ten daughters. These latter became the wives of the Chiu family brothers. They established ten clans, as follows: Tung 董, Hung 洪, Tuan 段, Shih 施, Ho 何, Wang 王, Chang 張, Yang 楊, Li 李 and Chao 趙. They multiplied, so that there were many grandchildren, and they all lived on the mountain of Chiu-lung 九龍山. This mountain is seven li south-west of Yung-ch'ang; according to the *Ta-ch'ing I-l'ung-chih*, it is west of Pao-shan hsien, 10 li outside the Lung-ch'üan men 龍泉門 (Dragon-spring gate).

The *Pei-cheng-chih* says Yüan-lung 元隆 instead of Chiu-lung, apparently a misprint.

After the death of Chiu-lung, his direct descendants inherited the sovereignty from generation to generation. Later some of the brothers separated and established smaller States. The subjects of these princes dwelled in valleys and ravines, protected by the mountains and streams. They later separated into 99 tribes, from whom originated the Nan-chao (Kingdom).

To return to Meng-ch'ieh-tu 蒙伽獨, who was also known as Meng-chü-tu 蒙宜篤: He was the fifth son of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙宜. The latter, who had nine sons, was himself the son of P'iao-chü-ti 驃宜低, also known as A-yü Wang (Asoka the Sorrowless), sovereign of the Indian kingdom of Magadha, and his wife Ch'ien-meng-k'uei 欠蒙虧.

Ti-meng-chü, as related, had nine sons; the first was Meng-chü-fu-lo 蒙宜附羅, who was the ancestor of the Sixteen Kingdoms. The second, Meng-chü-lien 蒙宜廉, was ancestor of the T'u-fan 吐蕃 (Tibetans); the third, Meng-chü-no 蒙宜諾, of the Han-jen 漢人 (Chinese); the fourth, Meng-chü-ch'ou 蒙宜酬, of the Tung man 東蠻 (Eastern savages). The fifth son, Meng-chü-tu 蒙宜篤, had 12 sons: seven were saints, five were sages, and they were the ancestors of the Meng family. The sixth son, Meng-chü-t'o 蒙宜託, was the ancestor of the Shih-tzu Kuo 獅子國 (Lion Kingdom) — Simha or Simhala (Ceylon). The seventh, Meng-chü-lin 蒙宜林, was the ancestor of Chiao-chih Kuo 交趾國 (the Hanoi region in Tonkin); the eighth, Meng-chü-sung 蒙宜頌, of Jen-kuo 仁果, ruler of Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國; the ninth, Meng-chü-ch'u 蒙宜閼, of the Pai-i 白夷 (White barbarians), that is, the Tai (Shan), who occupy the lower regions in southern Yün-nan, which begin at from 4,000 feet down.

"in the Hsia, Shang and Chou dynasties it was the land of Jung chou 戎州, and that outside this south-west border was Ai-lao Kuo, originally called An-lo Kuo 安樂國, and in the language of the barbarians incorrectly called Ai-lao." It says further that it was spoken of as Shen-tu Kuo 身毒國. It was the kingdom west of Shu 蜀, the present-day Pao-shan (Yung-ch'ang). [According to this, Pao-shan is identical with Shen-tu Kuo, always considered to be a name for India, and especially for the region of the basin of the Indus]. The Chiu-lung family lived there, and had no intercourse with China.

Under the Han dynasty. — In the first year of the period Yüan-shou 元狩 of Han Wu Ti (122 B.C.), the land of the south-western barbarians was opened, and the first connection was with Po-nan. The district of Pu-wei 不韋縣 was then established under the Chün of I chou 益州郡. In the first year of Yung-p'ing 永平 of the Later Han Ming Ti 明帝 (A.D. 58) the different barbarians revolted again. Thereupon the magistrate Chang Hsi 張翕 of I chou punished and pacified them. There was then established the Chün of Lan-ts'ang 瀾滄郡 and the two hsien of Po-nan 博南¹⁰ and Ai-lao 哀牢.¹¹ In the 12th year of the same emperor (69), in the spring, Ai-lao submitted and their territory became the Chün of Yung-ch'ang 永昌郡 to which were ceded six additional hsien from the western part of the Chün of I chou 益州.¹² The above-mentioned six hsien were called: Pu-wei 不韋, Sui-t'ang 碯唐, Pi-su 比蘇, Yeh-yü, Hsieh-lung 邪龍 and Yün-nan.¹³ At that time Li-chiang belonged to Hsieh-lung hsien 邪龍縣.

In the second year of the period Chien-ch'u 建初 of Han Chang Ti 章帝 (A.D. 77), Lui-lao 類牢, son of Liu-mao 柳貌 (ancient King of the Ai-lao), rebelled. Lu-ch'eng 鹵承, leader of the K'un-ming-man 昆明蠻 (K'un-ming

¹⁰⁻¹¹ Po-nan was east of Yung-p'ing hsien 永平縣. The latter was 170 li north-east of Pao-shan (Yung-ch'ang), between the latter city and Ta-li. Ai-lao hsien was south-west of Yung-ch'ang and was the ancient (Ngai) Ai-lao wang's kingdom. The *Ta-ch'ing I-tung-chih* (Great Geography of the Chinese Empire) says it is east of Yung-ch'ang (Pao-shan hsien 保山縣).

¹² The *Tien hsiao chi*, fol. 15b, states: "I chou is the Ch'eng-tu of Ssu-ch'uan. Wu-hou (Chu-ko Liang) said that I chou was very difficult to control. Han Wu Ti (in the 2nd year of Yüan-feng, 109 B.C.) took the kingdom of Tien 滇王國, and established I-chou Chün; this is the region between K'un-ming and Ta-li. The *Han chih* 漢志 states that I chou was divided and Yung-ch'ang Chün was established but was still part of I chou. The I chou of Tien (Yün-nan) was first, and the I chou of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) was established later by Liu Yen 劉焉 (about the 3rd year of Chung-p'ing 中平, A.D. 186), who was its governor. (Liu Yen was a native of Ching-ling 竟陵 and lived on the mountains of Yang-ch'eng 陽城山. He later moved from Mien-chu 綿竹 in Ssu-ch'uan to Ch'eng-tu whence he governed I chou). Later people only knew of the Ssu-ch'uan I chou, and did not know that the first or earlier I chou existed in Yün-nan."

¹³ The first hsien, Pu-wei, is identical with the present-day Pao-shan hsien 保山縣 (Yung-ch'ang), and was north-west of Yung-ch'ang fu. It ceased to exist in the Chin dynasty (A.D. 265). Sui-t'ang was situated in the present Yün-lung hsien 雲龍縣, and so was Pi-su hsien. The former was south of Yün-lung, and the latter was west of it. As regards Sui-t'ang, D'HERVEY DE SAINT-DENYS in his part translation of Ma Tuan-lin, *Wen-hsien t'ung kao* 馬端臨, 文獻通考, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine méridionaux*, p. 176, says, "Territoire actuel de Li-kiang," which is wrong. Yeh-yü was south-east of the present Ta li fu. Hsieh-lung was the ancient Pao-shan 寶山, the present La-pao 刺寶 (Na-khi, La-bpu) north of Li-chiang within the Yangtze loop. Yün-nan hsien is 100 li south-east of Feng-i 鳳儀 (Chao chou 趙州) and is the Hsiang-yün 祥雲 of to-day.

savages), recruited many soldiers and with the combined forces of many other States attacked Lui-lao at Po-nan 博南 in the Chün of Yung-ch'ang, where the latter was defeated and slain. The Emperor then conferred on Lu-ch'eng the honorary title of P'o-lu-p'ang-i hou 破虜旁邑候 (Marquis of the conquered frontier districts).

The *Yung-ch'ang fu chih* (ed. 1785), ch. 5, fol. 1b, states: "In the first year of the period Chien-ch'ü (76) Lui-lao, King of the Ai-lao, killed the magistrate. Wang Hsün 王尋, prefect of Yüeh-sui 越雋, recruited 20,000 soldiers from Yeh-yü (Ta-li) and Ai-lao. He attacked Po-nan and burnt all its houses. In the following year (77) the various barbarians competed with one another in attacking Lui-lao, who was there defeated and killed. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 31, fol. 5a, it says that Lu-ch'eng assisted Wang Hsün's recruiting of soldiers.

During the Three Kingdoms. — In the third year of Shu Han Chien-hsing 建興 (225) Yung-k'ai 雍闓, leader of I chou, rebelled and, slaying the T'ai-shou 太守 (prefect), submitted in person to the Imperial rule of the Kingdom of Wu 吳 (222-280), one of the Three Kingdoms 三國. On a southern expedition, Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮¹⁴ crossed the Lu Shui 瀘水¹⁵ with his troops from Yüeh-sui 越雋, marched to Pai-ngai, killed Yung-k'ai 雍闓 and captured Meng-huo 孟獲.¹⁶

The followers of Meng-huo besieged Li-hui 李恢 at K'un-ming. In the meantime Chu-ko Liang quartered his troops on the bank of the Nu Chiang 怒江 (Salween), on the border of Li-chiang district, and subjugated I chou, Yung-ch'ang, Tsang-ko and Yüeh-sui.¹⁷ I chou was then changed into Chien-ning Chün 建寧郡; the Commandery of Yün-nan 雲南郡 was also established, and both Chien-ning and Yung-ch'ang were placed under its administrative control.

¹⁴ Born in 181, died 234; a native of Shan-tung. He returned from this southern expedition to subdue the border tribes, even reaching Burma in January, 226, on the twelfth moon of the 3rd year of Chien-hsing.

¹⁵ The Lu Shui is the Ya-lung Chiang 鴨龍江, also known as Chin Chiang 金江; its ancient name is Jo Shui 若水. The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chih-yao*, ch. 66, fol. 22a, states that Chu-ko Liang crossed the Lu Shui in the fifth moon of the 3rd year of Chien-hsing (June-July, 225). The fifth moon commenced in that year on June 24th.

¹⁶ Yung-k'ai, the leader or chief of I chou (Yün-nan), and his cunning servants, killed Wang Ang 王昂, prefect of Chien-ning 建寧, and made his submission to the State of Wu 吳, one of the Three Kingdoms; thereupon the King of Wu, Sun Ch'üan 孫權, nominated Yung-k'ai prefect of Yung-ch'ang, but Chu-ko Liang, who was sent against the tribes of the south by the Shu Han 蜀漢, killed Yung-k'ai. Meng-huo was a prince who had rebelled against the State of Shu, and was in league with Yung-k'ai, hence Chu-ko Liang took him prisoner. It was this Meng-huo who had been captured seven times and released seven times by Chu-ko Liang. Overcome by the generosity of the latter, he led his wife, brother and relatives to the Marquis's tent and submitted, saying: "I and my son and son's sons will remember your grace, and will be loyal." Chu-ko Liang confirmed Meng and his family in their principedom.

¹⁷ I-chou Chün comprised parts of Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan; Yung-ch'ang Chün, the territory of the present Pao-shan hsien 保山縣; Tsang-ko comprised parts of Kuei-chou 貴州 and eastern Yün-nan, such as Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, Lo-p'ing 羅平, Lu-liang chow 陸涼州 and Chan-i chow 霑益州; Yüeh-sui, the region of the Chien-ch'ang valley 建昌 in Ssu-ch'uan. Li-chiang belonged to the latter and was then called Ting-tso hsien 定詐縣.

At that time Lung-yu-na 龍佑那, descendant of the 15th generation of Jen-kuo of the Pai-tzu Kingdom 白子國, was enabled to pacify and settle his people. Chu-ko Liang appointed him as their chief, gave him back his own land, conferred on him the surname Chang 張, and changed the name of Pai-tzu Kingdom to Chien-ning Kingdom 建寧國. A walled city was built and called the Chien-ning ch'eng 建寧城,¹⁸ and an iron pillar and stone monument were erected in memory of these military exploits.

During the five pre-T'ang dynasties.— In the seventh year of the period T'ai-shih 泰始 of Chin Wu Ti 武帝 (271), there was established Ning chou 寧州,¹⁹ to whose administrative control was allotted a part of the district of I chou which still existed and had its own administration.

In the fifth year of T'ai-k'ang of the same emperor (284) Ning chou was abolished and the district placed under I chou.

In the second year of T'ai-an 太安 of Emperor Hui Ti 惠帝 (303) Ning chou was re-established.

In the second year of Yung-chia 永嘉 of Emperor Huai Ti 懷帝 (308) I chou was renamed Chin-ning 晉寧, which name was retained by the Sung 宋 (420-478), Ch'i 齊 (479-501), Liang 梁 (502-556) and Ch'en dynasties 陳 紀 (557-589).

In the 15th year of K'ai-huang 開皇 (595) of the Sui 隋 dynasty, there was established the Tsung-kuan fu 總管府 (Civil government of I chou), which controlled Nan-ning chou 南寧州 from a distance without an official taking up his residence in that place.

Under the T'ang dynasty.— In the seventh year of the period Wu-te 武德 of T'ang Kao Tsu 高祖 (624), the Emperor ordered Wei Jen-shou 韋仁壽²⁰ to investigate the affairs of Nan-ning chou. He led 500 soldiers to the Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河²¹ to take charge and govern. He established eight chou and seven-

¹⁸ Chien-ning ch'eng is the present village of Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, two and a half stages south-east of Ta-li. In Mi-tu there is a temple called T'ieh-chu Kung 鐵柱宮 (Iron-pillar Temple), in which an iron column is preserved to this day. The pillar was cast by the Chien-ning King, Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求. A second one (the first having perished) was cast by Meng Shih-lung 蒙世隆, who called it T'ien-tsun chu 天尊柱 (Celestial venerable column).

¹⁹ In the Han dynasty it was the land of I chou, and in the Minor Han it was the Hsing-ku Chün 興古郡, extending north-east of the Lake of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu). Ning chou during the Chin dynasty extended south of the Yün-nan fu Lake and adjoined A-mi chou 阿迷州, the present K'ai-yüan 開遠. Later, during the Ming dynasty, it belonged to Lin-an fu 臨安府, the Chien-shui hsien 建水縣 of to-day.

²⁰ According to the *Chiu T'ang Shu* (Old T'ang History), he was a native of Wan-nien 萬年 of Yung chou 雍州. On account of his ability he was sent to examine the military governor of Nan-ning chou; he administered the affairs of state from Yüeh-sui. He was ordered once a year to this district to encourage and comfort the people.

²¹ The Hsi-erh Ho has its source 50 li south-west of Ho-ch'ing, on the mountain Hei-ni-shao Shan 黑泥哨山. This mountain is densely forested and a favorite haunt of robbers. It flows south-west and receives several affluents; thence flows south by Kuan-yin Shan 觀音山 and is there called the Kuan-yin Ho, also the Mi-tz'u Ho 彌茨河. It receives an affluent from Erh-yüan 洱源 called the Lang-k'ung Ho 浪穹河, which has its source in the Pa-ku Shan 罷谷山. The main branch of the Hsi-erh Ho comes, however, from the south-west of Ho-ch'ing. It flows into the Erh Hai 洱海 (Ta-li Lake) at Teng-ch'uan 鄧川. The dikes

teen hsien. The Li-chiang Records state that he established seven chou and fifteen hsien.

In the 23rd year of the period Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求 (*see* p. 9) abdicated in favor of the Meng family. The Meng family were originally of the Ai-lao barbarians, whose king was called Chiu-lung 九隆. A man by name Hsi-nu-lo 細奴邏, descendant of Chiu-lung (he was a descendant of the 36th generation of Meng-chü-tu 蒙苴篤, and fifth of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴 [*see* p. 9] who ruled from 649-764) was one day ploughing fields in the Wei Mountains 巍山.²² He had often been noticed by others as possessing strange and lucky signs. Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu, descendant of the 17th generation of King Lung-yu-na 龍佑那 of the Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國, abdicated in favor of Hsi-nu-lo, who was then created Ch'i Wang 奇王 Mysterious King and called his kingdom Ta Meng 大蒙 (Great Meng Kingdom).²³

The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that Hsi-nu-lo called himself Ch'i-chia Wang 奇嘉王 (the Mysterious and admirable King).

At the close of the Pai Kuo 白國 (White Kingdom) there were six *ch'ü-shuai* 渠帥 (leaders), who called themselves Liu chao 六詔 (Six kings), *chao* meaning king. They were all the descendants of Chiu-lung, founder of Ai-lao Kuo. Hsi-nu-lo, who lived in Meng-shih ch'uan 蒙氏川 (the present Meng-hua, one and a half stages south of Ta-li), called his realm the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔. The others were the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Yüeh-hsi is the present Li-chiang hsien); the Lang-k'ung chao 浪穹詔 (Lang-ch'üung [but read *k'ung* in Yün-nan], the present Erh-yüan, one and a half stages north of Ta-li); the Teng-t'an chao 鄧賧詔 (Teng-t'an, the present Teng-ch'uan hsien 鄧川縣, 90 li north of Ta-li); the Shih-lang chao 施浪詔 (the present [banks] of the Mi-tz'u Ho 瀾茨河, the former Lang-k'ung in the district of Erh-yüan); and the Meng-sui chao 蒙嵩詔 (the present Chien-ch'ang 建昌 [Hsi-ch'ang 西昌] in Ssu-ch'uan and north of K'un-ming).

Only the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔, which lay to the south of the other five kingdoms, was therefore called the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom).

In the 26th year of the period K'ai-yüan 開元 of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (738), Wang Yü 王昱, the Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 (Imperial commissioner) of Chien-nan 劍南,²⁴ received bribes from P'i-lo-ko 皮羅閣²⁵ requesting that he

through which the stream flows across the Teng-ch'uan plain were begun during the reign of Ming Cheng-t'ung (1436-1449). They burst ten times between 1691-1775.

²² The present-day Wei-pao Shan 巍寶山, situated 20 li south of Meng-hua 蒙化 (one stage south of Hsia-kuan 下關).

²³ The Ta-meng Kuo (Nan-chao Kingdom) existed from 649-902. There were 13 generations of rulers over a period of 255 years.

²⁴ The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* says Chien-ch'uan 劍川; Chien-nan is correct. It was the ancient State of Shu and during the T'ang dynasty was called Chien-nan. The Chien-nan Chieh-tu-shih resided in Ch'eng-tu fu 成都府 and controlled 39,000 troops and 2,000 cavalry. In the west he attacked the T'u-fan and in the south he governed the Man (savages).

²⁵ P'i-lo-ko was the great-grandson of Hsi-nu-lo, founder of the Nan-chao Kingdom. He was the son of Lo-sheng-yen 邏盛炎 and was 31 years of age when he ascended the throne of Meng-she chao in the 16th year of K'ai-yüan (728). The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that the above mentioned event, that is, the combining of the five other kingdoms, or *chao*, took

petition the Emperor on his behalf to permit the combining of the other five chao with his into one kingdom. The Emperor sanctioned his petition. At that time Po-ch'ung 波衝,²⁶ King of Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Li-chiang), was murdered by Chang Hsün-ch'iu 張尋求, a violent chieftain. The land of the five kingdoms combined was then given to the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the 14th year of the period Ta-li 大曆 of Emperor Tai Tsung 代宗 (779), Ko-lo-feng²⁷ died and his grandson, I-mou-hsün, succeeded to the throne. He allied himself with the T'u-fan 吐蕃 (Tibetans) and invaded China. The Emperor then sent Li Sheng 李晟,²⁸ the Shen-ts'e-tu chiang 神策都將 (General of divine strategy), to defeat him.

In the first year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元 of Emperor Te Tsung 德宗 (784), I-mou-hsün changed the name of his kingdom to Ta-li Kuo 大理國 (this is the first appearance of the name Ta-li; see Note 34, p. 32). He usurped the Imperial right to confer the titles of Wu-yo 五嶽 (the five sacred mountains) and Ssu-tu 四瀆 (the four rivers of China) on his own five mountains and four rivers respectively. He thus conferred on the Tien-ts'ang Shan 點蒼山 (which extends from north to south, west of Ta-li and its lake), the title of Chung-yo 中嶽 (Central Yo); on the Chiang-yün-lu Shan 絳雲麓山, at the border of Tung-ch'uan 東川 in north-eastern Yün-nan, the title of Tung-yo 東嶽 (Eastern Yo); on the Meng-lo Shan 蒙樂山, better known as Wu-liang Shan 無量山 on the borders of Yin-sheng-pu 銀生部,²⁹ the title of Nan-yo 南嶽 (Southern Yo); on the Kao-li-kung Shan 高黎共山,³⁰ on the borders of Yung-ch'ang 永昌 and T'eng-yüeh 騰越, the title of Hsi-yo 西嶽 (Western Yo); on Yü-

place in the 18th year of K'ai-yüan (730 instead of 728). P'i-lo-ko then made himself King of the Nan-chao (Nan-chao Wang 南詔王). The *T'ien-hsi* under chapter *T'ien-ku* 典故 (Traditions), fol. 35a, states that at the end of the K'ai-yüan period (about 741) P'i-lo-ko pursued the Ho-man 河蠻 (River savages) and captured T'ai-ho ch'eng 太和城 (under Ho-man must be understood the dwellers along the shores of the Hsi-erh Ho or Ta-li Lake). He bribed the Chien-nan Chieh-tu-shih, Wang Yü, to petition the Emperor on his behalf to unite the Liu chao into one kingdom. The date given here does not agree with that of the previously mentioned work.

²⁶ Po-ch'ung was the founder of Yüeh-hsi chao, which was also called Mo-so chao 麼些詔 (Mo-so Kingdom). He resided at Sui chou 嵩州, the present Li-chiang. The *T'ien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 4, fol. 17b, states that the wife of Po-ch'ung was very beautiful and that Chang Hsün-ch'iu had immoral intercourse with her. It was on that account that he killed her husband, Po-ch'ung. The Nan-chao King reported this to Wang Yü, who came to Yao chou 姚州 (this was in the southernmost part of Chien-nan, adjoining the Nan-chao Kingdom). They succeeded by a ruse in getting Chang Hsün-ch'iu to come to Yao chou, where they killed him. The land of Mo-so chao was then given to Nan-chao.

²⁷ Ko-lo-feng was the son of P'i-lo-ko. He ascended the throne of Nan-chao at the age of 36, in the seventh year of T'ien-pao 天寶 (748). I-mou-hsün was 24 years of age when he ascended the throne of Nan-chao in 778, one year prior to his grandfather's demise. He transferred his capital to Shih-ch'eng 史城 (the latter is 40 li north of Ta-li and is the present-day Hsi-chou 喜洲, inhabited by Min-chia). It was also known as Ta-li ch'eng 大懿城.

²⁸ Li Sheng was a native of Lin-t'ao 臨洮, Kan-su. He was 18 years of age when he joined the army and six Chinese feet tall. He was fearless and courageous.

²⁹ The present-day Ching-tung 景東 on the Ta Ho 大河 (Chung-ch'uan Ho 中川河).

³⁰ On the Chinese map it is called the Kao-li-kung Shan 高黎貢山 and also Mo-p'an Shan 麼盤山, and is 120 li east of T'eng-ch'ung. It extends from north to south, west of the Salween River.

lung Shan 玉龍山 (Jade dragon Mountain, or Li-chiang snow range), he conferred the title of Pei-yo 北嶽 (Northern Yo). On each of the five mountains he built a temple to the mountain-spirit, and a San-huang miao 三皇廟 (Temple to the three emperors — the Three primordial sovereigns: Fu Hsi 伏羲, Shen Nung 神農 and Huang Ti 黃帝). Sacrifices were offered to them on the respective festivals of the four seasons (See also Part III, Ch. II, The Jade dragon Mountain, etc., p. 187-191). On the four great rivers of Yün-nan, the Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 (Mekong), the Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 (River of golden sand or Yangtze), the Hei-hui Chiang 黑惠江, better known as Yang-pi Chiang 漾濞江, which is a tributary of the Mekong and has its source south-west of Li-chiang, and the Lu Chiang 潞江 (Salween), he bestowed the title of the Ssu Tu 四瀆 (Four great rivers).

In the ninth year of the period Cheng-yüan 貞元 (793) I-mou-hsün sent messengers to the Emperor applying for permission to make a surprise attack on the T'u-fan 吐蕃 in concert with Wei Kao 韋皋.³¹ Thereupon he was appointed King of Yün-nan by Imperial decree. In the 10th year (794) Wei Kao employed I-mou-hsün's troops to attack the Tibetans and thoroughly defeated them. He cut the Iron Bridge, captured sixteen cities, and made prisoner five Tibetan kings whom he presented as captives of war at the Imperial Court. (The T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋, Iron Bridge, is in the Chü-tien 巨甸 area the former Chü-chin chou 巨津州 in the Li-chiang district.)

Meanwhile the T'u-fan tried to enlist soldiers in the Nan-chao Kingdom. I-mou-hsün deceived them by saying he was weak and his army numbered few, and so he could only send 5,000 soldiers to comply with their request. At the same time he secretly led several ten thousand soldiers, following at the heels of the Tibetans. He routed them completely at Shen-ch'uan 神川³² (the territory of Li-chiang).

In the 15th year of the Cheng-yüan period (799) Wei Kao and the Nan-chao Kingdom again defeated the T'u-fan at the Iron Bridge.

In the second year of the period T'ai-ho 太和 (828), Wang Tso-tien 王嵯巖,³³

³¹ Wei Kao was a native of Wan-nien hsien 萬年縣 in the prefecture of Ching-chao (fu) 京兆府, the present Hsi-an in Shensi. Wan-nien hsien was established in the fu of Ch'ang-an (Hsi-an) in the 2nd year of Ming Ti of the northern Chou dynasty (A.D. 558). He was born in 745, and according to the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*, ch. 236, fol. 25a, he died in the eighth moon *kuei-ch'ou* 癸丑 of the 1st year of Shun Tsung period Yung-cheng 順宗永貞 (September 13th, 805). O. FRANKE in his *Geschichte des Chin. Reich.* III: 397, says he died in 806, in the year in which Shun Tsung started his reign. Now Shun Tsung ascended the throne on the day *ping-shen* 丙申, that is the 26th of the first moon of the year *i-yu* 乙酉 (February 28th, 805). He adopted Yung-cheng as his reign title on the day *hsin-ch'ou* 辛丑 of the eighth moon (September 1st, 805), he abdicated the same month, and died on the day *chia-shen* 甲申, of the first moon of the first year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (February 11th, 806). Wei Kao ruled Ssu-ch'uan for 21 years and was constantly at war with the Tibetans.

³² According to the *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 22a, the part north of Chü-chin chou 巨津州 (the present region of Chü-tien 巨甸) of the Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze) was also called Shen-ch'uan 神川. This name was only applied to that territory and stretch of the river during the T'ang dynasty.

³³ Wang Tso-tien was a Chieh-tu-shih (Imperial commissioner) of Lung-tung 弄棟. This latter place was north of Yao chou where there was an ancient walled town; during the Han dynasty it was the district of Lung-tung 弄棟縣. It was inhabited by Man (savages). I-mou-hsün pacified the region. Wang Tso-tien received many valuable gifts from the

a minister of the Nan-chao Kingdom, plundered and invaded the three chou cities, as Chiung 邛 (west of Ch'eng-tu 成都 in Ssu-ch'uan); Jung 戎 (in the Chien-nan 劍南 district of Ssu-ch'uan during the T'ang dynasty, and the present-day I-pin 宜賓 [Hsü chou 叙州]); and Sui 崑 (also in the ancient Chien-nan district of Ssu-ch'uan, the present-day Yüeh-sui 越崑 in the Chien-ch'ang 建昌 valley).

He also plundered Ch'eng-tu and entered its territory.

In the fourth year of T'ai-ho (830), Li Te-yü 李德裕³⁴ was appointed Hsi-ch'uan Chieh-tu-shih 西川節度使 (Imperial commissioner) of Hsi-ch'uan.³⁵ He constructed the city walls of Chang-i 仗義城, Yü-wu 禦侮城 and Jo-yüan 柔遠, which were considered important strategical points. He restored the Chiung-lai Pass 邛崃關 (this pass is 80 li west of the hsien city of Jung-ching 榮經縣 in the district of Ya chou in Ssu-ch'uan; it was the dividing line between the Chiung 邛 and Tso 笮 tribes) which he returned to the control of Sui chou 崑州. He also governed the affairs of T'ai-teng 臺登 (the territory of Li-chiang). Li-chiang belonged to the same territory but was, of course, not identical with T'ai-teng hsien. The latter was in the district of Sui chou and was part of the present day Mien-ning hsien 冕寧縣, north of Ning-yüan fu (Hsi-ch'ang 西昌).

In the second year of the period T'ien-fu 天復, of T'ang Chao Tsung 昭宗 (902) Cheng Mai-ssu 鄭買嗣,³⁶ the Ch'ing-p'ing kuan 清平官 (Incorruptible tranquilizing official), of the Nan-chao Kingdom, killed his master Shun-hua-chen 舜化真 and, destroying the Meng family, usurped the throne and called his kingdom the Ta-ch'ang-ho Kuo 大長和國 (Great excelling peaceful Kingdom).

In the first year of the period T'ien-ch'eng 天成 of T'ang Ming Tsung 明宗 (926), Yang Kan-cheng 楊干貞, the Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 of Tung-ch'uan 東川,³⁷ killed Cheng Lung-t'an 鄭隆宣, grandson of Cheng Mai-ssu, and

Nan-chao King, Ch'üan-li-sheng 勸利晟, who even accorded him his own family name Meng, and invested him with the title of T'ai-yung 太容. This, in the language of the barbarians, meant T'ai-hsiung 太兄 (Great or beloved elder brother). This latter explanation can be found in the *T'ien-yün li-nien chuan* 滇雲歷年傳, ch. 4, fol. 40b. In the same work it states, fol. 40a, that Wang Tso-tien killed Ch'üan-lung-sheng 勸龍晟, King of Nan-chao and elder brother of Ch'üan-li-sheng, who succeeded him on the throne. The former was licentious and oppressed the people, and it was on account of his tyranny that his minister killed him. In 819 he was disgraced by the king, but later pardoned for all his crimes. — *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, Vol. I, fol. 20b.

³⁴ Li Te-yü was a native of Chao-chün 趙郡 and for a time was governor of the modern Ch'eng-tu, Ssu-ch'uan. He was also president of the Board of War, but later was impeached and banished to Ai chou 崖州 (Yai chou, in Kuang-tung), where he died (GILES).

³⁵ The Hsi-ch'uan Chieh-tu-shih was also called the Chien-nan Hsi-ch'uan 劍南西川, etc.; he governed Ch'eng-tu fu, and many chou cities, as, for example, Jung chou, Chiung chou 邛州, Sui chou 崑州, Tieh chou 疊州 (south of the Kan-su Min Shan 岷山 in the valley of the Pai-shui Chiang 白水江, the present T'ieh-pu 鐵布 country), and others.

³⁶ He was first a minister of the Nan-chao Kingdom, and ascended the throne at the age of 42. He ruled from 902 to 910. His reign title was An-kuo 安國 (Peaceful kingdom) and his capital Ta-li.

Shun-hua-chen was the last Nan-chao King of the Meng family. He ascended the throne at the age of 21, and ruled from 897 to 902.

³⁷ The latter comprised parts of Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan; the present Hui-tse 會澤 (Tung-ch'uan) in north-east Yün-nan was the southern part of the Tung-ch'uan of the T'ang dynasty.

made his Imperial attendant, Chao Shan-cheng 趙善政, King of Nan-chao. He changed the dynastic title to Ta T'ien-hsing 大天興; it was also called Hsing-yüan Kuo 興源國. The dynasty lasted only one year.

In the third year of T'ien-ch'eng (928) Yang Kan-cheng deposed Chao Shan-cheng and made himself King of Nan-chao, and called his dynasty and kingdom Ta I-ning, or Ta I-ning Kuo 大義寧國. This dynasty lasted until 937. In 929 he called his reign Hsing-sheng 興聖 and later Ta-ming 大明.

Under the Later Chin dynasty. — In the first year of the period of T'ien-fu 天福 of Hou Chin Kao Tsu 高祖 (936), Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平, the Chieh-tu-shih of T'ung-hai 通海 (this prefecture is 150 li north of Lin-an fu 臨安府, the present-day Chien-shui 建水 of evil repute, and east-south-east of K'un-ming), commenced military operations to punish Yang Kan-cheng. In the third year (938), Tuan Ssu-p'ing³⁸ made himself King of Nan-chao and changed the dynastic title to Ta-li 大理.

Under the Sung dynasty. — In the third year of the period Ch'ien-te 乾德 of the Sung Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖 (965), Wang Ch'üan-pin 王全斌³⁹ offered a map of Yün-nan to the Emperor and requested his orders to conquer Yün-nan, but in vain.

After Wang Ch'üan-pin had subdued Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) he wished to use his military prestige to conquer Yün-nan, therefore he again offered the map to the Emperor. However, T'ai Tsu, who well understood the source of the trouble suffered by the T'ang dynasty, made a mark with his jade axe on the

³⁸ In the *T'ien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 4, fol. 64a, it states that Tuan Ssu-p'ing punished Yang Kan-cheng. The latter was defeated and made his way to Yung-ch'ang 永昌 (between Ta-li and T'eng-yüeh, four stages north-east of the latter) and committed suicide by strangulation. It further states that he was a tyrant, and oppressed the people, and was thus disliked by Chinese and aborigines. It was for this reason that Tuan Ssu-p'ing punished him. Yang Kan-cheng sent his five younger brothers to attack Tuan, but they were unsuccessful.

Strange to say, the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, Vol. 1, fol. 32b, records that Tuan Ssu-p'ing, after he became king, forgave Yang Kan-cheng and that the latter became a Buddhist monk.

Tuan Ssu-ping ruled until 944. He was 44 years old when he made himself king. His reign title was Wen-te 文德 and his capital Ta-li fu. His posthumous title was T'ai-tsu sheng-shen Wen-wu Huang-ti 太祖聖神文武皇帝. The Ta-li dynasty had 14 rulers and lasted until 1094.

The ancestors of Tuan Ssu-p'ing, according to the Nan-chao History, were natives of Wu-wei 武威郡, the region now forming the prefectural city of Liang chou 涼州 in north-west Kan-su. The *Pei-cheng-chih* says that his ancestors came from Kuang-wei 廣威, south-east of Hsi-ning 西寧 in Kan-su, which belonged to the Chün of Wu-wei. [Wu-wei hsien is only 60 li from the Mongolian border.] Since the revolution Liang chou has again been changed to Wu-wei hsien.

For generations these ancestors were generals of the Meng family of the Nan-chao Kingdom. Tuan Ssu-p'ing was the sixth generation after Tuan Chien-wei 段儉魏, who defeated the troops of the T'ang dynasty in 754 near the Ta-li Lake and the Tien-ts'ang Mountains 點蒼山.

³⁹ Wang Ch'üan-pin, according to the *Sung Shih* (Sung Dynastic History), ch. 255, fol. 13b, was a native of T'ai-yüan hsien 太原縣 in Ping chou 并州 (T'ai-yüan, Shan-hsi 山西 province). He was a military commander who conquered Shu 蜀 after which he intended to take Yün-nan. The Emperor admonished him saying: "The barbarians will obey us without the use of soldiers and without conquering them."

map, where the Ta-tu River 大渡河⁴⁰ was shown, saying: "Beyond this point the land is no longer my territory." Hence Yün-nan became detached from the Chinese Empire and the Tuan family usurped the throne of Nan-chao for 300 years. During that time Li-chiang had been occupied by Ts'u-ts'u 酷酷,⁴¹ leader of the Mo-so-man (Na-khi). The chief who ruled about that time (965) among the Mo-so is given as O-chün Mou-chü 俄均牟具.

Under the Yüan (Mongols). — In the fourth year of the period of Shun-yü 淳祐 of Sung Li Tsung 理宗 (1244), the Mongolian troops attacked Ling Kuan 靈關 (Ling Pass).⁴² In the battle, Kao Ho 高禾,⁴³ a Ta-li 大理 general, was killed. After the battle the Mongolian troops withdrew.

In the 12th year of Shun-yü (1252), the Mongols sent troops under Kublai Khan (Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈), the T'ai Ti 太弟 (Imperial younger brother), to attack Ta-li 大理 (13 stages west of K'un-ming). He led his troops from Lin-t'ao 臨洮⁴⁴ across T'u-fan 吐蕃 country to Li-chiang. As the Mongols respected the customs of the people wherever they went, the people turned to allegiance in all sincerity. They then established the civil office of Ch'a-han-chang 茶罕章管民官⁴⁵ in Li-chiang.

In the eighth year of Chih-yüan 至元 of Yüan Shih Tsu 世祖 (Kublai Khan)

⁴⁰ The Ta-tu Ho, with the Ya Ho 雅河, is an affluent of the Min River 岷江. Their confluence is at Chia-ting 嘉定 in Ssu-ch'uan. The source of the Ta-tu Ho is to the north-west of Li-fan t'ing 理番廳 in the Ch'iang 羌 tribal lands of north-west Ssu-ch'uan. It receives affluents from the south-west, such as the Ta-chien-lu Stream. On foreign maps it appears as the T'ung Ho 通河.

⁴¹ In the First Chronicle of the Mu family, the name Ts'u-ts'u appears as Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u. Muan-zä was the name of Ts'u-ts'u's father (see pp. 80-81). According to the First Mu Chronicle, however, Ts'u-ts'u lived 12 generations before Ch'iu-yang 秋陽 who, between 674-675, became Governor of Li-chiang.

⁴² The Ling Pass is north-north-west of Ya chou in the prefecture of Lu-shan hsien 蘆山縣, and 60 li distant from the hsien city. In the Han dynasty it belonged to Yüeh-sui 越巂, to which Li-chiang was subject.

⁴³ Kao Ho was a general of the Nan-chao army under Hsiang-hsing 祥興, King of the Hou Ta-li Kuo 後大理國 (Nan-chao Kingdom) who ruled from 1238-1251. He sent Kao Ho to fight the Mongols; in the battle the latter lost his life.

⁴⁴ Lin-t'ao was in Kan-su, and identical with Ti-tao 狄道 which lately was renamed Lin-t'ao 臨洮.

⁴⁵ Ch'a-han-chang is the Chinese transcription of the Mongol Chagh'an jang and means White Jang or Mo-so. The first word *Chagh'an* is Mongol, the second *Jang* is Tibetan and is their term for the Mo-so.

Kowalewski in his *Dictionnaire Mongol-Russe-Français* Vol. III: 2081a, under *tsaghan* states that the word means white, and that it is also a mourning dress or a white dress, also a white hemp sash or girdle. The Na-khi to this day still wear trousers and coats of white hemp, also white girdles of the same material (homespun). It may be that on account of their dress the Mongols called them Chagh'an jang or White Jang. Pelliot suggests that the word Jang is perhaps identical with the Chinese Ts'uan of which there were two tribes the White and Black, the former lived to the west of Yün-nan fu and were not classed as Lo-lo, the latter lived in the region of Yün-nan fu and to the east of it; these the Mongols called Kara jang and were classed by the Chinese as Lo-lo. However both the Lo-lo and Mo-so (Na-khi) are called Wu-man or Black barbarians by the Chinese.

The word *jang* is often pronounced *jung* and may have some relation to the Chinese Jung 戎 under which term the wild tribes of the west were understood. In the *Dictionnaire tibétain-latin-français par les Missionnaires Catholiques du Thibet*, p. 351, it states that the hJangs, or Jang as the word is pronounced, are a tribe living in the north-western part of the province

(1271), the office of Ch'a-han-chang was changed into that of Li-chiang Hsüan-wei-ssu 麗江宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of Li-chiang).

In the 13th year of the same reign (1276) the office was changed to the Chün-min Tsung-kuan fu 軍民總管府 (Military and civil government of Li-chiang Lu — Li-chiang Circuit).

In the 22nd year of the same reign (1285) the magistracy of the fu-city was abolished, and there was established the office of the Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 (a title given to chieftains of the Western Frontier), which controlled 1,000 Mo-so households (麼些千戶), and ruled over one fu-city, namely Pei-sheng 北勝 (the present-day Yung-sheng 永勝, recently known as Yung-pei 永北 and four stages east of Li-chiang), and seven chou-cities, namely: Shun chou 順州 (east of Li-chiang and also known as Niu-t'an 牛賤); Lang-ch'ü 浪蕩 (east of Li-chiang district between Yung-ning and Yung-sheng [Yung-pei]); Yung-ning 永寧, the ancient name of which was Lou-t'ou t'an 樓頭賤 (north of Lang-ch'ü and south of Mu-li 木裏, Hsi-k'ang, separated from the Li-chiang district by the Yangtze); T'ung-an 通安 (east of Li-chiang city on the eastern part of the Li-chiang plain, now obsolete); Lan chou 蘭州 (west of Chien-ch'uan 劍川 and east of the Mekong); Chü-chin 巨津 (north-west of Li-chiang, on the Yangtze, north of Shih-ku 石鼓 and near the present Chü-tien 巨甸, but now obsolete); and Pao-shan 寶山 (the present-day La-pao 刺寶, within the Yangtze loop, north of Li-chiang). Also one hsien-city, namely Lin-hsi 臨西, west of the ancient Chü-chin chou, to which it belonged; west of Lin-hsi was the land of the T'u-fan. Later the city belonged to Wei-hsi; it was 460 li west of Li-chiang and was set up in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277), but is now obsolete.

Under the Ming dynasty. — In the autumn of the 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381), Fu Yu-te 傅友德,⁴⁶ marquis of Ying-ch'uan 穎川, was appointed by the Emperor as Cheng-nan Chiang-chün 征南將軍 (General of the Southern Expedition); Lan Yü 藍玉, marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, and Mu Ying 沐英, marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平, were both appointed as Fu-tsung-ping 副總兵 (Vice-Generals) to attack Yün-nan.

In the spring of the 15th year (1382), Ta li was conquered, and the troops

of Yün-nan, whose principal city is Sa-tham (Li-chiang). Their Chinese name is Mo-so and they call themselves Nashi (Na-khi). Sa-tham is the Tibetan name of Li-chiang and is also the name of a king with whom the famous Ge-sar fought battles. The former was the King of Jang — written in Tibetan, Byang (The North). It would seem that *byang* (read *jang*) is in all probability the correct rendering and explanation of the word. (See p. 192).

Since this was penned I have learned from Mr. Rolf Stein who is occupied with the translating of Ge-sar legends, that he found in a manuscript of the Ge-sar saga the King Sa-tham styled as "Byang Sa-tham rgyal-po," i.e. Sa-tham King of the North.

⁴⁶ Fu Yu-te's ancestors were natives of Su chou 宿州 in An-hui 安徽. Later they settled in Tang-shan 碭山 in Chiang-su 江蘇 (Kiangsu). Assisted by Mu Ying, who was also a native of An-hui and who in 1384 became governor of Yün-nan, and Lan Yü, another An-hui man, Fu Yu-te attacked Yün-nan with 300,000 infantry and cavalry. He came by way of Kuei-chou 貴州 where the Miao 苗 tribes made their submission. A great battle was fought at Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 and on the Pai-shih Chiang 白石江 which flows to the north of Ch'ü-ching. All the barbarians of Tung-ch'uan 東川 and Wu-meng 烏蒙, the present Chao-t'ung 昭通, submitted. Over 30,000 Wu-sa 烏撒, tribespeople who lived in the west-north-west of Kuei-chou and who had revolted, were decapitated. Wu-sa was a district adjoining Wu-meng (Chao-t'ung) and its inhabitants belonged to the Mang tribe 芒部.

of the victors passing by the different roads of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang, broke through Shih-men Kuan 石門關 (Stone gate Pass).⁴⁷

In the same year the magistracy of the fu-city of Li-chiang was established, and as A-te 阿得 was the first to submit to the conquerors he was appointed magistrate and was given the surname Mu 木.⁴⁸ Pei-sheng fu 北勝府, the present-day Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei), was demoted to a chou-city 州, and Yung-ning, Lang-ch'ü 浪蕓, Lan chou and Shun chou 順州 were placed under the fu city of Ho-ch'ing (south of Li-chiang, 80 li distant).

In the 17th year (1384), Lan chou was again brought under the control of Li-chiang fu; thus the latter controlled, in all, four chou-cities, the aforesaid Lan chou, T'ung-an 通安, Chü-chin 巨津, and Pao-shan 寶山, also one magistracy or hsien city, namely Lin-hsi.

In the 31st year of Hung-wu (1398), Li-chiang fu's name was changed to Li-chiang Chün-min fu 麗江軍民府 (Military and civil government of Li-chiang).

Under the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty. — In the 16th year of Shun-chih 順治 of the Ch'ing dynasty (1659), the territory of Yün-nan was annexed to the Chinese Empire. The magistracies of the four chou-cities of T'ung-an, Pao-shan, Lan chou and Chü-chin were abolished. Only one hsien-city, namely Lin-hsi, remained under the fu-city of Li-chiang.

In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), A-chih-li 阿知立, A-chung-chü 阿仲菹, Ho Jih-chia 和日嘉 and A-pao-t'a 阿寶他⁴⁹ of the Mo-so tribe of Li-chiang city, went to the provincial capital and applied for the appointment of Chinese officials. Kao Ch'i-cho 高其倬, Viceroy of Yün-nan, and Yang Ming-shih 楊名時, the Hsün-fu 巡撫 (Provincial Governor), proposed to the Emperor that a transferable fu-magistrate be established in Li-chiang, and that the hereditary office of native fu-magistrate be demoted to that of T'ü T'ung-p'an 土通判 (Native Sub-prefect).

Under the Republic. — To-day magistrates are still appointed by the Commissioner of the Interior, now called Min-cheng-t'ing 民政廳; the office of native sub-prefect still exists, but the present incumbent has neither voice nor power. He controls a few peasants on the land which he still possesses, but his holdings are being gradually reduced. Only recently his former peasants in the region of Nga-tz(u) became subject to the magistrate of Li-chiang and the territory included in the sixth ch'ü (sub-district) of Li-chiang. This sixth ch'ü comprises the northern part of the Yangtze loop, Nga-tz(u) being in Tung-shan li 東山里.

⁴⁷ The Shih-men Kuan is a strategic pass on the Yangtze where the river narrows considerably, the trail following the river at the foot of vertical cliffs. It is only a short distance north of Shih-ku 石鼓 where the Yangtze makes a sharp bend, some 85 li to the west of Li-chiang. (See Geographical description, p. 285.)

⁴⁸ He was the seventh generation of the Na-khi chiefs of Li-chiang. His full name was A-chia A-te 阿甲阿得, his official name being Mu Te 木得 (see the Historical Genealogies of the Na-khi Chiefs, pp. 99-101).

⁴⁹ Their Na-khi (Mo-so) names were: Aw-dzhi-lër, Aw-ndo-zo and Aw-bpo-t'a. The Chinese characters are the transcription of the Na-khi sounds. The name Ho Jih-chia is one of Chinese adoption, and not a Na-khi name, save for the family name Ho, which every Na-khi peasant bore. The name A 阿 belonged to the ruling family.

CHAPTER III

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LI-CHIANG

Prior to the time of the San Tai 三代, the three ancient dynasties, Hsia 夏, Shang 商 and Chou 周 (2205-256 B.C.), no references can be found about Li-chiang. The Chün of Yüeh-sui 越崑郡, to which Li-chiang belonged, was established in the reign of Han Wu Ti 漢武帝 (140-87 B.C.).

The Chün of Yüeh-sui was also called Chiung-tso K'un-ming 邛作昆明, and Li-chiang was in Ting-tso hsien 定作縣. During the Chin 晉, T'ang and Sung dynasties (265-1278), its name was repeatedly changed, but its territory remained occupied by the native chiefs. Although in the Yüan and Ming dynasties (1260-1643) States and magistracies had been established there, and prefects and civil officials sent to rule the territory, the real power remained in the hands of the native chiefs; the Imperial rule was nominal only.

The Li-chiang Records, Vol. 上, ch. 3, fol. 10b, state that in ancient times Li-chiang was the land of Huang-fu 荒服 whose frontier adjoined the territory of the T'u-fan 吐蕃.¹ In history it is spoken of as the land of Sui K'un-ming 崑明.

In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 24), it belonged to both the States of Yüeh-sui and I chou.

In the Later Han dynasty (25-220), it belonged to the Chün of Yung-ch'ang. In the Shu Han (221-264) (established in Ssu-ch'uan), it belonged to the State of Chien-ning 建寧.

In the Chin 晉 dynasty (265-316), it belonged to Hsi-ning chou 西寧州. In the Sui dynasty (581-617), it belonged to Sui chou. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty (618), its name was changed from Ting-tso 定作 to K'un-ming, subject to Sui chou. Later it became the land of the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi), (also called Mo-so chao and Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國).

During the reign of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (785-804), Li-chiang was occupied by the Meng family (rulers of the Nan-chao Kingdom), and the office of Li-shui Chieh-tu-shih 麗水節度使 (Imperial Commissioner of Li-shui district) was established.

In the Sung dynasty (960-1126), it was occupied by Ts'u-ts'u 酷酷, leader of the Mo-so-man whom the Tuan family could not control. (The Tuan family ruled the Nan-chao Kingdom from 937-1094.) In the third year of Yüan Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253), when the Imperial troops crossed the Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 (River of Golden Sand, or Yangtze) to attack Ta-li, the Mo-so

¹ In the second volume of *The Tribute of Yü*, *Yü-kung hsia* 禹貢下, ch. IV, pass. 22, we read: "Wu-pai li Huang-fu, san-pai li man, erh-pai li liu, 五百里荒服, 三百里蠻, 二百里流." This, J. LEGGE in his *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. III, pt. I, p. 147, translates "Five hundred li the most remote, constituted THE WILD DOMAIN. Three hundred li were occupied by the tribes of the Man; two hundred li by criminals undergoing the greater banishment." The 500-li Huang-fu are the last of the domains. It was called Huang-fu with reference, we may suppose, to the rude character of the inhabitants, and the wildness of the country. It extended 500 li in every direction beyond the fourth domain.

tribes, trusting in their defenses, refused to submit. In the fourth year (1254), however, they were conquered, and the office of Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min kuan 茶罕章管民官 (Civil governor of Ch'a-han-chang) was established for them. In the eighth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1271) the office was changed to that of Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner). In the 13th year (1276) the name of the district was changed to Li-chiang Lu and a Chün-min tsung-kuan-fu 軍民總管府 (Military and civil governor's Yamen) was established. In the 22nd year (1285) the fu-magistracy was abolished and the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 was substituted for it, between the cities of T'ung-an 通安 and Chü-chin 巨津. It controlled one fu-city, seven-chou cities, and one-hsien city.

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382) the office was changed to Li-chiang fu (prefecture of Li-chiang), and later was again changed to Li-chiang Chün-min fu 麗江軍民府 (Military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang). The control of the various chou-cities was divided: four of them, Shun chou 順州, Pei-sheng 北勝, Yung-ning and Lang-ch'ü came under the fu-magistracy of Ho-ch'ing; while T'ung-an, Pao-shan, Lan chou and Chü-chin 巨津, and the hsien-city of Lin-hsi became subject to Li-chiang.

In the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) the fu-magistracy was retained, but the four chou-cities were abolished and became merged in the magistracy of Li-chiang.

In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), Li-chiang was brought under direct control of the Yün-nan Pu-cheng-ssu 雲南布政司 (Yün-nan Provincial treasurer).

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF LI-CHIANG

The *Tien-hsi* 滇繫, Vol. 1, fols. 26b-27b, while giving much the same historical data as found in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* and other geographical works by Chinese authors, yet contains certain statements which are of more than passing interest, and these I append here.

The Tien Commentary (*Tien-hsi*) states that Li-chiang was the southern border of the State of Liang (Liang chou 梁州), one of the nine chou or great divisions of the Empire instituted by Yü Kung 禹貢 (2205 B.C.), which comprised Ssu-ch'uan, parts of Shensi, Kan-su and Hu-peì.

During the Later Han dynasty (25-220), Li-chiang belonged to the State of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, and its ancient name was Pai-lang ti 白狼地 (Land of Pai-lang, or of the White Wolf). In the 17th year of Yung-p'ing 永平 (A.D. 74), the King of Pai-lang² composed a poem of three verses in which he extolled the merits and virtues of the Han dynasty.

² During the period Yung-p'ing 永平 (58-75), Chu Fu 朱輔, Governor of I chou, proclaimed the virtues of the Han, whereupon Pai-lang Wang 白狼王 (King of the Pai-lang), whose tribe, like the P'an-mu, Lou-po 樓薄 and T'ang-tsou 唐菰, dwelled west of Wen Shan 汶山, came with over 100 others to pay tribute. They were considered barbarians from outside the borders of the Mao-niu-i 旄牛犛 (Yak barbarians). The latter dwelled north-west of Li-chou so 黎州所 (Sub-military station of Li chou), which was in the magistracy of Ch'ing-ch'i hsien 清溪縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. The P'an-mu Kuo 盤木國 (Kingdom of the P'an-mu tribe) was west of Mou chou 茂州. The Pai-lang Kingdom comprised apparently the region of the present Mu-li 木裏 Lama State, as well as the Wu-so 五所 territory (see p. 453). In ancient days Yung-ning, north-east of Li-chiang, which was under the Mo-so chiefs of Li-

The *Tien-hsi*, Vol. 4, fol. 3b, says that "when in the 17th year of Yung-p'ing (A.D. 74), the Pai-lang-i 白狼夷 (White wolf barbarians) came to pay tribute, they composed a poem extolling the merit and virtues of the Han dynasty. Governor Chu Fu 朱輔 of I chou translated it and offered it to the Throne. Pai-lang was then the territory of present-day Li-chiang."

The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 23b, states: "For many generations the Pai-lang, P'an-mu and other tribes were not under the control of the Empire, and therefore offered no tribute to the court of Han. Later, however, these tribes, as well as others, came to report to the governor of I chou, and said they would offer tribute. Afterwards all these countries were absorbed by the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang) tribe."

The reason for the Pai-lang and other tribes submitting to the Later Han dynasty, offering to pay tribute, and even composing three stanzas of a song extolling the virtues of the dynasty, is to be found in Ma Tuan-lin's 馬端臨 statement: "The Governor of I chou was kind, and had a reputation of uprightness, and treated the Man justly."

The Circuit of Li-chiang 麗江路, of the Yüan dynasty, was the western border of the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越隲郡 in the Han, Sui 隨 and T'ang dynasties. To the north dwelled the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) in the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi).

These two States were inhabited by Wu-man (Black savages). — *Tien-hsi*, Vol. 1, fol. 27a.³

chiang, controlled also the territory of the present-day Mu-li, to within two stages south of Li-t'ang. It is this territory which according to Chinese geographers was known as Pai-lang Kuo in the Later Han dynasty.

³ It is interesting to note that the Mo-so who belong to the Wu-man call themselves Na-khi, as the Lo-lo call themselves No-su, both of which terms would indicate "Black-People"; yet *black people* in Na-khi is *khi-na*, as the adjective follows the noun it qualifies. The word *Na* is here a noun and not an adjective and must stand for the name of the tribe. In that sense it is equivalent to the Chinese *Wu man*. They also speak of themselves as *Na-zo* or the Sons of Na, while they call the Tibetans *P'ér-zo* or the Sons of P'ér (the sons of the White). In my paper on the Na-khi Hä-zhi-p'i in *B.E.F.E.-O.*, T. XXXVII: 1937, p. 48, n. 4, I have suggested that the name Na-khi may be derived from their having been black tent dwellers in contradistinction to their neighbors either the Hor, or the people of Ling of whom Ge-sar was king, who are said to have lived in white tents. Ge-sar fought many battles with the Mo-so King Sa-tham. See also p. 4 and note 6, pp. 180-81.

The word *wu* in Na-khi means a slave, and a derogatory term for a slave is *wu-yi*. This is transcribed in Chinese as *wu-i* 無弋. In Na-khi *yi* means to be covered with sores, or itch — to be unclean. The name of one of the ancestors of the Ch'iang tribes was Ch'iang Wu-i Yüan-chien 羌無弋爰劍. He had been captured and made a slave by the small feudal State of Ch'in 秦 (909-247 B.C.) during the reign of Duke Ch'in Li 秦厲公 (475-440 B.C.). Because of this, the Ch'iang called him Wu-yi (*Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* 古今圖書集成, *Ch'iang-pu* 羌部, ch. 47, § 1, fol. 5b). According to the *Shih Chi*, ch. 5, fols. 16a-b, it states that Tao Kung 悼公, the father of Li-kung Kung 厲共公, died in the 14th year of his reign, which would be equivalent to 478 B.C. The death of Li-kung Kung falls in the 34th year of his reign which would be our 444 B.C. M. TCHANG, S.J., in his *Synchronismes chinois*, makes Tao Kung die in the 20th year of his reign (472) and Li-kung Kung in the 28th year of his reign (444). The figures I have given are according to J. LEGGE. A. TSCHÉPE, S.J., in his *Histoire du Royaume de Ts'in* gives the reigning dates of Tao Kung as 491-477 B.C., and Li-kung Kung as 476-443 B.C.

CHAPTER IV

THE GENEALOGICAL CHRONICLES OF THE MU FAMILY 木氏

Chang Chih-shun's Introduction to the First Chronicle. — The history of Li-chiang is intimately connected with that of its ruling chiefs and therefore a genealogical chronicle of the latter, full of historical information, much of which is not found in print, is here given in translation from a Chinese manuscript dating from the year 1516, and still in the possession of the descendants of the old Na-khi Kings or Chiefs, the Mu family of Li-chiang. The introduction to the work, written by Chang Chih-shun 張志淳,¹ a native of Yung-ch'ang and scholar of the degree of Doctor, consists mainly of eulogies of the Mu family and especially of Mu Kung 木松, who was the eldest son of Mu Ting 木定, native prefect of Li-chiang.

Mu Kung was the 14th generation counting from Yeh-yeh. He was born in 1494, took office in 1527, and died in 1553; he started the family chronicle, to which Chang Chih-shun wrote a preface, on December 27th, 1516. That is the first and complete genealogical chronicle, but it is not illustrated; we shall presently speak of another.

Chang Chih-shun's literary name was Chin-chih 進之. The *Yung-ch'ang fu chih*, ch. 42, fol. 3a, tells us that he was a native of the sub-district of Chin-ch'ih (Chin-ch'ih ssu 金齒司).² He graduated as *chin shih* in the year 1484. Because he wrote two books, called *Nan-yüan-chi* 南園集 and *Nan-yüan man-lu* 南園漫錄, he is known as Chang Nan-yüan. He died at the age of 81.

In his introduction to the official chronicle of the Mu family, he states that Mu Kung had a good friend by the name of Kao 高, a native of Ho-ch'ing, who was the younger brother of an official who hailed from an old and honorable official family.³ They helped each other in securing all the ancient records about the customs of their native place, and encouraged each other in literary pursuits and in the building up of moral character.

The official record was completed up to the rule of Mu Ting 木定, father of the author who, with his friend Kao, had compiled it by the year 1516, for

¹ Chang Chih-shun was magistrate of Yung-ch'ang, of which he was a native. His given name was Nan-yüan 南園; his official designation was Hu-pu Shih-lang 戶部侍郎 (Vice-president of the Board of Revenue). He wrote four books: *Man-lu* 漫錄; *Hsü-lu* 續錄; *Yung-ch'ang Erh-fang chi* 永昌二芳記; and *Ming-shih fu-chiao fang-chuan* 明史附焦芳傳.

² As regards Chin-ch'ih (District of Golden teeth) the *Yung-ch'ang fu chih* states that it was not Yung-ch'ang. Chin-ch'ih was 2,000 li outside the borders of Yung-ch'ang. It was the Yin-sheng tien 銀生甸 of the ancient Meng-lo Shan 蒙樂山 (this is the present-day Wuliang Shan 無量山, 90 li north of Ching-tung 景東 and 10 stages south of Ta-li). The *Kang-mu* 綱目 states that it adjoined Pa-pai hsi-fu 八百媳婦 (the present-day Chieng-mai in northern Siam). In the Yüan dynasty there was established Chin-ch'ih 金齒, and Pai-i 百蠻; all these circuits and Yung-ch'ang were then subject to the Ta-li circuit.

³ Members of the Kao family, originally natives of Ho-ch'ing, settled in Li-chiang, or rather T'ung-an chou, during the reign of Mu Shen 木森 (1434-41). They became hereditary native sub-magistrates of T'ung-an 通安.

the Yung-ch'ang magistrate says in his preface that he had read it, and that it was compiled by Mu Kung personally.

The magistrate states that "He learned that the first ancestor of Mu Kung was Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年. That from the latter to the period of Shang-yüan 上元 of T'ang Kao Tsung 高宗 (674), there were six generations to his descendant Ch'iu-yang 秋陽, who became Governor of San-tien (Li-chiang), or the San-tien Tsung-kuan 三旬總官.

"From Ch'iu-yang to his descendant Meng-wang 蒙汪, who bore the official title of Wu-hsün Kung 武勳公 (Duke of military merit), there were four generations; from Meng-wang to Mu Kung there were 24 generations.

"Throughout these generations, many dynasties such as the T'ang, Wu-tai 五代, Sung, and Yüan, had succeeded each other, but the changes could neither influence nor impede the growth of the Mu family in which some were dukes, some marquises, others generals and commanders-in-chief."

The magistrate continues: "In the Ming dynasty, in the year when the Imperial court sent its Pacification Commissioners to the frontier lands of Yün-nan, this family exhibited such hospitality and loyalty to them that His Majesty the Emperor (in 1382) conferred on them the surname Mu, renewed their official letters patent and ordered them to rule their people with hereditary official authority. Mu Kung's grandfather, by name Mu T'ai 木泰, laid special stress on moral character, and for that reason had no concubines, and thus set a good example to the later generations. He encouraged his people to study, and abolished official corruption."

He defines the genealogical chronicle as, "A historical work, a complete narrative of their military achievements, official appointments, ranks, traditions, etc."

He then tells us of the Imperial policy in regard to outlying regions. "Owing to bad communications and natural barriers, this land (Li-chiang) is separated far from Imperial rule. Thus it is advisable to make the native leader of this people their ruler. He is given an official seal by the Emperor and also the hereditary right to control the land and its people. His political principles would have to suit the customs of his people. Such privileges are not accorded simply as a reward for merit acquired, but form part of a special policy of the government applied to suit the circumstances of the people. This means that their manners and customs are so different from ours, that the Emperor is obliged to allow the native rulers to maintain their hereditary right."

He concludes his introductory remarks by saying: "Descendants can never be dependent on their hereditary rights only, in order to keep their official positions and rule their States and people. There must be something more important than this. I therefore hope that Mu Kung, besides his honorable attempt to write this official record for the enlightenment of his family, will try to perform other and more significant works, and improve the people's lot, so that the descendants of his family will thereby be enabled to multiply and prosper for ever."

The abbreviated and illustrated or Second Chronicle.—In the *T'oung-pao*, 1912: XIII, p. 555, under the title *Documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à Li-kiang*, Ed. Chavannes published a translation of a genealogical

chronicle of the Mo-so (Na-khi) chiefs whose capital was at Li-chiang in western Yün-nan. This chronicle, which is written in Chinese and illustrated with the portraits of these chiefs, is in the possession of their descendants, who still bear the family name, Mu. M. Jaques Bacot, during his two journeys to Li-chiang in 1907 and 1909, saw this illustrated chronicle and had it copied. He also employed a Na-khi artist, a relative of the Mu family, to copy the portraits accompanying the text. These copies of the portraits he published in his work *Les Mo-So* (Leide, 1913) and not photographs of the actual paintings which accompany the manuscript. Bacot published 26 portraits, while the genealogy when I saw it in 1931 contained 30 portraits, representing 29 Na-khi chiefs. The 28th generation was figured twice, representing Mu Han 木漢 in his youth and then again later in life, his face showing pock-marks.

No text accompanies the four last portraits.

This chronicle commences with Yeh-yeh 爺爺, as the first generation, who arrived at the Li-chiang snow range during the reign of Sung Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1101-1125). At the end of the chronicle of the first generation, or Yeh-yeh's, there is a sentence which states that besides this record there exists another, carefully prepared and complete. Bacot, apparently unable to read Chinese, was unaware of the existence of this second and more complete chronicle of the Na-khi chiefs.

The same sentence is repeated at the end of the biography of the second generation, or Nien-pao A-tsung's 年保阿宗. The introduction to the illustrated chronicle was written by Yang Shen 楊慎, who is better known by his surname Sheng-an 升菴. He was banished to Yün-nan in the year 1524. He died of dissipation in the seventh moon of the 38th year of Chia-ching 嘉靖 (August 3rd-September 1st, 1559). The introduction, dated November 9th, 1545, was not translated by Chavannes, but discussed in his paper. Bacot, in his work *Les Mo-so*, reprinted Chavannes' discussion.

The complete or First Chronicle. — During my sojourn in Li-chiang in the year 1931-1932, I repeatedly visited the Mu family at their official residence and was gladly shown the second chronicle of their illustrious ancestors, the same chronicle which had been shown to Bacot. I photographed both the text and the portraits (which are here reproduced), and further had the same artist who made copies for Bacot to paint copies of the portraits in the original size for me. This copy of the illustrated chronicle, carefully bound and certified by the present Tu-t'ung-p'an, is now in the Library of Congress in Washington. On closely examining the text I found, as previously mentioned, the sentences regarding the existence of a more complete and detailed genealogical chronicle of the Na-khi Kings. When questioned about it, the late Mu Shu 木樞, fourth son of the late Na-khi chief, Mu Yin 木蔭 (style, Ch'un-t'ing 椿亭), who administered the affairs of the family and its estate, very willingly brought for my inspection from the ancestral shrine, this earlier chronicle which antedates the illustrated one by 29 years. He also kindly allowed me to have it copied.

The introduction to this chronicle by Chang Chih-shun has already been given at the beginning of this chapter. Chang also wrote the introduction to the illustrated genealogical chronicle (Bacot's) and sent it on to Yang Shen, who added a preface. In the illustrated chronicle his *hao* is wrongly given as

Nan-kuo, an error copied by Chavannes; it is Nan-yüan, as explained on page 66.

Chang's introduction is dated the 11th year of Cheng-te 正德, the 5th of the twelfth moon (December 27, 1516).

Chavannes in his introduction states that Yang Shen ascribes the origin of the Mu family to a much earlier date than does the chronicle copied by Bacot. He further says that Yang believed that the Mu family could trace their ancestors to a certain Ye-ku-nien who lived during the period Wu-te 武德 (618-626) of the T'ang dynasty, after which he enumerates 20 generations to Mu Te 木得, who was the first chief of Li-chiang to bear the family name Mu.

Chavannes was surprised to find in Yang Shen's introduction the mention of these 20 generations before Mu Te, and he further says, "Why do these 16 generations not figure in the chronicle?" In the one seen by Bacot, Mu Te figures as the seventh generation, while the third generation corresponds to the 18th in Yang Shen's list in the introduction.

This mystery of the 20 generations preceding Mu Te is now cleared up by the appearance of the more complete non-illustrated chronicle, which from now on I shall designate as the First Chronicle, and the abridged illustrated one as the Second Chronicle.

The Na-khi manuscripts. — In the First Chronicle appear not only the 20 generations mentioned in Yang Shen's introduction, but also 15 earlier generations which are more or less legendary. These legendary ancestors and their wives are fully described in several Na-khi manuscripts written in their pictographic script. The names of the male ancestors appear in a manuscript called *Ts'o-mbër ssaw*, which is recited during the ceremony called *Muan-bpö* (Worshipping of Heaven), performed in a place especially set aside for that purpose and called by them *Muan-bpö d'a*. They also appear in another manuscript called *Wua-bpa-ts'u*, chanted at the *Wua-bpa-ts'u* ceremony. The names of the female ancestors are given in a manuscript called *K'wuo-shou* of the *Ssu-dsu* (marriage ceremony).

The names of the early ancestors enumerated in Chinese in the chronicle must have been copied from these Na-khi manuscripts. I have numerous manuscripts of *Ts'o-mbër ssaw* and *Ts'o-mbër t'u*⁴ and also others in which these ancestors and their wives are enumerated, but the names of the females are not always the same, and in each of the manuscripts they have a different ancestor as their spouse. Some ancestors had apparently more than one wife, as the names of other females appear as their wives, though not more than one name at a time. It is possible that each wife possessed more than one name. The wife of *Ö Gkaw-lä*, for instance, is always given as *Ö-yu-dtu-nun-mi*, instead of *Gyi-ssu-mun-lu* as appears in the chronicle.

The present descendants of the Mu family of Li-chiang could not explain

⁴ The former relates to the period preceding the flood, and is the story of creation in which the egg, as in the ancient Bön stories, plays a great part; the latter is the story of the flood and the regeneration of the Na-khi race through their ancestor, *Ts'o-dze-llü-ghügh*, and his wife, *Ts'ä-khü-bu-bu-mi*. [See my article: "The Story of the Flood in the Literature of the Mo-so (Na-khi) tribe" in *Journal West China Border Research Society*, Vol. VII (1935), 64-80.]

the meaning of the Chinese characters, especially of the introductory part of the legendary ancestors, the Chinese text being unintelligible. Not until I began translating with my Na-khi sorcerers the *K'wuo-shou* manuscript, and that called *Ts'o-mbër ssaw* of the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, did I realize that the particular Chinese text of the chronicle followed the Na-khi words and represented part of the story related in these books (manuscripts). In some instances the phonetic value of the Chinese characters render Na-khi words only, and their ideographic value had to be discarded, while in others the meaning of the character had to be read in Na-khi and the phonetic value rejected. The reason for this mixture of phonetic and translation rendering is the phonetic paucity of Chinese. Where the sound complex of a word could not be rendered it was translated. The story the Chinese text thus told was the same as in the *Muan-bpö* book, *Ts'o-mbër ssaw*.

Stone-tablet in the Mu family cemetery at Si-li-wüa.—At a place called Si-li-wüa (Hsi-lin-wa 西林瓦), south-east of Li-chiang about 10 li distant, there is a large *pei*, or stone-tablet, at the end of a row of graves pointing east. This is one of the burial grounds of the Mu family. The larger one is at Tung-kuan 東關, 30 li from Li-chiang. There, certain chiefs are buried, beginning with the 24th generation, Mu Chung 木鐘, who died on September 6th, 1725. All the predecessors of Mu Chung were cremated and their graves do not exist, although the bones and ashes were supposed to have been interred near the village of Boa-shi. On the stone-tablet, about six feet by three, which stands at Si-li-wüa among the graves of the minor members of the Mu family, there is engraved an abridged copy of the First Chronicle. It begins with the legendary ancestors and their origin and states: "Since nothing is known of Yeh-kunien, we respectfully call Ch'iu-yang 秋陽 our first ancestor."

Thus Ch'iu-yang appears also in the First Chronicle as the first ancestor after Yeh-kunien. In the center of the stone-tablet there is engraved in large characters: "Yang-po-na 陽伯那⁵ at the foot of the exalted⁶ Yü-lung Shan. The first ancestor of the Mu family [was] Ch'iu-yang; his true wife [was] Mi-chün Hsi-shu 彌均習鼠. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty, K'un-ming (which was then Li-chiang) became merged with Sui chou and during the reign of T'ang Kao Tsung 高宗, Shang-yüan 上元, (674-675), he became the San-tien Tsung-chün-kuan 三甸總軍管 (Military Governor of San-tien district)." This same legend appears under Ch'iu-yang in the Chronicle, but with the omission of the word 軍, military.

⁵ DEVERIA in his work, *La frontière sino-annamite*, states in a footnote on p. 101 that "the word *pa-na* according to a Chinese and Pa-yi vocabulary, signified *residence* or *li* 里." This would coincide with the title of the Chronicle, the words *po* 伯, *pa* 八, or *pan* 板 being simply the Chinese transcription of native words. The words *pai* 擺, *pa* 八, *po* 佰, *pai* 白, *po* 伯, *pai* 百 are interchangeable phonetically and are used in transcribing the names of tribes and places in Chinese. It is possible that the word *Po-na* being of Shan or Min-chia 民家 origin was in usage among the Na-khi in the past. Yang 陽 stands for the name of the first ancestor; the foot of the Li-chiang snow range (Yü-lung Shan) was his residence. In fact, an ancient residence existed at the foot of the snow range a short distance north of the last village on the Li-chiang plain, called *Nv-lv-k'ö*. The place is now known as *Kwua-d'a* (*Kwua-d'a gko-lo*) (see Geographical Part, p. 219).

⁶ On the stele it is written 皇 (exalted, great). In the First Chronicle the character *ling* 靈 (spiritual, divine) is used instead.

While the First Chronicle counts Mou-pao A-tsung 牟保阿宗 as the second generation, the inscription on the stone tablet counts Yang-yin-tu-ku 陽音都谷.⁷

On the stone-tablet the name of the first ancestor, Ch'iu-yang, is placed in the center, the names of the even numbered generations to the left of it and the uneven to the right.

The tablet is dated Tao-kuang 道光, 22nd year, the first moon, 17th day (February 26th, 1842).

The first generation of the Second Chronicle, namely Yeh-yeh, is omitted entirely both in the First Chronicle and on the stone-tablet. The probable reason was that Yeh-yeh was an outsider, a stranger from Mongolia, who was said to have floated down the Chin River on a log. When he arrived at Pei-lang-ts'ang 北浪滄 (in Na-khi, Bă-lă-ts'o)⁸ a chief by the name of Hsien-t'ao A-ku 羨陶阿古 of the village of Pai-sha 白沙 (Boa-shi in Na-khi),⁹ saw that his features were not those of an ordinary man and so he gave him his daughter in marriage. There were five village chiefs who put Yeh-yeh at their head. At that time, a certain Nien-lo Nien-pao 年樂年保 (it should read Mou 牟 instead of Nien 年), who had given himself the title of General-in-Chief, adopted the son of Yeh-yeh as his successor.

In the First Chronicle it is stated that Mou-lo Mou-pao 牟樂牟保 and Tuan Cheng-ho 段正和¹⁰ of the Later Ta-li 後大理 Kingdom were called Generals-in-Chief.

The First Chronicle is silent as regards Yeh-yeh, while the Second Chronicle speaks of Yeh-yeh's son having been adopted by Mou-lo Mou-pao; the son took the name of his adopted father and thus appears in the First Chronicle as the second generation under the name Mou-pao A-tsung, and Nien-pao A-tsung in the Second Chronicle.

Oral traditions of Li-chiang. — It is strange indeed that the First Chronicle ignores Yeh-yeh entirely and names Ch'iu-yang the first generation and Mou-pao A-tsung the second generation, although there are 14 generations between them. As regards Yeh-yeh there are several traditions current in Li-chiang, and these are probably nearer the truth than the more or less legendary figure of the Second Chronicle.

⁷ In the First Chronicle Yang-yin-tu-ku follows Ch'iu-yang, but Mou-pao A-tsung is nevertheless marked as second generation, although 14 other generations are intermediate.

⁸ This is the Bă-lă-ts'ěr or Bă-lă-ts'o of the Na-khi; the village is situated in the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜). CHAVANNES translates this "the Northern Lan-ts'ang or Mekong," the Chinese characters, Pei-lang-ts'ang, being simply a phonetic rendering of the Na-khi name of the village Bă-lă-ts'o, in ancient days called Bă-lă-ts'ěr. BACOT in his book, *Le Tibet révolté*, p. 306, makes the same mistake, for he says: "Le Fleuve Bleu n'a peut-être pas toujours eu son cours actuel. L'histoire fabuleuse du premier roi Moso de Likang laisserait supposer qu'il communiquait autrefois avec le Mekong."

⁹ CHAVANNES uses Pai-sha as part of the name of the chief. It is a village situated half-way between the Li-chiang snow range and Li-chiang proper. The Chinese Pai-sha is a phonetic rendering of Boa-shi (Dead Hsi-fan) (see Geographical Part, p. 222).

¹⁰ Under Tuan Cheng-ho 段正和, Ho Yü 和譽 must be understood here, who was the son of Tuan Cheng-shun 段正淳. Ho was the second king of the Later Ta-li dynasty which ruled the Nan-chao Kingdom. He ascended the throne in 1108, and ruled 39 years.

The following stories about Yeh-yeh's origin are told in Li-chiang:—

When Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan)¹¹ marched with his troops through Yün-nan down the Yangtze to attack the Burmese, he encountered heavy snow in north-west Yün-nan and was thus delayed for three months. He stayed with the headman of a village who had a very beautiful daughter who always remained at home. He wanted her to become his wife and told her that when he had fought and conquered the Burmese he would come back and claim her. A long time elapsed, and the girl was still waiting for her lover to return. In the meantime she had given birth to a son. As her lover did not return to claim her, she tied her child to a piece of wood and sent it floating down the river (Yangtze), while she drowned herself.

Later Hu-pi-lieh returned and enquired about his love. He was then informed that she had drowned herself and that her son had been picked up at a place called Bă-lă-ts'êr (now Bă-lă-ts'o). The village of Bă-lă-ts'o is in the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜). The meaning of the name is: Bă from Bă-tsi-zi = man, lă = come, ts'êr = to take something out of the water. As it was there that the child was fished out of the water, the fact was commemorated by giving the particular village nearby the above name; Pei-lang-ts'ang 北浪滄 is the Chinese transcription of the Na-khi name.

Thereupon, it is said, Hu-pi-lieh conferred on the child a hereditary title and made him Prince of the Na-khi. He thus became the first ancestor of the Na-khi Kings. This would also explain his Mongol origin. In the Second Chronicle nothing is said of Yeh-yeh's mother, only that his son was adopted by Mou-lo Mou-pao, and that he himself came from Mongolia floating down on a juniper log, and that when he reached a certain place he was picked up, the place being afterwards known as Bă-lă-ts'o.

¹¹ MARCO POLO, *Travels of Marco Polo*, Yule, Vol. 2, ch. 52, p. 101, describes the battles fought by the Great Khan against the King of Mien 緬. He mentions the Mohammedan general and calls him Nescradin. He was the Commander-in-Chief of the capital of Karajang. His name was Nazir-ed-din; his father was the first to introduce coffins into Yün-nan, and also go-betweens at betrothals. He caused reservoirs to be built against drought. He built the first Wen Miao 文廟 (Confucian Temple) in Yün-nan. His name was Sai-tien-ch'ih-shan-ssu-ting 賽典赤思丁 (Sai-yin-o-te-ch'i 賽音訥德齊, in *Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao*), he was a native of Bokhara and died at the age of 69, in the 16th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1279) after having been in Yün-nan six years, where he was governor. His son, Nazir-ed-din, died in the 29th year of Chih-yüan (1292) in Yün-nan, leaving 12 sons (*Yün Shih*, ch. 125, fol. 1a-4a).

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, in his book, *The Beginnings of Writing*, p. 182, § 268, states: "Mo-so soldiers under the command of a Mohammedan general, Nazir-ed-din, aided the Mongols in their attack against the Burmese in 1277."

Regarding the wars fought by Kublai Khan with the Burmese, the Mongol History (*Yün Shih*, ch. 210, fol. 1a) has the following to say: "Mien Kuo 緬國 is the land of the Hsi-nan-i (barbarians of the South-west). In the eighth year of Chih-yüan (1271) the Hsüan-wei-ssu Tu-yüan-shuai fu 宣慰司都元帥府 the Yamen of the Pacification Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the capitals of Ta-li, Shan-shan (the present K'un-ming; Shan-shan was established during the T'ang dynasty) and other circuits sent Ch'i-t'a-t'e-t'o-yin 奇塔特托音 and other envoys to Mien 緬 (Burma) to proclaim an edict to their king that he should become tributary to the Empire."

In the 14th year (1277) in the tenth moon (November), Yün-nan fu sent the local Provincial Pacification Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the capital, Ni-ya-ssu-la-ting 尼雅斯拉鼎 (Nazir-ed-din) to lead an army composed of Mongols, Ts'uan (Lo-lo), P'o (Shan) and Mo-so (Na-khi) — over 3,440 men — to attack Mien.

Another story relates how a Na-khi girl, by the name of Nda-lä-wua-ssaw-mi, had an illegitimate child which she tied to a piece of wood and threw into the Yangtze. The boy was fished out of the river at Bā-lä-ts'o in the district of A-khi and became the first ancestor of the Na-khi Kings.

Bacot in his work, p. 118, relates another legend taken from a Na-khi manuscript. The village he mentions is not Bache, but Boa-shi, as previously explained. To complete the biography I add herewith that part of the Second Chronicle which deals with Yeh-yeh.

Yeh-yeh, the first ancestor according to the Second Chronicle. — The founder and first ancestor of the Mu family listed in the Second Chronicle was called Yeh-yeh 爺爺 (Plate 9). "He arrived at the snow range during the reign of Sung Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1101-1125). He was originally a Mongol from the Western Region. At first he arranged a niche in a rock cliff in the K'un-lun Mountains 崑崙山 and there delighted in the rules of the East and in the Buddhist religion, and the entire day remained seated in deep meditation. Suddenly there arose a Chiao-lung 蛟龍 [dragon — a roaring torrent of water and mud is supposed to be caused by a Chiao-lung]¹² accompanied by thunder and rain; at that moment he mounted a large fragrant tree (washed down with the rocks and debris) and floated away into the Chin Chiang 金江 (Yangtze). He arrived at Pei-lang-ts'ang. When the barbarians saw him from a distance they marvelled, and called all their people together from afar to meet him. He then mounted the river bank. At that time there was a certain Hsien-t'ao A-ku from Pai-sha¹³ who was the head or chief of the barbarians. He saw signs of nobility on the face and in the bearing of Yeh-yeh; he also noticed his calmness and imperturbability [retiring attitude] and marvelled greatly in his heart. Thereupon he gave him his daughter in marriage. The common people rose to invite the stranger to select a place in their midst for worship. But it was their intention that he should dwell apart. At that time there were five village chiefs, one called Kan-lo-mu-tu 干羅睦督, (see: p. 96), a second Tien-ch'i-hsüan 甸起選, a third A-niang-hui 阿娘揮 [this is a Chinese rendering of the Na-khi-name, A-nyu-khü], a fourth La-wan 剌宛, and a fifth Wa-chün 瓦均.¹⁴ A [-ku] intended to make Yeh-yeh their chief. At that time Nien-lo

¹² The Dragon in China and Japan by Dr. M. W. De Visser in *Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch. te Amsterdam* N. R. Deel XIII, no. 2.

The Kiao lung 蛟龍 pp. 76-79. De Visser states on page 79 that "The *Kiao* belongs to the same kind as the *lung*. Its shape resembles that of a snake and yet it has four legs and a thin neck. Around its neck it has a white necklace. The big *kiao* are several spans thick. They are born from eggs. Their eyebrows are united (交) reason why they are called *kiao* 蛟." In the *Shan Hai Ching*, sect. Nan shan Ching 南山經, ch. 1, p. 111a, it says that they live in special mountain rivulets.

¹³ Pai-sha 白沙 is the name of a li 里 (commune), also of a village 20 li north of Li-chiang which used to be the seat of the Na-khi Kings before they moved to Li-chiang. In Na-khi it is called Boa-shi (Dead Boa or Hsi-fan). BACOT calls it Bache; it is thus not part of the name of the man Hsien-t'ao A-ku 羨陶阿古, but the village whence he hailed from.

¹⁴ CHAVANNES here uses the word *yiin* 云 as part of the name of the second and third chiefs, and adds the word 阿 on to the name of the fifth, viz: 云甸起選 Yun-tien-k'i-süan, 云阿娘揮 Yun-a-niang-houei, 剌宛 La-wan, 瓦均阿 Wa-kiun-a, the original text reads: 一云干羅睦督, 二云甸起選, 三云阿娘揮, 四云剌宛, 五云瓦均, 阿乃顯崇爺爺爲五家之長. The character 阿 refers to A-ku (Hsien-t'ao A-ku).

Nien-pao 年樂年保 called himself by the title General-in-Chief. To Yeh-yeh was born a son who was given the name A-tsung 阿琮.¹⁵ When he was born he was superior to other people. Nien-lo Nien-pao saw that he was not like others. He protected him and made him his successor and hereditary General-in-Chief. He thought that when the root was deep the tree would be strong, and that a deep spring will flow to a great distance [will be inexhaustible]. Those who wish to examine and trace the affairs of the founder and of each of the ancient and present-day generations of the clan, can find them in this [chronicle]. His true wife was A-shih 阿氏 [in Na-khi, O-shi]."

The last sentence reads: "In the text information is provided in part. A detailed account of the remainder is in another Genealogy." (The first one is here meant.)

The three memorial stones at the Mu ancestral seat at Li-chiang. — In addition to the two chronicles cited, there is extant a separate biography of Mu Ch'ing 木青, who was the father of the most famous of all the Na-khi Kings (Mu Sheng-pai 木生白). He was born in 1569 and died in 1597, at 28 years of age. This biography was written at the request of his son Mu Tseng, better known as Mu Sheng-pai, by a Han-lin scholar, Chang Pang-chi 張邦紀 by name, in the period Wan-li, and engraved on a large stone-tablet; the latter was erected by his son Mu Tseng in the 40th year of Wan-li (1612). This memorial stone is set into the garden wall of the official residence of the Mu family in Li-chiang. Mu Ch'ing's *hao* 號, both in the First Chronicle and in the one engraved on the stele, is Sung-ho 松鶴 and not Ho-sung as given in the Second Chronicle and so recorded by Chavannes.

This particular tablet simply extols the virtue, ability, and merit of Mu Ch'ing, but adds nothing of historical value. The writer of the Biography was a Han-lin scholar who lived 10,000 li from Li-chiang, and had been requested by messenger to write it for Mu Tseng.

The second tablet is a biography of Mu Kung 木公 whose surname was Wan-sung 萬松; he was born in 1494 and died in 1553. It was written by his son Mu Kao 木高, engraved on a stele, and erected first in the ancestral temple of the Mu family in the 33rd year of Ming Chia-ching (1554), but is now set in the garden wall of the family residence. Like the first tablet it is a eulogy only and adds nothing of historical value. Mu Kao calls himself here the 35th generation of the Mu family.

The third tablet is a biography of Mu Tung 木東 of the 16th generation, written by his son Mu Wang 木旺. It was erected in the Mu family ancestral hall of military merit by his son in the eighth year of Ming Wan-li in the first moon (1580).

Printed records: The "Huang-Ming En-lün-lu" at Pai-sha-kai. — Besides the two manuscript copies of the genealogical chronicles kept by the Mu

¹⁵ Apparently the entire story of the arrival of Yeh-yeh is a myth. He probably never existed. The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states that Mai-tsung 麥琮, which is the equivalent to A-tsung, arrived in Li-chiang at the end of the Sung dynasty, that is, at the end of the reign of Emperor Li Tsung 理宗, about 1253. It also states that he was a native of Hsi Yü 西域 (Central Asia), and that the natives of Li-chiang elected him as their chief. Thus he could not have been the son of Yeh-yeh. In another place in the same record it is said that he was Yeh-yeh's son and when seven years old could read, etc.

family in their Li-chiang residence, the yamen of their ancestors, there has recently come to light a printed record of the letters patent of the Mu family.

There exists a branch of the Mu family of Li-chiang which does not reside in that city but in a village 20 li to the north of it, namely, in the lower part of the mart Boa-shi (Pai-sha-kai 白沙街); the village is known as Mbe-lü in Na-khi, and Chung-i-ts'un 忠義村 in Chinese. The owner of this printed copy of the Mu family letters patent is a certain Mu Wen-lan 木文蘭, a descendant of Aw-dzhi-lër (A-chih-li 阿知立), who was a member of the same Mu family which furnished the native magistrates of Li-chiang. It was this Aw-dzhi-lër who lodged a complaint against the Mu chiefs of Li-chiang with the viceroy of Yün-nan, and thus caused the chiefs to be demoted to a much inferior position, and their land to be taken over. This naturally created a family feud, and although it happened 223 years ago the wound is not yet healed.

The Li-chiang Mu family, who must have been aware of the existence of this printed record, never breathed a word to me about it, until I came accidentally to know of it. The book is called *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu* 皇明恩綸錄 (Records of the gracious words of the Imperial Ming). It was printed in the winter of the second year of Ming Lung-wu (1646). This Emperor was a fugitive and was killed in the eighth moon of 1646. The Records commence with the native T'u-kuan A-te 阿得 (Li-chiang native official A-te), who ruled from 1383 to November 11th, 1390, as fu-magistrate of Li-chiang, although prior to the advent of the Ming dynasty he was a Chih-chou 知州 (chou-magistrate) of T'ung-an 通安, east of Li-chiang. The book gives the official letters received during the reign of each incumbent, that is the gracious words sent to them by the ruling Emperors. It ends with the military and civil magistrate of Li-chiang, Mu I 木懿, who ruled from 1624 to 1673. The last entries relate to the two wives of Mu I. The final date on the last page is Ts'ung-cheng 崇禎, the 12th year, which corresponds to our 1639. The book is really a printed record of all the letters patent received by the Na-khi chiefs from the various Emperors, the first one being dated the 15th year of Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖, period Hung-wu 洪武 (1382) and the last 1639, covering a period of 257 years. The record is complementary to the two chronicles, as it gives verbatim the text of the various letters patent. There are certain differences between the printed Ming letters patent and those in the genealogical chronicle. Attention to these differences is called in their respective places.

The scrolls in the Mu reception hall at Li-chiang. — There is also extant a biography of the six most important Na-khi chiefs, Mu Kung, Mu Kao, Mu Tung, Mu Wang, Mu Ch'ing and Mu Tseng. It is written on red scrolls and is displayed on the walls of the reception hall in the Mu family residence. It is of a eulogistic nature only, and was written by Feng Shih-k'o 馮時可, though no date is given. The biography was inscribed on the scrolls by the descendant Mu K'un 木坤, as told by Mu Yin 木蔭, in the 27th year of Kuang-hsü (1901). All these I had copied and translated, but as they do not add much of historical value, only the First and most complete genealogical Chronicle is here translated.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST CHRONICLE

(Translated from the Chinese with the aid of the Na-khi manuscripts and sorcerers)

I. THE DESCENT OF MAN

The first two pages after the introduction deal with entirely legendary ancestors who are mentioned in the Na-khi pictographic manuscripts used in their various ceremonies. Those in which the names of the ancestors occur belong to the *Muan-bpö* (Worshipping Heaven) and to the *Ssu dsu* (Marriage) ceremonies. One ancestor, Tsu-dgyu Dgyu-dze by name, who appears in the genealogy, is, however, always missing in these manuscripts which jump immediately from Tsu-yu Tsu-dgyu to Dgyu-dze Dzi-dze.

It was the custom to place the father's name in front of the son's, hence the apparent double name.

The names of the wives of these legendary ancestors are not always the same — with the exception of one or two, as in the case of the important, what might be called post-flood ancestor, Tso-dze Llü-ghügh, about whom there exist a number of stories.

The title of the chronicle reads: *Yü-lung shan ling-chio Yang po-na* 玉龍山靈脚陽伯那 (The residence of Yang at the divine foot of the Jade dragon Mountain).

The sub-title reads: *Mu-shih hsien tzu-sun ta-tsu huan-p'u* 木氏賢子孫大族宦譜 (Official Chronicle of the great clan, worthy sons and grandsons of the Mu family).

Now follow 11 sentences of five characters each, which if translated literally would make no sense. As already remarked, these are Na-khi sentences partly translated into Chinese, while some of the characters must be read as phonetic transcriptions of Na-khi words.

These sentences, although not in the same sequence, appear in the pictographic manuscript, *Ts'o-mbër ssaw*, which literally means "To invite the Ancestors." *Ts'o* stands for Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, but *ts'o* also means man, *mbër* the descent, and *ssaw* to invite, so the title can be translated as "Inviting the descendants or generations of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh." The book really gives the descent of man. It is chanted when the Na-khi propitiate Heaven in the first moon.

It would appear that the Descent of man (*Ts'o-mbër ssaw*), or the Creation of man as it might also be called, was in ancient time recited by men in the form of question and answer, during the propitiation of Heaven ceremony. There are many such songs and some of them are impromptu. For example, it is the custom on the eve of the funeral of an old man, for his relatives to gather in the village square around a huge log fire, and there recite the deeds of the deceased. The men form a circle holding hands much like children do when at play. The leader at the beginning of the recitation takes a step for-



PLATE 33.—THE TWENTY-SECOND GENERATION, MU YAO

木堯二十二代考

二十二世考
 知府木堯字中萬華徽公衆性忠孝剛毅多才及至承襲不忍令父獨無見榮
 見文中詳援兄終弟及之例讓父遊樂耳 通雅襲襲嘉大義榮開六載隨請告休
 時矣逆虎鹿浪省公不從板堯明移雲張遣頭人入蜀赴
 勇畧將軍趙軍前投誠蒙給咨請優賞獎勵公遵諭即調寬察保邱塘開砌堵
 禦康熙十九年又奉 鎮守建昌總鎮王將軍標下副總府王益諭公建調土兵
 二十共國進取又奏勇畧將軍雲奇總督趙瑜已知忠義再圖首倡自當議敘又蒙
 欽命定遠平寇大將軍固山貝子溫諭旌獎實蹟隨於康熙二十年內題請優敘頒
 給印信給牌一張令其料機務仍着小心防禦後復奏諭云該府督撫足見懷忠抱
 義爲
 國効力之心令大兵前往楚雄進剿該府即點部兵共相協力擒獲逆有逆黨胡國柱
 等七人統兵萬餘奔潰至鹿欲潛渡江鉤引莊獲復出爲慰公着人詐指路逆密諭
 野人埋伏江外觀身領兵捕殺國柱等見兵馬俱楚計窮自盡斬獲器械報明
 固山貝子王訖隨奉總督部院蔡其題承襲於康熙三十三年四月初
 吏部頒給麗江府世襲土知府蕭敏乙道因患瘴濕告替其嫡弟木興其功雖未蒙
 議敘而名揚四方忠孝已伸臨終將各 憲印信文憑一乘交與長子以爲子孫信
 義 公於順治丁亥年六月初六日辰時生於 康熙戊子年八月廿八日戌時卒
 諡 授中憲大夫世襲麗江府土知府 正妻高氏寧像 姚安土同知親女
 誥封正四品恭人
 生子八人次子木興襲父職

皇後順安殿
 幸北梓南虎
 希新天使
 皇興大一統
 徐廣宏慈王氏
 君主題



子三考

知府本興字維新號雪城公生而穎異博學早著書及長通達政務尤工於詩字時雲貴
 制軍王撫見其詩字慶命以吟題錫子姓來甚衆履歷於康熙三十二年吏部尚書劉何
 一通胡舉父職上仕補副文閣授主事館康熙五十九年師出西藏公先承憲義報訪
 心殿擇補提選士兵二千隨征還村奉兩院憲牌先修調一千委公總理軍務親領五百名
 替去名站據連橋橋保保導理糧餉再給應募才宗隨征還尋職銜劉付一通領土
 六五百名通師還姓名存
 欽差大人伍松下接造以作先鋒橋樑開路奮勇至前公至刺著地方觀名人已和風發士兵
 殺之搜殺所耗個公文行至阿張子地方始知觀台已松保川於年心腹人驚惶之時以錢饋
 雲貴郭定將家諭抄錄刊督軍提調具
 奏一果書情將疾漸加沉重指活列第病故子亦嘗在邊察雪而察亦崇崇還還成清勝之
 國身亡軍興効命以榮懷志抱素之誠奏鮮呼應之聲雖亦崇崇至冷
 躬盡瘁死而後已公父子其始庶幾乎
 公於康熙丁未年三月十三日子時生康熙庚子年十一月初九日
 先於二十四年歲過
 軍恩得領
 誥命一相授中憲大夫世襲廣江府土知府
 正妻陸氏登保武定府陸氏官女無出撫養血姓亦崇亦崇安高大成玉休偶慶士
 司商女亦之嗣



PLATE 36. — THE INSCRIPTION AT HSÜEH-SUNG-TS'UN

玉龍山雪嵩村巖題

The inscription commemorates the nationalization in 1723 of the land of the Na-khi hereditary prefect into a Chinese prefecture. The large characters were written by Yang Pi, the first magistrate appointed. The limestone cliff is back of the village of Hsüeh-sung-ts'un at Gkwua-gyi-gkv-lu 'a-gko, at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan (Jade dragon Mountain or Li-chiang snow range).

于五世考

木公德字方靈號念祖雲林公之長子也雲林公襲爵職值康熙知聖聖聖德蒙改換勒
將產業變賣抵項前代世捐糧其父雲林公遠至盛家署理有十餘日尚未任通判新職抱恨而
沒時方靈公甫九歲遺家多故父兄孤苦健難通判新職空如懸壺貧乏難堪幸而聰穎不授其
哲性成毅嘗於石屏進士萬公撰咸熙者勸諸時書洞晰堪嘉依嫡母高氏珍藏雲公靈由
查考諸籍叩贈資介先恢復地微產養以供衣食及長胆操兼優通業各憲中訴改設苦情獨
城壯逐次勞心竭力不遇艱險立拜感格幸蒙旨

題請 仰 聖 准 給 單 上 官 撫 祖 來 京 戶 查 百 伍 拾 石 令 赴 兩 倉 四 季 交 納 有 以 供 嗣 夕 繼 父 飲 復 永
北 橋 頭 刺 質 等 甚 自 行 徵 收 辦 納 錢 糧 而 不 失 本 株 體 繼 此 佈 告 上 憲 之 深 惠 尚 荷

盛朝之隆恩也繼則捐修

玉音橋為朝順公所以昭忠也聖朝家室復勳祠之舊以表孝也將祖遺銅品鑲價助子鄉會
之路費以重維桑而興文教也重修堂構竹苞松茂正公經營百度俱舉是起衰振靡之偉也
公為人恭儉樸茂器量宏深克勤克儉有君有為不言人短不矜己長謙和可掬持重不徒風動
學好同於經史易象讀書殫心研究傍通星緯相術地理各家自卜筮過計去早眠晚年
恒以琴書自娛優游頤養享遐齡之福壽躋六十四歲公生於康熙甲午年四月初四日午時
終於乾隆丁酉年六月初七日辰時

諡 授 承 德 即 世 襲 麗 江 府 通 判 正 堂 高 氏 順 共 係 姚 安 世 守 高 厚 德 經 文
敕 封 妻 人 生 二 子 次 名 為 項 襲 其 職 長 子 名 坤 在 庠 年 二 十 病 故



PLATE 38. — THE TWENTY-SIXTH GENERATION. MU HSIU

木 秀 二 十 六 世 考



PLATE 39.—THE TWENTY-SEVENTH GENERATION. MU JUI

木 睿 二 十 七 世 考



PLATE 40.—THE TWENTY-EIGHTH GENERATION. MU HAN

木漢二十八世考

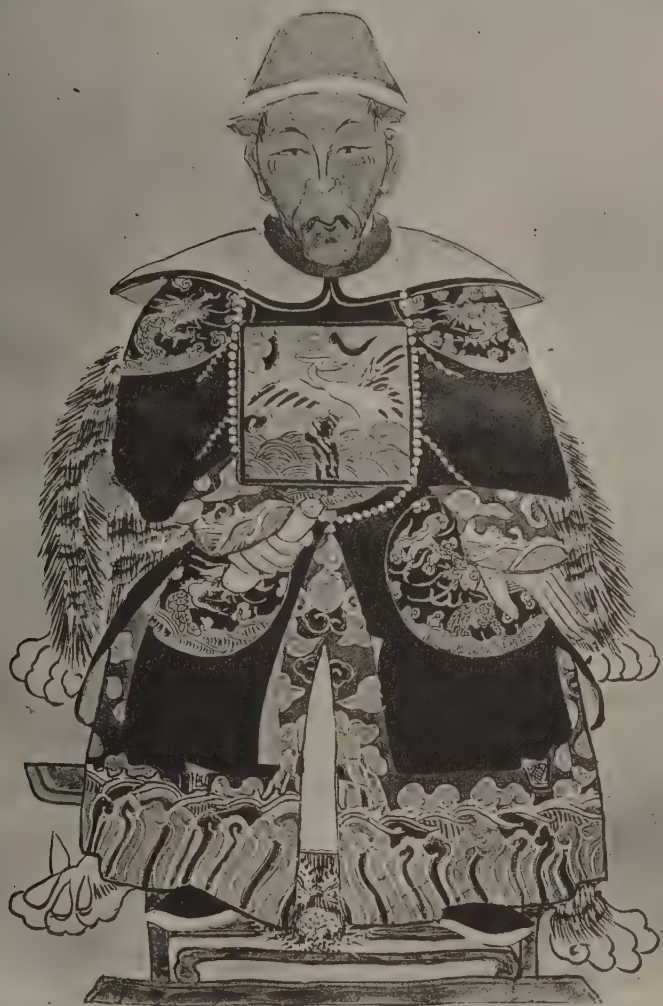


PLATE 41. — THE TWENTY-NINTH GENERATION. MU CHING

木 景 二 十 九 世 考



PLATE 42. — THE THIRTIETH GENERATION. MU YIN

木 蔭 三 十 世 考



PLATE 43.—THE THIRTY-SECOND GENERATION. MU CH'UNG

木 瓊 三 十 二 世 考

The present T'u T'ung-p'an, central figure. The child in his arms is his son, the 33rd generation, his name is Mu Sung-k'uei. Mu Ch'ung was the son of Mu Piao. The man on the right of the central figure is his uncle, the other three are cousins.



PLATE 44. — MU TSENG AS A BUDDHIST MONK

木增 (生白) 着僧服之容

Mu Tseng was a devout Buddhist who welcomed the Karma-pa sect of Lamaism to the Li-chiang district. The scroll illustrated here is beautifully painted in sombre tones; it shows Mu Tseng with a rosary in his hands and above his head the image of Amitabha. This large scroll is in the possession of the Mu family of Li-chiang. Mu Tseng was an excellent calligraphist, besides being a poet and author.

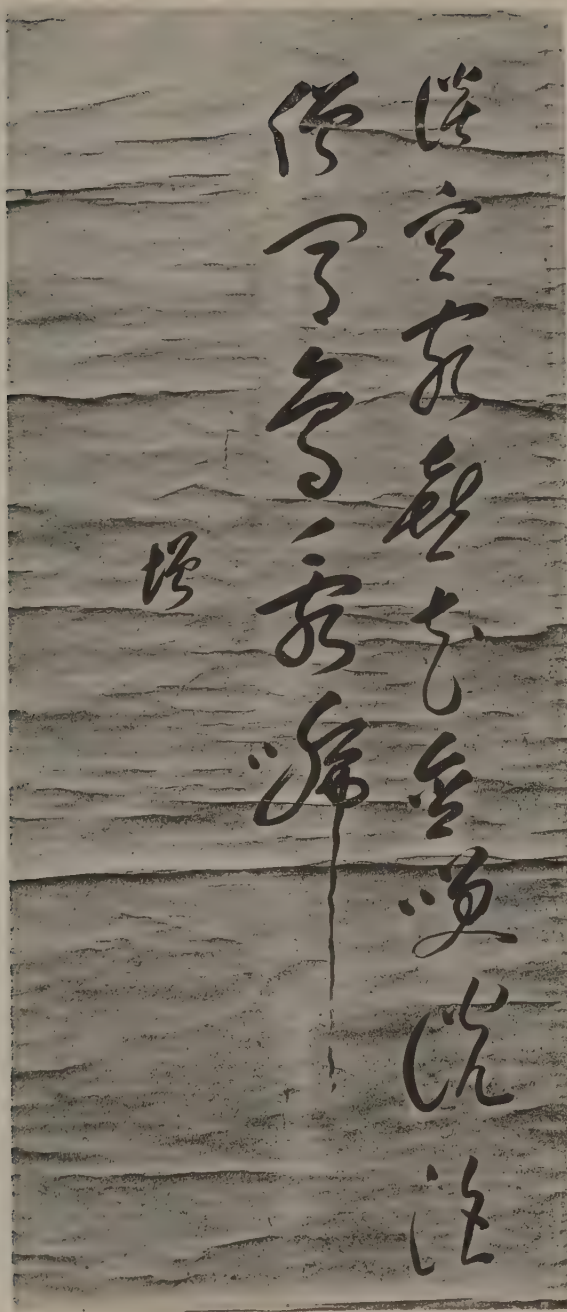


PLATE 45. — SCROLL INSCRIPTION BY MU TSENG

木 生 白 手 泐 對 聯

談空客喜花含笑 When the guests are delighted at my discussions
of all unreality, the blossoms seem to smile;
說法僧聞鳥亂啼 While the monks are listening to my preaching
of the doctrine, the birds warble confusingly
outside. The small character to left is Tseng 增.

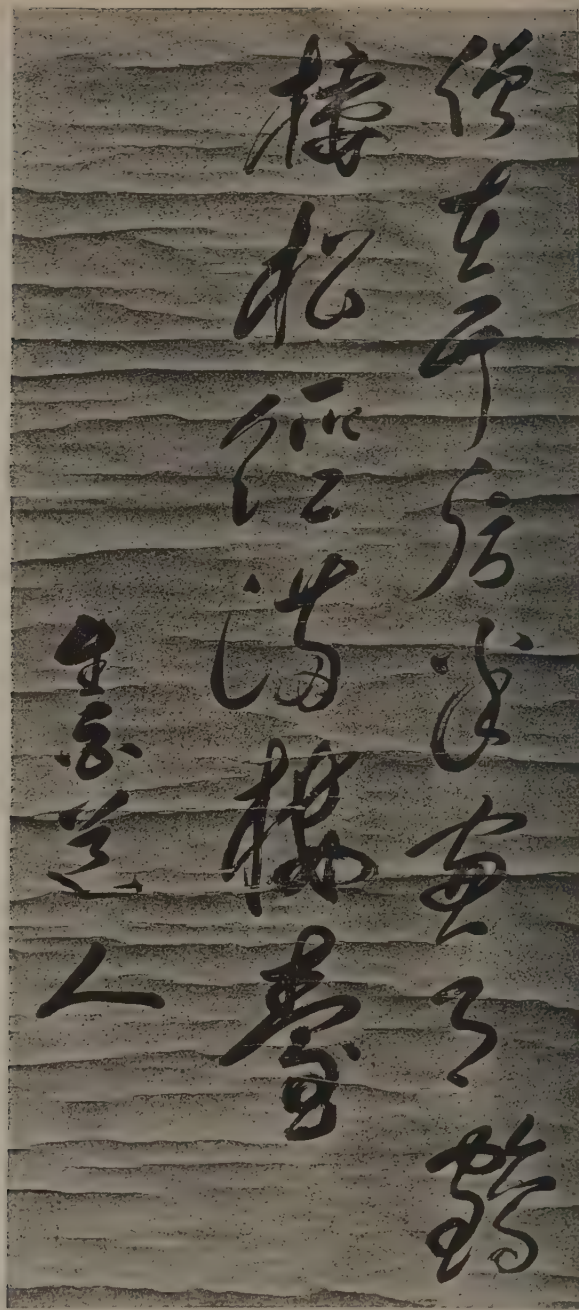


PLATE 46: — THE SECOND SCROLL INSCRIPTION BY MU TSENG.

僧在竹房半簾月 The priest meditates in his bamboo hut whose screen is half bathed in the moonlight;

鶴棲松徑滿樓臺 When the cranes have gone to roost the various lofts and towers alone relieve the somberness of the pine tree glade.

The four characters to the left are Sheng-pai Tao-jen (Buddhist).



PLATE 47. — SHRINE OF MAO AND YANG

毛 楊 二 公 祠

Adjoining the Temple of P'u-hsien, overlooking the Lake of K'un-ming, from the West.

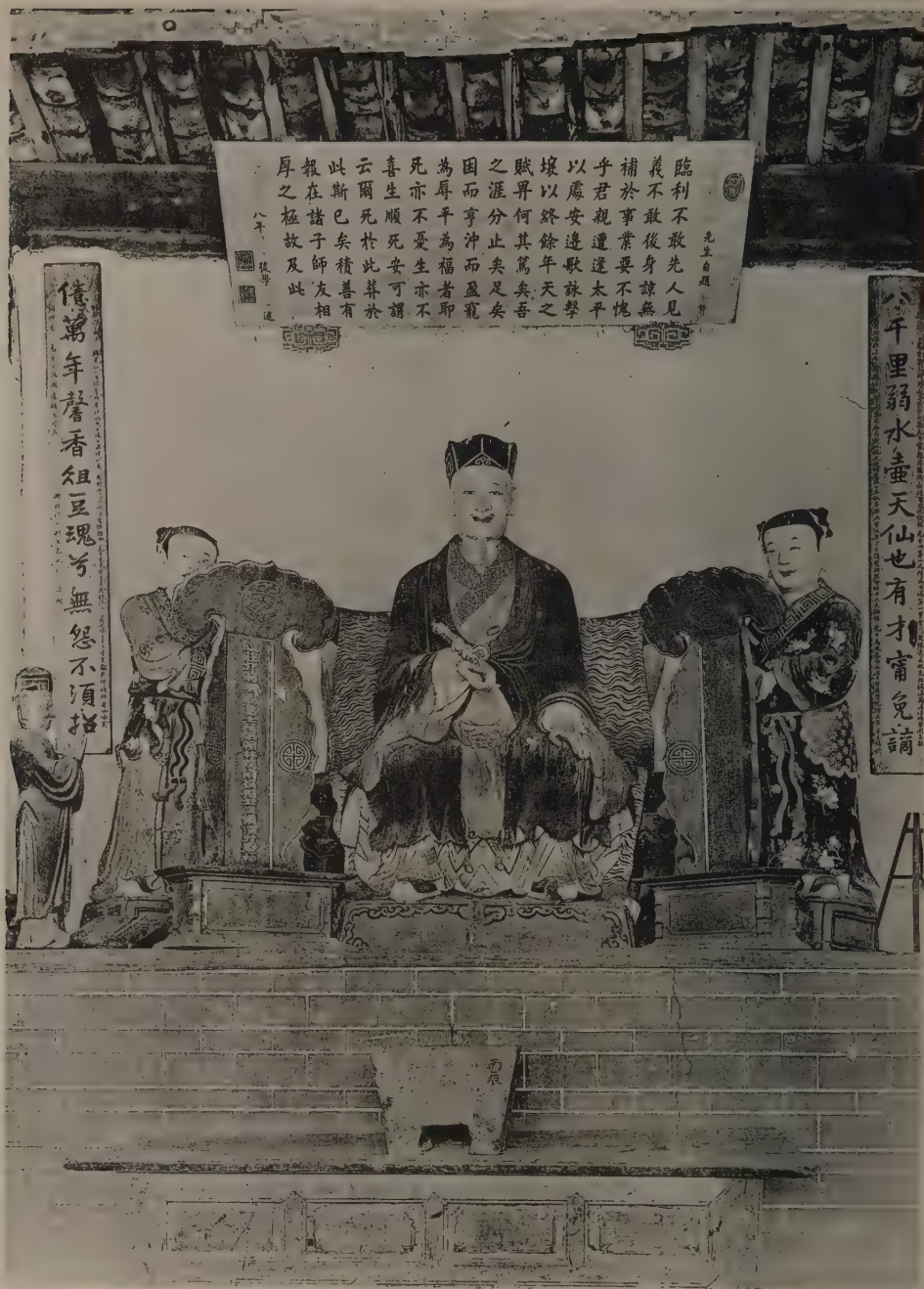


PLATE 48. — THE STATUE OF YANG SHEN

楊慎塑像

In the Shrine of Mao Yü and Yang Shen adjoining P'u-hsien Ssu, across the lake, west of K'un-ming.

ward and then one backward, while all the rest in the ring will follow suit. The leader then would chant a question which would be answered by someone in the ring blessed with a good voice. The song is apt to begin with: "Where did the wealthy Tibetan die?" The answer would be: "He died within the earth house!" "What clothes will he be dressed in?" "In a *p'u-lu* [woollen] garment he will be dressed!" — etc.

The sentences which here follow are undoubtedly those of a song once sung in the *Muan-bpö d'a*, or place especially set aside for the propitiation of Heaven, and during its performance. The actual word "Who" initiating the question is omitted in these sentences. But we can readily see that each sentence is divided into question and answer. The first sentence should therefore be translated thus: "Who laid man's egg?" "Heaven laid it!" Second sentence: "Who hatched man's egg?" "Earth hatched it!" Third sentence: "What was the egg of *Ts'o-zä* like?" "It was like the conch-shell!" — and so forth.

First sentence. — The sentence in Chinese is as follows: 草古天能古 *Ts'ao-ku-t'ien-neng-ku*. This translated literally would be: "Grass old heaven able old," which, of course, would have no meaning. It must be read in Na-khi: *Ts'o-gv-muan nnü-gkv*. It can readily be seen that the Chinese characters *Ts'ao-ku* stand for *Ts'o-gv*, the third character *t'ien* (heaven) is a translation of the Na-khi *muan*, which means heaven, there being no such sound as *muan* in Chinese. The character *neng* is the nearest approach to the Na-khi *nnü*, and the last character *ku* is here read in Na-khi *gkv*. The literal translation of the sentence is: "Man egg heaven it laid." This same sentence written in pictographs appears in the book called *Ts'o-mbër ssaw* (Plate 10) thus:



The uppermost symbol represents the vault of heaven (read *muan*), below it is the head of an elephant (read *ts'o*), below the trunk of the elephant the symbol *gv* for egg, and the last conventional sign for head is read *gkv*. Abstract ideas cannot be written with pictographs,

therefore symbols representing concrete ideas are employed or borrowed, which have the same tone value and sound complex as the abstract word which is to be conveyed. The word *nnü* is not written. In Na-khi an elephant is called *ts'o*, and when the name of *Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh* is written, either an elephant's head is used, or the figure of a man with an elephant's head. On the top of the elephant head is however the Na-khi *no-bu* = pearl, (Tibetan *nor-bu*), which would actually indicate that *Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh* is meant as the father of the Na-khi race was also the father of the *Nāga* or Serpent spirits who stole the pearl from the Lake *Muan-llü-ndaw-gyi* (K̄hü). See: Note 1, of p. 82. By stating that the egg whence man originated was laid by Heaven, the Na-khi mean to indicate that man's fate was decreed by Heaven and that he is thus identified with Heaven.

Second sentence. — 草棒地能棒 *Ts'ao-feng-ti-neng-feng*; in Na-khi: *Ts'o-bbu-dü-nnü-bbu*. The second character *feng* is ill-selected. It should be 孵 *fu*, which would be nearest to the Na-khi *bbu* and would also express the Na-khi

meaning, which is "to hatch, to transform." *Ts'o* = man (egg is here omitted, but man's egg is meant) [who] hatched man's [egg] — the earth hatched it. The Chinese character *ti* = earth is the Na-khi *dü* = earth; *nnü* is expressed again in Chinese by *neng*. In the manuscripts this sentence is written thus:



We have again the elephant for *ts'o* = man, below it an egg wrapped or covered and below it again the land (*dü* = the earth); the symbol to the right is read *bbu* and represents a pot (borrowed for its phonetic value to express *bbu* = to hatch, to incubate). It is interesting to note the selection of the character 棒 *feng*, a much more

common one than *fu* 孵, for the Na-khi *bbu*. *Feng* is read *fung* by the Yün-nan Chinese, but as the Na-khi are unable to pronounce a final consonant such as *n* or *ng*, their rendering of *feng* would be *fu*.

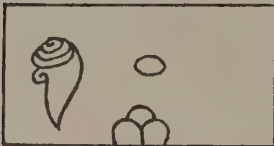
Third sentence. — 草羨古甫古 *Ts'ao-hsien-ku-fu-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ts'o-zä-gv-fu-gv*. Literally translated it says: *Ts'o-zä*, "egg conch-shell become," or the egg of *Ts'o-zä* was like the conch-shell (white).

The meaning of *ts'o-zä* is somewhat obscure. *Zä* is a spirit which controls all births, of both man and animals. If people are desirous of children, the granting of long life, or increase in flocks, they have the ceremony called *Zä-mä* performed; *mä*, meaning to wish, to want, to be desirous of. *Gv* stands again for egg, and *fu* in Na-khi is a conch-shell; the last *gv* means to become, to succeed, to be like. The phrase appears in the books very much abbreviated thus:



Ts'o is written but not *zä*, which nevertheless is read, *gv* is the egg, and the last pictograph is a conch-shell. Some books use more abbreviations than others. Na-khi priests memorize these books, the symbols or pictures acting as prompters only.

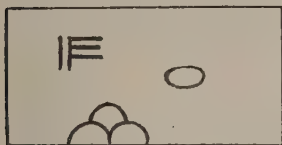
Fourth sentence. — 古甫古呂古 *Ku-fu-ku-lü-ku*; in Na-khi: *Gv-fu-gv-lv-gv*. The meaning is: "The conch-shell-like egg hot became," or, the egg which was like the conch-shell became hot. The character *lü* 呂 represents the Na-khi word *lv*, hot; the last character 古 is the Na-khi *gv* = to become, to change into, to succeed, etc. It is represented thus (Plate 11):



The first pictograph is read *fu*, the conch-shell; the second upper is *gv*, the egg, which is read three times, the last *lv* represent rocks. As *hot* is an abstract idea it cannot be written, therefore the symbol for rock, of the same phonetic value, is borrowed.

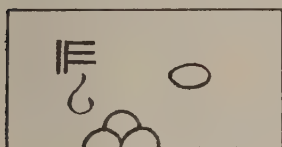
Fifth sentence. — 古呂氣呂古 *Ku-lü-ch'i-lü-ku*; in Na-khi: *Gv-lv-ssaw-lv-gv*. The literal translation is: "Egg hot breath hot succeeded," or from the hot

egg came forth hot breath (vapor). The first two characters serve as phonetics only and so do the two last; the third character *ch'i*, meaning "vapor, breath, steam," represents the Na-khi word *ssaw*. In the pictographic books it is written thus:



The first upper symbol is read *ssaw* and represents breath, vapor; the symbol *lv* (rocks) is borrowed for *lv* = hot, and *gv* stands for egg, this last character being read twice — once as *gv* = egg and the second time as *gv* = to succeed, to become, to come forth.

Sixth sentence. — 氣呂露呂古 *Ch'i-lü-lu-lü-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ssaw-lv-ndshěr-lv-gv*. The literal meaning is: "Vapor hot dew hot succeed [came forth]," or from the hot vapor came forth hot dew. The first character is translated as in the previous sentence, i.e. *ssaw* = vapor; the second *lü* for *lv* = hot; the third character translates the Na-khi word *ndshěr*, which means dew; the fourth stands again for the phonetic *lv* = hot; and *ku* for *gv* = to come forth, etc. In pictographs it appears thus:



The first upper symbol is *ssaw* = vapor; the next below is read *ndshěr*, represented by a dewdrop; the lowest character *lv* = rock stands for hot, and the last *gv* = egg for "to succeed," the phonetic value of "egg" being borrowed.

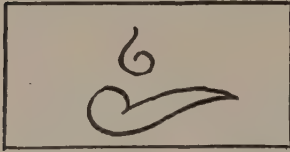
Seventh sentence. — 露呂陸點古 *Lu-lü-liu-tien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ndshěr-lv-ch'wua-t'o-gv*. Literally it means: "Dew hot six drops came forth," or from the hot dew came forth six drops. In the Chinese sentence three characters, the first, third and fourth, are translations of Na-khi words, while the second and fifth are Chinese phonetic renderings. *Lu* = *ndshěr* = dew; *lü* = *lv* = hot; *liu* = *ch'wua* = six; *tien* = *t'o* = a dot, a drop; and *ku* = *gv* = to come forth. In the pictographic text it appears thus:



The first upper symbol represents a drop, the second, rock, again for hot; the next upper again a drop represented by the dewdrop sign; below it six dots for the number six; the last, egg = to come forth, succeed, etc.

Eighth sentence. — 一點海娘丁 *I-tien-hai-niang-ting*; in Na-khi: *Ddù-t'o-kihü-nyu-nděr*. Literal meaning: "One drop lake inside," or one drop fell into the sea (or lake). The first three characters represent translations from the Na-khi, while the two last are Chinese phonetic renderings of Na-khi words. Here again characters have been selected for Na-khi words simply for the reason that to the Chinese ear they sound similar to *nyu* and *nder* of the Na-khi who would read the character *niang* as *nya*, and the character *ting* as *ti*, being

unable to pronounce final consonants; *ting* = *ti* coming closest to their word *ndër*. In pictographs it is written:



The meaning is here indicated by two symbols only, the upper *ndshër*, dewdrop, the lower *khü*, lake, sea.

Ninth sentence. — 海失海美古 *Hai-shih-hai-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Khü-shi-khü-zä-gv*. Literally: "Lake golden *Khü-zä* came forth," or from the golden lake was born *Khü-zä*. Apparently the first human being was called *Khü-zä*. It is intimated that when one of the dewdrops fell into the lake it changed to a golden color, and from that golden lake *Khü-zä*, the first being was born. The second, fourth and fifth characters, were selected for their phonetic value, while the first and third were selected for their ideographic meaning. The Na-khi word for gold, *ha-shi* (*ha* = gold, *shi* = yellow) has been rendered phonetically by the character *shih*. In the pictographic symbols the sentence is written:



The first upper symbol is read *shi* and represents a lump of gold from which bright rays are emitted, the lower one is *khü* = lake, and the upper winged being is the spirit *Zä* which here is, however, a phonetic only, *khü* = lake being read twice, the second time as a pho-

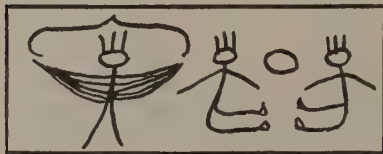
netic. It is part of the name of the first being *Khü-zä*. *Gv* = egg stands here for *gv* = to come forth, to succeed.

Tenth sentence. — 海美刺羨古 *Hai-hsien-la-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Khü-zä-la-zä-gv*, which means literally: "From *Khü-zä* *La-zä* succeeded (was born)." The five characters stand for Na-khi phonetics. This is written in pictographs:



The first pictograph represents a tiger, read *la*, and serves, like the next *zä*, as a phonetic only; the egg stands for *gv*, to come forth. *Khü-zä* is not written, as it appears in the preceding rubric.

Eleventh sentence. — 刺羨天羨古 *La-hsien-t'ien-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi, *La-zä-muan-zä-gv*. Literal meaning: "La-zä *Muan-zä* came forth," or, La-zä was succeeded by *Muan-zä*. All the characters, with the exception of the third one, serve as phonetics only. *T'ien* = heaven is Chinese for the Na-khi *muan* = heaven, and is given here although the word *muan* is part of the name *Muan-zä*. In the script it appears thus:



The first part of the phrase reads *muan-zä*, the upper sign representing the vault of heaven, *muan*. Below is the spirit *Zä* taken here for the name only. The next, two demons (*ts'u* in Na-khi) in a sitting

position with feet nearly touching, is read *ts'u-ts'u* and means to kick, being part of the name of the next generation: *Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u*. *Ts'u-ts'u* was the son of *Muan-zä*, the father's name always preceding the son's.

From here on commences the genealogy, giving the names of the men and of the women they married. There follow now 12 families (generations) until we come to *Ch'iu-yang* 秋陽, who became the *San-tien Tsung-kuan* 三甸總管 during the reign of *Kao Tsung*, *Shang-yüan* 高宗上元 (674-675).

2. THE TWELVE LEGENDARY GENERATIONS

First. — *T'ien-hsien Ts'ung-ts'ung* 天羨從從; *Na-khi*: *Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u*. The *Na-khi* word *muan* = heaven is translated into Chinese, while *ts'u-ts'u* is rendered by the Chinese as *ts'ung-ts'ung*. This generation is included in the previous, eleventh, rubric.

Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u's wife was the celestial woman, *K'uei-tu-mu-shu* 虧都母書; *Na-khi*: *K'ö-dtu-mun-ssu*.

Second. — *Ts'ung-ts'ung Ts'ung-yang* 從從從羊; *Na-khi*: *Ts'u-ts'u Ts'u-yü*. The first three characters serve as phonetics only, while the *Na-khi* *yü* = sheep is translated by the fourth character, *yang* = sheep. It can be seen that the father's name always precedes that of the son. In the pictographic books the name is written:



The first two symbols represent demons and are read *ts'u-ts'u*, the third is a sheep and is read *yü*. One of the *ts'u* symbols is read twice.

Ts'u-ts'u Ts'u-yü married the celestial *Tang-ch'ing-ch'ing-shu* 當青青書; *Na-khi*: *Dta-ts'ä-ts'ä-ssu*.

Third. — *Ts'ung-yang Ts'ung-chiao* 從羊從交; *Na-khi*: *Ts'u-yü Ts'u-dgyu*; written in pictographs thus:



The first symbol is a demon (read *ts'u*), the second a sheep (read *yü*), the third again a demon (read *ts'u*), and the fourth a donkey (read *gkyü*, also pronounced *dgyu*).

Ts'u-yü Tsu-dgyu married the celestial woman, *Chi-li-chi-shu* 集里集書; *Na-khi*: *Ndzi-llü-ndzi ssu*.

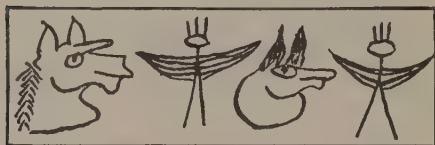
Fourth. — *Ts'ung-chiao Chiao-hsien* 從交交羨; *Na-khi*: *Ts'u-dgyu Dgyu-dze*. He married the celestial woman, *A-chün-ngai-shu* 阿均岩書; *Na-khi*: *A-dzi-ssä-ssu*.

The introduction of the character *ngai* (cliff) in the name of this woman is of interest. The *Na-khi* *ssä*, the third syllable of her name, means a goral (*Naemorhedus griseus*), called in Chinese *ngai-yang* 岩羊 (cliff sheep). The

first character *ngai* has thus been used to indicate that the word is to be read *ssä*. This is, of course, only intelligible to those Na-khi who understand Chinese. These often write letters in the Na-khi language, but using Chinese characters to transcribe their sound complexes, the method employed being similar to that of transcribing these names.

This particular generation, Ts'u-dgyu Dgyu-dze, is strangely missing in all Na-khi manuscripts dealing with their ancestors, and nowhere does the name appear except in the genealogy, written in Chinese.

Fifth. — Chiao-hsien Pi-hsien 交羨比羨; Na-khi: Dgyu-dze Dzi-dze. In the manuscripts the name appears thus:



Kgyü (*dgyu*) is a donkey, *zä* a spirit, *dzi* a jackal, the third symbol again the winged spirit *zä*. In the spoken language a jackal is called *p'a*, but in the literary language it is called *dzi*. The symbol also stands for

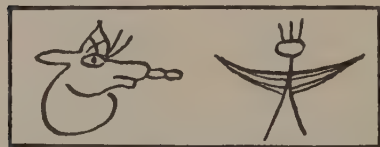
"man," or better, "people," that is, peasants not of the descent of Ts'o, which is "man" written with an elephant's head. In most cases the word *dzi* is employed for non-Na-khi people.

Chiao-hsien Pi-hsien married the celestial woman, K'uan-tu-mu-shu 寬都木書; Na-khi: K'wua-dtu-mbër-ssu. Her name is written in the books thus:



The first symbol *k'wua* is a hoof; *dtu* is the symbol for the numeral 1,000; *mbër* is a yak; and the last symbol is read *ssu* and represents a die.

Sixth. — Pi-hsien Ts'ao-hsien 比羨草羨; Na-khi: Dzi-dze Ts'o-dze. All these characters serve as phonetics only. Written in Na-khi thus:



The first part of the name is taken from the previous rubric giving the name of his father, the second half, his own name, is represented by *ts'o*, a conventional elephant's head which when thus written stands for Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, whom the

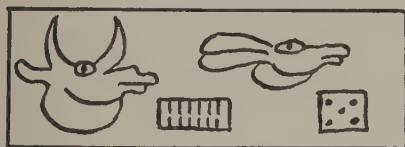
Na-khi consider their foremost ancestor. On the top of the head is a *no-bu* (pearl), to indicate the ancestry of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh. He had a common origin with the *llü-mun* (serpent spirits), which carry a pearl on their heads — they had the same father, but different mothers.¹ The symbol is that of a *llü-mun* (serpent spirit). Note the head-dress representing a *no-bu* (pearl).



¹ In a manuscript entitled *K'ö-ddu-gv-lër-mä* belonging to the *Ssu-gv* ceremony (propitiation of the serpents), we are told that the *Llü-mun* (*Nāga*) and the Na-khi had a common father, but that the mother of the *Llü-mun* was called *K'ö-ddu-gv-ssu-mä* and the mother of the Na-khi *K'ö-ddu-gv-lër mä*. The name of the father is not given.

The character *zä* is here read *dze*.

Dzi-dze Ts'o-dze married the celestial woman, Wei-hui-lai-shu 爲揮來書; Na-khi: Ghügh-*khü-lä-ssu*. Her name appears in the manuscripts thus:



Ghügh is an ox in Na-khi, *khü* the teeth — the symbol represents a mouth showing the teeth; *lä* is a rabbit, and *ssu* is a die.

Seventh. — Ts'ao-hsien Li-wei-wei 草羨里爲爲; Na-khi: Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh. The genealogy adds an additional *wei* = *ghügh*. All characters serve as phonetics only. The volume entitled *Ts'o-mbër t'u* (Origin of the Generation of Ts'o) deals entirely with this ancestor, his brothers, and the flood which destroyed them because they practised incest; Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, who abstained, alone surviving; then with his marriage to a celestial woman, and finally with the story of his offspring, who became ill and could not be cured until certain Na-khi books were secured from the goddess P'ër-ndzi-ssaw-mä. This story is related in a book called *Bpö-p'a gko-shu* and is chanted at many ceremonies performed by the priests.²

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh's name is written thus:



The ring in front of the mouth represents the trunk of the elephant, the two lines near the eye the tusks, the hood on top of the head the *no-bu* (pearl), to show, as already remarked, that he and the serpent spirits, who always appear crowned by pearls, had a common father.

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh was married to the celestial woman, Ch'ing-hui-p'u-p'u 青揮蒲蒲; Na-khi: Ts'ä-*khü-bu-bu* (mi). The characters serve as phonetics only. In manuscripts her name is not written out, but the figure of a woman is sketched with the outlines of a leaf (read *ts'ä*), and the symbol for fire, representing three flames. The symbol for fire is read *mi*, but in the third tone, *mi* = woman. The word *mi* is usually added to names of females. In the genealogy it is omitted.

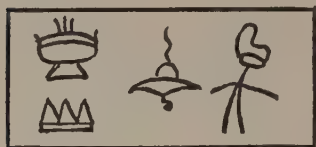


To them were born three sons, who divided (later) into three clans, and lived 1,700 years.

Eighth. — Li-wei No-yü 里爲糯子; Na-khi: Llü-ghügh Non-ō. The characters serve as phonetics only. This ancestor is commonly referred to in the manuscripts as Ghügh-hö-non. It is strange that in spite of the Na-khi being unable to pronounce a definite final consonant, they will in certain cases add a final nasal, *n*, which I transcribe as an underlined *n* according to usage. They will say for *no* 糯, as in this instance, *non* instead of a clear *no*. Llü-ghügh Non-ō married the woman (the word celestial is now omitted) Wu-nü-wu-chung 吳女吳鐘; Na-khi: Wu-mi-wu-dsu. The first and two last characters serve as phonetics, the second character *nü* =

² (See "The Origin of the Tso-la books, or books of divination of the Na-khi or Mo-so tribe," J. F. Rock, in *Journ. West China Board. Res. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, 39-52 [1936].)

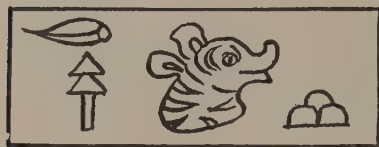
woman is translated into Na-khi and reads *mi* = woman. They lived 1,500 years.



The wife's name is written thus in Na-khi: The first upper symbol is read *wu* = a slave, the second *mi* = fire, but read in the third tone = woman. The third is read *dsu* and represents a bell, the fourth is a figure of a woman, to indicate that it represents a female name.

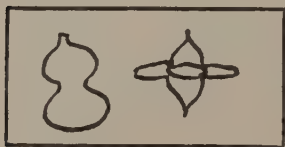
Ninth. — No-yü Nan-pan-p'u 糯于南伴普; Na-khi: Non-ō Na-bä-p'ö. All five characters serve as phonetics.

In the books he is called Zo-ts'ü Ō and his wife is called T'o-k'ö-ssä-lv. According to the genealogy he married the woman, Chi-nü-chi-t'a-la-lu 戟女戟他刺魯; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-t'a-la-lv. Her name appears thus in the books:



The first upper symbol is read *gyi* = water; the lower *t'a*, representing a pagoda or chhorten (mchhod-rten); the next is a tiger and is read *la*; the last symbol *lv* represents rocks. In the books this woman appears as the wife of Ghügh-hö Non (Llü-ghügh Non-ō of the genealogy).

Tenth. — Pan-p'u Yü 伴普于; Na-khi: Bä-p'ö Ō. The characters serve as phonetics only. The name appears in the manuscripts thus:



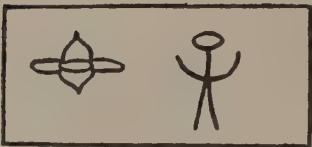
The first symbol is read *Bä-p'ö* and represents a bottle gourd, the second is read *ō*. It represents a turquoise and stands also for the adjectives green and blue.

Bä-p'ö Ō married the woman, K'uan-tu-mu-lu 寬都木魯; Na-khi: K'wua-dtu-mbër-lv. They lived 1,060 years. Her name appears in the books thus:



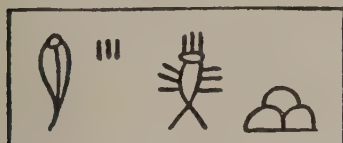
The first symbol is read *k'wua* and represents a hoof; the second *dtu* represents the numeral 1,000. The third is a yak, read *mbër*; and the fourth is read *lv* = rocks.

Eleventh. — Then follows Yü Ko lai 于哥來; Na-khi: Ō Gkaw-lä. His name is written in Na-khi thus:



The first symbol is read *ō* and represents a turquoise, hence also blue and green; the second represents a man with his arms stretched upwards (read *Gkaw-lä*). The origin of the meaning has been lost.

He married the woman, Chi-nü-chi-ssu-mu-lu 戟女戟思母魯; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-ssu-mun-lv. Her name is written:



The first symbol is read *gyi* and represents water; the second *ssu*, the numeral three; the third is read *mun* and represents the water demon; the fourth, rocks (read *lv*).

Ō Gkaw-lä figures in many of the Na-khi books, and the great funeral ceremony called

Khi-nv is based on him. One of his sons, Gkaw-lä Ts'ü, the next generation, figures in the book called *Gkaw-lä Ts'ü ô-sher*, in which the story of his father is related. The meaning of the title of the book is: "Gkaw-lä Ts'ü soul calls," or, he calls the soul of his father, *i.e.*, redeems it. PLATES I and II accompanying the book *Beginnings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia*, by T. de Lacouperie (1894), represent the book *Gkaw-lä Ts'ü ô-shēr*. It is the key-book to the *Khi nv* funeral ceremony.

In several other Na-khi manuscripts Ō Gkaw-lä is recorded as married to women bearing other names, as Ō-yu-dtu-nun-mi and K'wua-dtu-mbēr-lv. The latter is the wife of his father in the genealogy. He and his wife lived 1,700 years.

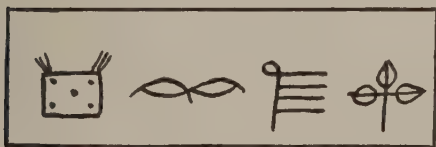
Twelfth. — Ko-lai Ch'iu 哥來秋; Na-khi: Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. The characters serve as phonetics only.



His name is never written, but represented by the symbol to the left which always stands for Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. The plume on the top of the head is the symbol for *ts'ü* or millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) and is here used phonetically, indicating the name of Gkaw-lä Ts'ü. He was married to Chi-nü-chi-chung 戟女戟鐘; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-dsu. To them were born four sons who

separated into four clans, the Ssu (東 Shu), Yu (葉 Yeh), Mä (買 Mai) and Ho (何 Ho). They lived 1,090 years.

The Na-khi clan names just mentioned are written thus:



The first symbol is *ssu* and represents a species of grass, the basic symbol is *ssu* = a die, with the grass-like lines on top it indicates that the grass *ssu* is meant; the second is *yu* and represents wilted leaves; the third *ho*, ribs;

the fourth, *mä*, is the name of an unknown tree.

The name of Gkaw-lä Ts'ü's wife is written:



The first symbol is read *gyi* = water; the second *mi* = woman, again indicated by the third symbol for fire, *mi* or three flames at the foot of the figure; and the fourth, *dsu* = a bell.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 6, fol. 60b, states that: "The clans Shu and Yeh 東葉 dwelled in the city. The T'u-ssu 土司 (native chief) Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年, ancestor of the Mu family

木氏, originated from the Yeh clan. The two other clans, Mä and Ho (Mai 買, Ho 禾), dwelled outside on the mountains and in the Yangtze valley."

In a book belonging to the *Non-bbu*, or *No-bbu* ceremony, the four clans are mentioned: "The Mä clan lived at Mä-ssä-t'a-wua-p'ër, the Ho at Ho-dsu-lv-na-wüa, the Ssu at Ssu-bbue-lv-lä-wüa and the Yu at Llü-shwua-yu-gkaw-la."

The family name for the common people was Ho, then and now written 和. This Chinese character was selected for the following reasons: It can be analysed into 禾 口 木. When the radical *p'ieh* is placed on top of the character *mu* 木 representing the family name of the chiefs, it becomes *ho* 禾 (grain); and by adding *k'ou* 口 (mouth) it becomes *ho* 和, which the peasants explain as feeding the mouths of the Mu family, hence the peasants of the Mu chiefs. Many of the people now calling themselves Ho were originally outsiders who, out of fear of the Na-khi chiefs, called themselves by this name to make believe that they were natives of Li-chiang, as they would otherwise have been driven out or suppressed.

It was during the Ming dynasty, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382), that the Na-khi chiefs were given the family name Mu 木, according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 下, ch. 2, fol. 18b. The Mu family did not allow the people who had charge of their affairs, and whose name was Mu by virtue of belonging to their family, to retain that name. If they represented the third generation they could use the name A 阿, the old family name of the Na-khi chiefs. If they represented the fifth generation they were given the name Ho 和. Outsiders coming to Li-chiang to settle had to call themselves Ho 和, therefore all the peasants were so named. After the country came under direct Chinese rule and the native magistrates ceased to exist in 1723, the peasants could readopt their old family names, and new settlers could keep their own names.

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh and his wife Ts'ä-khü-bu-bu-mi had three sons and, according to Na-khi manuscripts, they were collectively called Ghügh-khü ssu-zo-yi; the first-born became the ancestor of the Tibetans and lived at La-sa-t'o-k'ö-p'ër, his wife's name being P'ër-mi; the second was the Na-khi ancestor, his wife's name being Wu-mi-wu-dsu. According to the genealogy he was called Llü-ghügh Non-ö and figures as the Na-khi descendant of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh. He dwelled at Dzi-yu-lü-gv-ö, that is, the "man born who dwelled in the center." The third son was the ancestor of the Lä-bbu (the Chinese Min-chia 民家). His wife's name was Ssa-mi, and he dwelled at Zhi-zaw-man.

In one of the Na-khi funeral songs, called *Mun-ndz(ër)-ä-lä-dzhu*, occurs the passage: "Bu-lv zhi-zaw-man, Lä-bbu ä-ssi mun," meaning, "At the tail-end of the shepherd's trail the father of the Lä-bbu died." Now the Lä-bbu are the Min-chia of the Ta-li plain and neighborhood. *Zhi-zaw-man* = the end of the road, that is, where the road from the Na-khi highlands ends and that of the plain commences.

CHAPTER VI

THE HISTORICAL GENERATIONS OF THE NA-KHI KINGS

I. YÜEH-SUI CHAO

After the name of Ko-lai Ch'iu (Gkaw-lä Ts'ü of the Na-khi) there appears the following statement in the genealogy:

FIRST GENERATION. — The first ancestor was Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年. He was a Mo-so 摩娑 of the T'ang dynasty. Eleven generations previous to Yeh-ku-nien, during the Eastern Han (the land) was made the Yüeh-sui chao 越雋詔, Yüeh-sui Kingdom — *chao* meaning king. Six generations after Yeh-ku-nien it was changed to Tso-kuo chao 柞國詔, and Ting-tso-hsien 定柞縣 (district of Ting-tso; this included the land of the present-day Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 in Ssu-ch'uan). It was changed to K'un-ming 昆明 and (the ruler) promoted to K'un-ming Tsung-chün-kuan 昆明總軍官 (Commander-in-Chief of K'un-ming). To the ancestor Yeh-ku-nien in the time of T'ang Wu-te (618-626) and to the descendant Ch'iu-yang 秋陽,¹ there were in all 17 generations.

2. TSO-KUO CHAO

Ch'iu-yang 秋陽: In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty K'un-ming was merged with Sui chou 雋州. During the reign of Kao Tsung 高宗, in the period of Shang-yüan 上元 (674-675), he became the San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管 (Governor of San-tien).² His wife's name was Mi-chün-hsi-shu 彌均習鼠.

¹ According to the introduction written by Yang Shen to the Second Chronicle, Yeh-ku-nien was a military official during the reign of T'ang Wu-te, and Ch'iu-yang took office in the period of Shang-yüan of T'ang Kao Tsung (674-675). His successor Yang-ku took office in the period of T'ien-pao of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 天寶玄宗 (742-755).

It is however stated in the Chronicle, more correctly in the introduction of Chang Chih-shun, that counting from Yeh-ku-nien to Ch'iu-yang, there were six hereditary rulers. The time which elapsed during these six rulers is only about 56 years. If the rulers represented six generations then the time is certainly insufficient. The records do not appear to be authentic; this seems to be confirmed by the statement on the memorial stone in the Mu burial ground that nothing is known about Yeh-ku-nien.

² In the *Yüan Shih* 元史 (Mongol History), Yeh-ku-nien is mentioned as Yeh-ku-cha 葉古乍. It states that he conquered the territory east of Li-chiang at the foot of the snow range, anciently called San-t'an 三贓 and which was inhabited by the savages called P'u-hsieh 僕緡. The same statement occurs in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* under the now obsolete name of T'ung-an chou 通安州 (*which see*), situated three li east of the present city of Li-chiang. Its former name was San-t'an, the P'u-hsieh-man (here written 濮緡蠻) dwelled there, and Yeh-ku-nien of the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) conquered the territory. See: Addendum page 471.

The name San-t'an is apparently identical with the Tibetan name of Li-chiang, which is Sa-tham (Na-khi, Sa-ddo). The latter is the name of the mountain god of the Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 (Li-chiang snow range), who is also the patron spirit of the Na-khi. San-tien was east of T'ung-an chou. San-tien and San-t'an could not have been far apart and probably the two places are identical.

As to the P'u-hsieh savages mentioned at the beginning of the note the *Yün-nan T'ung-*

Yang-yin Tu-ku 陽音都谷:³ During the reign of Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 in the period of K'ai-yüan 開元 (713-741, actually 730) the Liu chao 六詔 (Six Kingdoms) were united into one which was called the Nan-chao Kingdom 南詔. Yang-yin Tu-ku became the San-tien Tsung-kuan, and hence turned his allegiance to the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the period of T'ien-pao 天寶 (742-755), Ko-lo-feng 閣羅鳳, King of Nan-chao, rebelled against the Imperial rule of T'ang and invaded Sui chou 嵩州. Ku commanded the vanguard of the Nan-chao troops. On account of his merit in capturing Cheng Hui 鄭回,⁴ district magistrate of Hsi-lu 西瀘 of

chih, ch. 199, fol. 1a, states that "Wu Wang 武王 [of the Chou 周 dynasty, 1122-1116 B.C.] held a great assembly at Meng-chin 孟津 [in the present-day Huai-ch'ing fu 懷慶府, Ho-nan], at which men of Yung 庸, Shu 蜀, Ch'iang 羌, Mou 髦, Wei 微, Lu 盧, P'eng 彭 and P'u 濮 were present. Among these tribes were three from Tien 滇 (Yün-nan), namely the Mou, Wei and P'u. The P'u alone flourished." Later they became more and more numerous. Meng-chin (the ford of Meng) was on the Yellow river in Ho-nan. (See "The Books of Chou 周," "The Great Declaration 泰誓"; also "The Speech at Mu 牧誓." J. LEGGE, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. III, Pt. II, pp. 281, 301 respectively.) The names of the tribes here enumerated are those of the Hsi-nan-i pa-kuo ming 西南夷八國名, i.e., those of the eight kingdoms of the rude tribes on the west and south.

West of the village or market-place of Boa-shi (Pai-sha-kai 白沙街 of the Chinese), 20 li north of Li-chiang, at the foot of the southern spur of the snow range, there is a village called 'A-k'ö (At the foot of the cliff). Its Chinese name is Ngai-chio 岩脚, but it is now more often spoken of as An-chüeh 安覺. On the cliff behind this village, there is an inscription (approachable only with a ladder) in the shape of a seven-character poem, which states that there at the foot of the cliff was the dwelling of the sacred lords (of the Mu family 木氏) of San-tien.

This was the first settlement of the Na-khi Kings. The stone platform where their houses stood and the old pillars of a temple are still visible.

The place is called 'A-k'ö d'a. The Mu family had 12 d'a (places of residence). There is a song chanted by the old Na-khi peasants which tells of these d'a of their ancient chiefs. (See: note 155, p. 148.) The Tai words *po-na* 伯那 or *pa-na* 八那 have apparently the same meaning as the Na-khi word d'a. The headings to the First Chronicle, as well as to the inscription on the memorial stone in the Mu family burial-ground, where the foot of the divine (exalted) Yü-lung Shan is mentioned as the *po-na* (residence) of Yang (Ch'iu-yang — Ch'iu being his father's name, Yang his own), have apparently reference to this first dwelling of the Na-khi chiefs at 'A-k'ö d'a, which is literally at the foot of the snow range. Ch'iu-yang, according to the Chronicle was the first ruler of San-tien, and it is very likely that 'A-k'ö d'a was his first place of residence.

There are two Chinese inscriptions and one in Tibetan on the cliff. The oldest dates from the 13th year of Ming Chia-ching: "Written by Mu Kao 木高, after carefully bathing and qualified to become hereditary chief of the 38th generation [he was on that date 19 years old], in the Spring, the third moon and 12th day (April 24th, 1534)."

The first sentence tells of the origin of the Mu family in the following words: *Mu-shih yüan-yüan Yüeh Han lai* 木氏淵源越漢來, "The Mu family's origin is from Yüeh [Sui] Han dynasty." (The western part of Ssu-ch'uan during the Han dynasty comprised two *Chün*, I chou 益州 and Yüeh-sui 越巂. It was from the latter that the Mu family hailed according to the inscription above mentioned.)

The second inscription, also in a seven-character poem, was written by the Na-khi chief Mu Kung 木公 of the 37th generation and is dated the 15th day of the first moon of the 15th year of Chia-ching (February 16th, 1536). It tells of the extensive forests on all sides, like evening smoke settling over the landscape. These, alas, have now disappeared.

³ This is the Yang-ku 陽谷 of the Second Chronicle of Yang Shen's list.

⁴ Cheng Hui was a native of Hsiang chou 相州 in the circuit of Ho-peï 河北道 (the present-day Ho-peï Province). He was a scholar, and the magistrate of Hsi-lu in Sui chou 嵩州, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 in Ssu-ch'uan.

After his capture, Ko-lo-feng and his son, Feng-ch'ieh-i 鳳伽異, and his grandson, I-mou-shün, treated him like a teacher — According to the *Ta-li hsien chih kao*, ch. 11, fol. 27b.

the T'ang dynasty, he was promoted by the Nan-chao Kingdom to the position of Tsung-tu Yüan-shuai 總督元帥 (Viceroy and Generalissimo). His wife was named A-shih A-hui 阿室阿揮 (in Na-khi, A-shi A-khü).

Tu-ku La-chü 都谷刺具: In the 10th year of the period of T'ien-pao (751) of T'ang, the Nan-chao Kingdom defeated the Imperial army at the Hsi-erh River 西洱河, Yün-nan,⁵ and invaded the office of the Governor-general of Yün-nan province. It now began to proclaim itself the Ta Meng Kuo 大蒙國 (Great Meng Kingdom). As Chü acquired much merit by joining the punitive expeditions of the Nan-chao, it was approved that he succeed his father as Viceroy and Generalissimo. His wife was named A-shih A-yao 阿室阿堯.

La-chü P'u-meng 刺具普蒙: In the first year of the period of Cheng-yüan 貞元 of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗 (785), there was newly established the office of Chieh-tu shih 節度使 (Imperial Commissioner), to which Meng was appointed by the Emperor in the district of Li-shui 麗水 (the present Li-chiang). His wife was named A-shih T'ieh-nü 阿室僭女.

P'u-meng P'u-wang 普蒙普王: He succeeded his father as Imperial commissioner of Li-shui. In the third year of the period of Cheng-yüan (787), I-mou-hsün 異牟尋, King of Nan-chao, submitted to the Imperial court, but secretly still had connections with the T'u-fan 吐蕃. The Imperial court suspected this and instructed Wang to put restrictions on them. Meanwhile, a number of T'u-fan chiefs were enticed to attend a great banquet given by Wang in their honor in the temple called the Tien-ts'ang Shan-miao 點蒼山廟⁶ of Ta-li. When they were drunk, he killed them all.

In the ninth year of the period Cheng-yüan of T'ang Te Tsung (793), Wang guided the Imperial general Wei Kao 韋臯⁷ with borrowed Nan-chao troops against the T'u-fan. The latter were then utterly defeated.

In the 10th year (794) Wang broke down the iron bridge at Shih-men Kuan 石門關 (Stone-gate Pass). In the meantime, he captured 16 cities of the T'u-fan Kingdom and made captive its five princes. On account of the military merit achieved in this expedition, the Emperor conferred on him the honorary title of Wu-hsün Kung 武勳公 (Duke of military merit). His wife was named A-shih Chieh-chieh-yü-lu-lu 阿室節節于魯祿.

This might be said to have been the most prosperous age of the Mu family.

⁵ The Hsi-erh Ho is the Ta-li Lake as well as the stream entering the lake in the north, and so is the exit of the lake at Hsia-kuan 下關.

⁶ This is Tien-ts'ang Shan-shen Tz'u 點蒼山神祠 (Shrine of the Spirit of the Tien-ts'ang Range). It is situated three li west of T'ai-ho hsien in Ta-li district. For a detailed account of the decapitation of the Tibetan envoys see *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史, Vol. 1, ch. 3, fol. 17b; also SAINSON's translation, p. 52. It was in the shrine of the Tien-ts'ang Shan-shen (Tz'u) that I-mou-hsün swore allegiance to the T'ang empire.

⁷ Wei Kao was a general in the T'ang dynasty who lived between 745-805. He ruled Ssu-ch'uan for 21 years and was constantly at war with the Tibetans. He is said to have killed 480,000 of them in battle, also 1,500 generals, and beheaded 5,000 prisoners. He was a native of Ching-chao 京兆 in Shensi: his literary name was Ch'eng-wu 城武. The *Ch'in-ling chiu T'ang shu* 欽定舊唐書, ch. 140, p. 3, states that he sent a judge by name Ts'ui Tso-shih 崔佐時 to the Nan-chao Kingdom; he reached the Man Kuo 蠻國 (country of the savages) and its capital, Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 羊咀咩城, the present Ta-li 大理. There he met its king, I-mou-hsün, who begged him to cut off the T'u-fan.

P'u-wang La-wan 普王剌完: He inherited his father's title of Duke of military merit; his wife was named A-shih Wei-yu-yü-lü-neng 阿室爲由于呂能 (in Na-khi, A-shi Ghügh-yu-ö-lv-nnü).

La-wan Hsi-nei 剌完西內: In the reign of Hsien Tsung 憲宗, period Yüan-ho 元和 (806-820), the name of his kingdom was changed to Yüeh-hsi 越析, and he was appointed as its Chün-min Tsung-kuan 軍民總管 (Military and Civil governor). He succeeded his father as Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Han-nü 阿室漢女.

3. YÜEH-HSI CHAO

Hsi-nei Hsi-k'o 西內西可:⁸ In the reign of Wen Tsung 文宗, period T'ai-ho 太和 (827-835), the Nan-chao Kingdom rebelled against the Imperial court, and invaded several districts in the State of Shu 蜀. Thenceforward it had no more connection with the empire. K'o still maintained his throne as King of the Yüeh-hsi chao and the title Chün-min Tsung-kuan. His wife was named A-shih P'u-mi 阿室蒲彌.

From now on, it became more and more difficult to control Hsi-nei Hsi-k'o and he was therefore left to himself; the Nan-chao Kingdom merely tried to keep him in restraint.

Hsi-k'o La-t'u 西可剌土:⁹ In the fourth year of I Tsung 懿宗, period Hsien-t'ung 咸通 (863), on account of merit acquired by helping the Nan-chao Kingdom to invade Chiao-chih 交趾 (Tonkin, region of Hanoi), he was appointed as Wu-hsün Kung of the Yüeh-hsi Kingdom.

In the fourth year of the period Ch'ien-ning 乾寧, of T'ang Chao Tsung 昭宗 (897), owing to the murder of the King of Nan-chao¹⁰ by a man named Yang Teng 楊登, T'u was demoted to be Wu-hsün Hou 武勳侯 (Marquis of military merit) instead of duke.

In the first year of the period Kuang-hua 光化, of Chao Tsung 昭宗 (898), when Shun-hua-cheng 舜化貞, son of Lung-shun 隆舜,¹¹ ascended the throne of Nan-chao, T'u was again promoted to his original position of Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Ko-nü 阿室哥女.

La-t'u O-chün 剌土俄均: In the second year of the period T'ien fu 天復, of Chao Tsung (902), Cheng Mai-ssu 鄭買嗣¹² usurped the throne of Nan-

⁸ He is the ninth of Yang Shen's list and is there called Nung-k'o 濃可.

⁹ He is the 10th of Yang Shen's list, where he is called K'o-t'ung 可同.

¹⁰ The King of Nan-chao who was murdered by Yang Teng was Lung-shun 隆舜. His usurped posthumous title was Hsüan Wu Ti 宣武帝. He was the 12th king of the Ta Meng Kuo (Ta Meng dynasty) of the Nan-chao Kingdom. He began his rule in 877 when he was 17 years old and changed the name of his kingdom to Ta-feng-min Kuo 大封民國. He was murdered in Yün-nan fu after ruling for 20 years.

¹¹ Shun-hua-cheng 舜化貞 of Nan-chao ascended the throne in 897 when he was 21 years old. In the eleventh moon of 899 he killed Yang Teng, murderer of his father, and all his family. He died in 902 leaving a little son eight months old. He was the last ruler of the house of Meng 蒙, there being 13 generations from the founder, Prince Hsi-nu-lo 細奴羅.

¹² Cheng Mai-ssu was a cruel and ambitious man. He killed Shun-hua-cheng's son and exterminated the Meng family and all its relatives. He was a Chinese, and formerly held

chao, destroyed the Meng royal family and called his kingdom Ta-ch'ang-ho Kuo 大長和國 (Great Ch'ang-ho Kingdom). Thenceforward Chün had no more connection with the Cheng family 鄭氏. He succeeded his father as Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Hsien-lu 阿室羨魯 and gave birth to six sons, named Mou-chü 牟具, Mou-tao 牟刀, Mou-ku 牟古, Mou-tai 牟歹, Mou-lai 牟來 and Mou-t'ung 牟通. Each of them became the chief of a clan.

O-chün Mou-chü 俄均牟具: He succeeded his father as Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Chü-chung 阿室具中.

Mou-chü Mou-hsi 牟具牟西: In the reign of Sung Cheng Tsung 貞宗 (998-1022) his official title was changed to that of Wu-ying Hou 武英侯 (Marquis of military heroism). His wife was named A-shih-chiao 阿室交.

4. MO-SO CHAO

Mou-hsi Mou-ts'o 牟西牟磋: In the period of Chih-ho 至和 of Sung Jen Tsung 仁宗 (1054-1055) he was made the supreme chief of the Mo-so chao 摩娑詔. At that time, though the Tuan family 段氏¹³ was becoming very powerful (at Ta-li), it was never able to bring Ts'o to submission. His wife was named A-shih Yü-li 阿室于里.

Mou-ts'o Mou-lo 牟磋牟樂: In the period of Cheng-ho 政和 of Sung Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1111-1117), he succeeded his father as supreme chief. His wife was named A-shih La-mu 阿室剌睦.

Mou-lo Mou-pao 牟樂牟保: Together with Tuan Cheng-ho 段正和 he bore the title of General-in-Chief. His wife's name was A-shih-nü 阿室女.

5. FROM THE SECOND TO SIXTH GENERATION

SECOND GENERATION. — *Mou-pao A-tsung* 牟保阿琮 (PLATE 12): At the age of seven he could read Chinese characters without having been taught by a teacher. When he was full-grown, he understood the languages of the different tribes, and could read the Chinese classics written by the ancient philosophers. He was therefore regarded by all his people as a man possessing supernatural powers. In addition to that, he first invented the characters of his own tribal language.¹⁴

office in Ssu-ch'uan. On account of his evil deeds, he had to flee to Yün-nan, and there found employment. He secured much power under Shun-hua-cheng and became First Grand Secretary. After exterminating the Meng family (800 members), he made himself King of Nan-chao at the age of 42, in the second year of T'ien-fu in the twelfth moon (actually January, 903). He died in September, 910, after having ruled eight years.

¹³ The Tuan family founded the Ta-li Kingdom, which existed from 937 to 1094 under 14 successive rulers.

¹⁴ The Na-khi possess two types of writing, a pictographic and a syllabic (phonetic); the latter consists of more or less simple characters which the *dto-mba* (priests) call *Ggö-ba*. They resemble simple Chinese and also Lo-lo (No-su) characters, and were supposed to have been invented by the disciples of *Dto-mba Shi-lo*, the founder of Na-khi Shamanism (also the founder of Bön, the ancient pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet). *Dto-mba Shi-lo's* disciples were called *Di-tz Ggö-ba*. The first two syllables are of Chinese origin, viz: *ti-tzu*

Once he happened to go to the Yü-lung Shan and there saw a large stone basin full of clear water. He drank of it and heard some birds singing in the clouds. He thus came to understand the language of birds and beasts. All his people were greatly surprised at his wonderful talents, so that his fame reached the ear of Tuan 段, King of Ta-li. The latter did not believe the rumours about him, but sent messengers to him and invited him to his palace. On his arrival, the king requested him earnestly to tell him the meaning of the noise of some crows which were flying about at that moment. Tsung said: "The crows say, 'There is a dead horse lying at the other side of this mountain. Let us go to eat it.'" In another moment two doves were cooing. The king asked him to interpret their meaning. He replied: "One of them said, 'There is much ripe barley growing on that hill-side. Would you like to go and feed on it?' The other replied, 'No, we cannot do so, because there are eagles nesting on the branches of the cypress trees over there.'" The king actually sent men to see whether there were really eagles, and they returned and confirmed that what Tsung had said was true. He tested him repeatedly, but he made not a single mistake, and the king began to respect him and offered him many gifts.

One day it happened that the king destroyed a swallow's nest under the eaves of his palace, and taking the young swallows, put them secretly into one of his sleeves. He pretended to enquire of Tsung why the parent swallows were making so much noise around the eaves. He answered him saying: "The swallows are blaming you, and prophesying that the reign of your royal house will soon draw to an end, and are inquiring why you do not try to build up your character, instead of destroying their nest." On hearing this, the king was displeased. Meanwhile, a certain book dropped from heaven into the sea, out of which a dragon showed its head, presenting the book hanging from one of its horns. Some men fetched the book and offered it to the king. Its contents were unintelligible to him. One of his subjects suggested that they should ask the sage Tsung to explain it. Thus he was again welcomed to the palace, and reading the book through, interpreted it as saying: "Some ten years later, Mongol soldiers will come down to Ta-li, etc." After that prophecy, Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan), of the Yüan dynasty, led his troops in person to conquer Ta-li, thus fulfilling the prophecy of the heavenly book.

While Tsung was still alive, the different clans of the Mo-so royal family divided themselves into several small States, and competed with one another for supreme power. Afterwards, however, they were all overcome by his sincerity, fame and virtue, so much so that they united and paid homage to him as their only king. Hence we see Heaven really had a definite purpose in choosing this particular man to lay this foundation for their royal throne, and to hand down blessings to the obedient and virtuous descendants of their families, by first showing them his own faithfulness and benevolence.

(disciple) 弟子, *ggö-ba* (to rise to the dance). Very few *dto-mba* are able to read the *Ggö-ba* script, while all can read the pictographs. The latter were invented considerably later than the *Ggö-ba* script which, it is my belief, was brought by them from their home in the far north, the grasslands of Tibet. Thus their written (syllabic) language has degenerated rather than developed. The pictographic script was developed in their present home, for the symbols used represent birds, insects, wild animals and plants, indigenous to Li-chiang or north-west Yün-nan in general.

Later two more States, the Shan-shan Kingdom 善闡國 and Wu-ssu-tsang 烏斯藏,¹⁵ also acknowledged Tsung as their prophet and sage. Oh! this proves why the lineage of the Mu family is enabled to maintain its everlasting existence, and again explains to us the old saying: "The princely man can found and hand down an inheritance for hundreds and thousands of generations."

Tsung's wife was named A-shih-ch'iu 阿室秋, and was the noble daughter of the Hsien-t'ao family 羨陶氏.¹⁶ She gave birth to one son named Liang 良, who succeeded to his father's throne.

THIRD GENERATION. — *A-tsung A-liang* 阿琮阿良 (PLATE 13): As the only son of Tsung, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the first year of the reign of Li Tsung 理宗, period Pao-yu 寶祐 (1253), of the Southern Sung dynasty, Emperor Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1251-1259), of the Mongols, ordered his royal brother named Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai), later Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of China (1260-1279), to conquer Ta-li in person. Liang went to welcome the soldiers at the mouth of the La-pa River 刺巴江.¹⁷ On account of his kind hospitality and proper courtesy to them, Kublai conferred on Liang the honorary title of Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min-kuan 茶罕章管民官 (Civil Governor of the Ch'a-han-chang [White Jang]), gave him two suits of official uniforms, one official hat made of yellow wool with a jade button embedded in gold plate on the top, and two assistants, one to precede and one to follow him. He also received an official girdle and pair of top-boots. These presents were sent to him by two official secretaries who walked in procession along the street in his honor.

¹⁵ Under Shan-shan Kuo, Yün-nan must be understood, for Shan-shan fu was the name of the capital (the present K'un-ming) during the rule of the Nan-chao King Ch'üan-feng-yu 勸豐佑 (824-859).

Wu-ssu-tsang was the Ming dynasty designation for the present Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet), whose capital is Lha-sa.

¹⁶ Hsien-t'ao was the family name of a Mo-so chief of Pai-sha 白沙 (the Na-khi Boa-shi), who gave his daughter in marriage to Yeh-yeh (*which see*).

¹⁷ There are two La-pa Chiang k'ou (Mouth of the La-pa River), one only 80 li distant from Li-chiang, and the other 7 stages from that city, at Yung-ning. The one mentioned in the Chronicle is at the foot of the spur on which Shih-ku 石鼓 is situated and where the La-pa Chiang debouches into the Yangtze, west of Li-chiang. This river is called La-ba gyi in Na-khi (Waters of La-ba) because the river has its source in La-ba Ngyu (Mt. La-ba), and also because La-ba is the Na-khi name of Shih-ku. Besides being known as La-pa Chiang 刺巴江, the stream is also called Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河 (The river which rushes into the Yangtze) by the Chinese. As the Chronicle states that Liang met the Mongol soldiers at the mouth of the La-ba River, and not Kublai Khan himself, it must be taken for granted that he went to the La-ba Stream which enters the Yangtze at Shih-ku, only one day's journey from Li-chiang. To enter Li-chiang territory proper coming from the Yen-tang region, one must cross the La-ba Stream where it debouches into the Yangtze at Shih-ku, and where an iron chain-bridge spans it. It is by this route that Wu-lan-ha-ta led his army corps. Thus it becomes fairly certain that Liang met Wu-lan-ha-ta and his soldiers at Shih-ku, and not Kublai Khan with his cavalry at Yung-ning, where is situated the other La-ba Chiang k'ou. It is not likely that Liang would go seven days from his own district to meet a doubtful foe.

The other La-pa Chiang-k'ou (mouth of the river La-pa) passes at Yung-ning through the meadow La-pa-ddü (Chinese, Jih-yüeh ho 日月和 or Union of the Sun and Moon) where Kublai camped with his army (PLATE 212). It has its source in a grassy, swampy plateau, elevation 11,600 feet, to the south of Yung-ning 永寧. The stream, as with most water-

Meanwhile, they took the city of Chü-chin chou 巨津州 by storm, and at the walled village of Pan-kung-ho 半空和 he made prisoner the brigand leader A-t'a-la 阿塔剌. On account of this achievement, he was promoted to the position of Ch'a-han-chang Hsüan-wei-ssu 茶罕章宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of the Ch'a-han-chang). He then captured the village of Ta-ko 大各 and also participated in conquering Ta-li, where they made the powerful chief Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智 prisoner. In reward for his splendid military service, he was again promoted by the Mongols to be Vice-Commander-in-Chief of the right wing of the army of Wu-liang-ho-t'ai 兀良合台, the famous Mongol Commander-in-Chief, and was given a battle-axe and a golden tiger-head shield. Later, Wu-liang-ho-t'ai returned to Ta-li to guard that station,

courses in China, has several names. Its source is called A-ngu; where it enters the forested valley it becomes the Bo-wu-tsu; still further north near the village of Mu-dri it becomes the Bu-llu dji and as such passes through a narrow rocky defile and flows as the La-pa Ho (La-pa dji) through the meadow where Kublai camped with his army. The exit of a stream through a defile is spoken of as a *k'ou* 口 (mouth). The stream beyond the meadow is called the Hli dji (Waters of Hli, the native name of Yung-ning), Hli dü (Land of Hli), and (on Chinese maps) the K'ai-chi Ho, from the village of K'ai-chi 開基, past which the river flows on to the Yung-ning plain. The stream receives many affluents and debouches into the Wo-lo Ho 臥羅河 (Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河), which in turn flows into the Li-t'ang River 裏塘河 (see Geographical Part: Yung-ning).

It is precisely at the meadow of La-pa-ddü, where Kublai camped with his army, that the Yung-ning chiefs will escort visitors, and that lamas starting out on a long journey will camp, although only about two li from the Yung-ning monastery.

As to Kublai Khan's campaign and his march through Mo-so (Na-khi) land, the *Yüan Shih* 元史 (Mongol History), printed in Chiang-su 江蘇 in the 13th year of T'ung-chih (1874), ch. 4, p. 1b, states that Hsien Tsung 憲宗 ordered the attack on Yün-nan. On the day 丙午 of the seventh moon of the second year (August 30, 1252) the expedition went westwards from Ma-ya 碼牙. In the eighth moon of the 3rd year (1253) the army was dispatched to camp at Lin-t'ao 臨洮 (this is the present Ti-tao on the T'ao River 洮河 in west Kan-su). The officers I-la-chu 伊拉珠 (玉律朮), Wang Chün-hou 王君候 and Wang Chien 王鑑 were sent in advance to Ta-li (to make known the Imperial command), but they were not successful. On the day 壬寅 of the ninth moon (October 20th, 1253), the army camped at T'a-la 塔拉 (the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 上, fol. 44a, calls it T'e-la 忒剌), and thence they separated, going by three different routes. Wu-lan-ha-ta 烏蘭哈達 (兀良合帶), led the army corps of the west, following the Yen-tang 晏當 road; Prince Ch'a-han-i-chao-erh 察罕伊朮爾 (抄合也只烈) conducted the army of the east by way of the land of the Pai-man 白蠻; the Imperial brother led by the middle route. The Li-chiang Records state, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 35b, that the ancient Yen-tang was outside the western border of Li-chiang in uncontrolled territory. T'e-lieh 忒列 was within the land of the T'u-fan. The land of the Pai-man is the present-day Yao-an fu 姚安府, which is north of Chen-nan 鎮南 and seven and a half stages west of K'un-ming on the Ta-li road.

Hu-pi-lieh's cavalry came by Yüeh-sui and crossed the Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze) in the Pei-sheng 北勝 district (to which Yung-ning belongs).

On the day 乙巳 of the ninth moon (October 23rd) the Mongols arrived at Man-t'ou ch'eng 滿陀城, where they left their baggage and chariots. On the day 丙午 of the tenth moon (October 24th), they crossed the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河 and marched over mountains and through valleys for over 2,000 li, until they arrived on the Chin-sha Chiang. On inflated skins and rafts they crossed to Mo-so (territory). The chief of the Man came to welcome them and made his submission (their land was north of Ta-li, over 400 li distant). On the day 辛卯 of the eleventh moon (December 8th, 1253) Hu-pi-lieh sent I-la-chu 伊拉珠 and two other envoys to Ta-li. They were killed by Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智, the Nan-chao King. On the day 丁酉 (December 14th), the army arrived at Ta-kuo-chai 打郭寨 in the land of the Pai-man 白蠻, whose military chief came forth to submit. His nephew resisted,

while Liang went back to the Mo-so Kingdom to rule as its king. Again, His Majesty the Emperor presented him with the following words of praise: *T'ien-mu-cheng-chi* 添睦貞吉 (Increase of peace and happiness). Afterwards he took by storm the T'ieh ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge) and Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國.¹⁸

In the period Chih-yüan 至元 of Yün Shih Tsu 世祖 (1264-1294), the Emperor gave Liang a silver seal weighing 48 taels, which authorized his appointment to the office of T'i-t'iao chu-lu T'ung-chün-ssu 提調諸路統軍司 (Field-Marshal in command of Armies of all routes). The territories under his control were named Yüeh-hsi Chün 越析郡, Po-hsing fu 伯興府, Yung-ning fu 永寧府, Pei-sheng fu 北勝府, Lang-ch'ü chou 浪蕩州, Lo-lo-ssu 羅羅斯,

and they captured and killed him, but did not molest the people. On December 17th (1253) they camped at San-tien 三甸 (Li-chiang) (see pp. 391-393).

On December 18th the Pai-man brought presents. On the day 丙辰 of the twelfth moon (January 2nd, 1254) the army besieged the city of Ta-li.

The Pai-man mentioned here are in all probability the Mo-so, and Pai-man is a translation of the Mongol Cha-han-chang (White Jang), or, perhaps, the Pai-lan-man (White Wolf savages), after whom the Li-chiang territory was once called. The Pai-man Ta-kuo chai 打郭寨 was in Na-khi territory and is undoubtedly identical with the present-day Ta-ku 打鼓, a group of villages on a small plain on the Yangtze, two days north of Li-chiang. This would also tally with the time it took the Mongol army to reach San-tien. They arrived at Ta-kuo-chai on December 14th, and were camping at San-tien on December 17th, allowing from the 15th to the 17th to reach there. Certainly the Pai-man of Yao-an are not meant here.

As to the place where Kublai Khan crossed the Yangtze, the *Yüan Shih*, ch. 61, fol. 7a, has the following to say: "Pao-shan (La-pao) is east of the snow range (Yü-lung Shan); the Li Chiang (Li River = Yangtze) comes from the west and encircles it on three sides (it is within the Yangtze loop) like a girdle. In ancient days the Mo-so-man dwelt there; the first Mo-so came from Lou-t'ou 樓頭 (Lü dü = Yung-ning, *which see*), they had dwelt at Pao-shan for twenty generations (at the time of the Mongol invasion). When Shih Tsu 世祖 was engaged on his expedition against the Ta-li Kingdom, he crossed the Yangtze at Pien-t'ou 卞頭, and passed by Lo-pang 羅邦; he arrived at the villages of Lo-ssu-wei 羅寺圍 and Ta-kuei 大厓. All these places came under the sub-district of Pao-shan 寶山. The headmen of these four places submitted to Kublai Khan, who called their villages Cha-han-hu-lu-han 察罕忽魯罕. In the 14th year of [the period] Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) the seven places of Ta-kuei became the Pao-shan hsien 寶山縣 (magistracy of Pao-shan)."

The ancient Pao-shan, according to the Li-chiang Records, was 240 li east of the present city of Li-chiang (north-east is correct). It was in the western part of the Chün of Yüeh-sui of the Han dynasty. In the Latter Han it belonged to Yung-ch'ang 永昌 and in the T'ang dynasty it was occupied by the Mo-so-man 麼些蠻. According to the map in the second volume of the Li-chiang Records, ch. 2, fols. 2b-3a, Pao-shan is within the Yangtze loop and comprises the region between the present Feng-k'ou and La-bpu (La-pao 刺寶), colloquially called La-po in Na-khi. According to this, Kublai Khan crossed the Yangtze coming from Yung-ning at the place where the Yangtze is still crossed, namely at what is now called Feng-k'ou 倂可 (see Geographical Part, p. 238). The name Lo-pang apparently represents the Na-khi La-bpu or La-po; Lo-ssu-wei is probably Lv-tso-lo; and the Pien-t'ou is P'u-dyu, where one crosses from Yung-ning to Feng-k'ou, another name for P'u-dyu being Law-k'a-khi-llü. Ta-kuei was a small place where, during the T'ang dynasty, seven brothers of the Mo-so man had settled.

¹⁸ According to the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 42b, Hua-ma Kuo, was the district of Chü-chin chou, and it was there that Emperor Shih Tsu (Kublai) had his outposts.

In Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 24b, the Li-chiang Records speak of a Hua-ma Shan 花馬山. This mountain is situated 350 li north-west of Li-chiang, on the south-eastern border of the

Pai-lang 白狼, P'an-mu 槃木, I-liao 夷獠, etc. As to Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府,¹⁹ it had been brought under the control of his Mo-so Kingdom for many generations beginning with the T'ang dynasty, therefore it is not mentioned here.

Since the 11th year of the Chih-yüan period (1274) Liang had repeatedly received Imperial mandates conferring on him various degrees of honor and the dragon-design medal. His Majesty the Emperor also conferred on him the honorary title of Chin-tzu-kuang-lu ta-fu 金紫光祿大夫 (Minister of the Imperial court in the principal first official rank), and the additional honorary title of T'ung-chün-ssu 統軍司 (Field-Marshal), together with the right to use the same ceremonies as the three chief commissioners of the whole province. His wife was named A-shih Yü-hsien 阿室于先, and was the daughter of Kan-lo-mu-t'u 干羅木土 (perhaps a descendant of Kan-lo-mu-tu, see p. 73). On her was conferred the honorary title of Kuo fu-jen 國夫人 (Wife of the official of the principal first rank). She gave birth to three sons, named Hu 胡, Chieh 節 and Nai 耐. The eldest son, A-hu, succeeded to his father's throne.

FOURTH GENERATION. — *A-liang A-hu* 阿良阿胡 (PLATE 14): As the eldest son of Liang, he succeeded his father as Vice-Commander-in-Chief. In the ninth year of Chih-yüan (1272) he was appointed as Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min-kuan and assumed the hereditary office of Vice-Commander-in-Chief. In the first year of the period Yüan-cheng 元貞, of the reign of Ch'eng Tsung 成宗 (1295), the Emperor conferred on him various degrees of honor and the distinguished dragon-design medal, together with the honorary titles of Cheng-feng ta-fu 正奉大夫 and Hu-chün Hsüan-wei-ssu 護軍宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of military affairs). His wife was named A-shih La-mu 阿室剌母, the daughter of Ho-hui Ho-mi 和揮和迷 of the Hsien-t'ao family 羨陶氏

ancient Chü-chin chou. On the cliff there is a rock of variegated colors in the shape of a horse. Anciently the Mo-so Kingdom called itself Hua-ma Kuo from the piebald stone on the cliff. In the First Chronicle it is called 華 Hua-ma Kuo. The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, Vol. 上, fol. 1b, column 2 relates that Yüeh-hsi chao was established by Po-ch'ung 波衝 and was also called Mo-so chao and Hua-ma Kuo. This was during the reign of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (713-755). Po-ch'ung must have been the predecessor of Yang-yin Tu-ku 陽晉都谷, for the latter was the first San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管 in the Six kingdoms (Liu chao 六詔), and the six chao were only united after the murder of Po-ch'ung by the violent chieftain Chang Hsün-ch'iu 張尋求; this was in 738, the 26th year of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元. There is still in existence a village called T'a-dza in Na-khi and T'a-ch'eng 塔城 in Chinese, both meaning "pagoda city." This T'a-dza was the walled city (*dza* = a wall) of Hua-ma Kuo.

¹⁹ Of the above-mentioned places, Yüeh-hsi is Li-chiang; at the end of the period of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶 (755) it was captured by the Tibetans. Afterwards it belonged to Nan-chao. During the Mongol dynasty (1277) it became Yen-ching 鹽井 (Salt-well) of Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 in south-west Ssu-ch'uan. Po-hsing fu, also written 栢興 and 栢興府, where the Mo-so once dwelled, was the Ting-tso hsien 定作縣 of the Han dynasty, governed by Yüeh-sui. Yung-ning is north-east of Li-chiang to the north-east of the Yangtze loop; Pei-sheng fu is the district and city of Yung-pei 永北, now called Yung-sheng 永勝; Lang-ch'ü chou is between Yung-sheng and Yung-ning, a territory still ruled by a Mo-so (Na-khi) chief. Lo-lo-ssu was ruled by a military commissioner, and was in Chien-ch'ang 建昌 (Hsi-ch'ang) in Ssu-ch'uan; the Pai-lang and P'an-mu were tribes who were later ruled by the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang), the Pai-lang belonging with their land to Li-chiang territory according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 下, ch. 5, fol. 69a; while the P'an-mu dwelled west of Mou chou 茂州 in north-west Ssu-ch'uan. Ho-ch'ing is a commercial town 80 li south of Li-chiang.

(local chiefs of Pai-sha). On her was conferred the honorary title of Chün fu-jen 郡夫人. She gave birth to one son, named A-lieh 阿烈, who succeeded to his father's throne. His second wife gave birth to one son named A-chi 阿吉.

FIFTH GENERATION. — *A-hu A-lieh* 阿胡阿烈 (PLATE 15): As the elder son of Hu, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 13th year of Yüan Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan (1347)²⁰ there was established in his kingdom the new office of Li-chiang Lu Chün-min Tsung-kuan fu 麗江路軍民總管府. Under this authority he controlled one fu-city called Pei-sheng 北勝; seven chou cities called T'ung-an 通安, Chü-chin 巨津, Pao-shan 寶山,²¹ Lan chou 蘭州,²² Yung-ning 永寧, Lang-ch'ü 浪蕤 and Shun chou 順州;²³ and one hsien city called Lin-hsi 臨西.²⁴

In the 15th year of the same emperor (1349) (actually 8th year of the period Chih-cheng 至正), he appointed his brother A-chi 阿吉 as Chü-tien Chün-min kuan min-kuan 巨甸軍民管民官 and An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Governor of military and civil affairs, and Chieftain of the frontier lands) of the place called Chü-tien 巨甸.

On Lieh the Emperor conferred various degrees of honor, the dragon-design medal, and the honorary titles of T'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫 and Ch'ing ch'e tu-yü Tsung-kuan-fu 輕車都尉總管府 (Governor of the fu-magistracy of the sixth order of nobility). His wife was named A-shih Chang-meng-a-chia 阿室丈蒙阿加, daughter of La-pa La-t'u 剌巴剌土. On her was conferred the honorary title of Chün fu-jen. She gave birth to one son named A-chia 阿甲, who succeeded to his father's throne.



²⁰ The period Chih-yüan lasted only to 1340, but the succeeding period, Chih-cheng 至正, of the same Emperor, has been ignored and Chih-yüan continued by the writer of the two Chronicles.

²¹ Pao-shan was north-east of Li-chiang and north-east of the present Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾 (Mba-yi-wüa in Na-khi); it is 240 li from Li-chiang and is the present La-pao. It is a district of many villages, among the mountains of the Yangtze loop and on the west bank of the Yangtze, where a large village is situated called La-bpu 'a-k'ö. The village of T'o-k'ö-shär (Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 in Chinese) belongs to the La-pao district — the Na-khi name means "Long foot of the pine," because there is a large pine grove on a high hill; and the Chinese name means "Long pine flat." North of La-pao the Yangtze flows through a terrific gorge, a tremendous rock defile called Gy-ho-gu. In the rock of the cliff west of it which forms the T'ai-tzu Kuan (q.v.), the Mu family is said to have carved the following characters, 剌寶太子關手伸摩得天 *La-pao t'ai-tzu kuan shou-shen mo-te t'ien* = [On] the La-pao pass of the heir apparent, the raised hand may feel Heaven.

²² Lan chou is the present-day Lan-p'ing 蘭坪, west of Chien-ch'uan 劍川, 360 li south-west of Li-chiang.

²³ Shun chou is 120 li west of Yung-sheng 永勝 and east of Li-chiang. During the Ming dynasty it was a dependency of Ho-ch'ing. It was called Niu-t'an 牛賧 during the T'ang.

²⁴ The obsolete Lin-hsi was north-west of the secondary prefecture of Chü-chin. The latter was 300 li north-west of Li-chiang. On a map published during the Ming dynasty in 1643 Lin-hsi is placed north of the T'ieh ch'iao (Iron bridge), which itself was 130 li north of Chü-chin. Lin-hsi was a hsien-city 460 li from Li-chiang and was inhabited entirely by Na-khi. In the 15th year of Hung-wu 洪武 (1382) Lin hsi was ruled by Li-chiang, and later came under Wei-hsi 維西.

After careful examination, we learn that when A-tsung A-liang became Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min-kuan, it was the fourth year of Yüan Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1254). In the fourth year of the period Chung-t'ung 中統 of Emperor Shih Tsu (1263) he became Ch'a-han-chang Hsüan-wei-ssu. In the ninth year, period Chih-yüan (1272), the Emperor conferred on him a silver seal, and appointed him T'i-t'iao chu-lu T'ung-chün-ssu 提調諸路統軍司 Field Marshal in command of All Routes of the Armies.

A-liang A-hu became Ch'a-han-chang, and succeeded his father as hereditary Yüan-shuai 元帥 (Vice-Commander-in-Chief), and in the 25th year of the same reign (1288) he became Ch'a-han-chang Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 (Chieftain of the Ch'a-han-chang).

In the first year of Ch'eng Tsung 成宗, period Ta-te 大德 (1297), the interior of China was in a disturbed condition. At that time Liang Wang 梁王, a prince of the Yüan dynasty, became ruler of Shan-shan 緡闐²⁵ and divided his territory with another ruler named Tuan Kuang 段光.²⁶ Prince Liang also invaded two other States called Ch'ieh-hsi-t'ai 且西台 and Yao-yüeh-ssu 遙越肆.

During the reign of T'ai Ting Ti 泰定帝 (1324-1328), on account of bad communications and natural barriers, we cannot secure much historical information about A-hu A-lieh. However, we know that in the eighth year of Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan 至元 (1342), he became Pacification commissioner of the Ch'a-han-chang.

From the ninth year of Shih Tsu 世祖, period Chih-yüan (1272), to the 13th year of Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan (1347), were only 67 years,²⁷ and there had ruled in China ten emperors of the Yüan dynasty, but during that period the Mu family had only descended three generations.

The eighth year of Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan (1342), was the second year of the period Chih-cheng 至正 (1342). The 13th year of Chih-yüan (1347) was the seventh year of Chih-cheng (1347) (see note 20 on p. 97).

With regard to the official ranks mentioned, according to the system of the Yüan dynasty, Hsüan-wei-shih-ssu 宣慰使司 (Pacification commissioner) was equal to the secondary second rank. Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 [Chieftain of the (Yün-nan) frontier tribes] and the Vice-Chieftain were each equal to the principal third rank. An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Chieftain of the [Yün-nan] frontier tribes — similar to the above-mentioned Hsüan-fu-ssu) was equal to the same rank. Chu-lu Tsung-kuan-fu 諸路總管府 (fu-governor of the various dis-

²⁵ Liang Wang was King (*Wang*) of Yün-nan; his full name was Pa-tsa-la-wa-erh-mi 把匝剌瓦爾密. He was the descendant of the fifth son of Kublai Khan, who was called Hu-ko-ch'ih 忽哥赤 and was King of Yün-nan. Shan-shan 鄯闐 is the present K'un-ming. The first character for Shan is wrong and so is the one on page 93.

²⁶ Tuan Kuang was ruler of western Yün-nan. He was the ninth hereditary governor of Ta-li fu. He took office in 1333 and divided his territory with Prince Liang in 1334. The latter attacked him in 1335 at Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺. This is a high mountain pass between Chao chou 趙州 and Hung-ngai 紅崖 on the K'un-ming Ta-li road and was then called K'un-mi Shan 昆彌山. Liang was defeated and afterwards bribed Tuan's cook who poisoned his master in 1345.

²⁷ The chronicle says 67 years had elapsed between the ninth year of Shih Tsu and the 13th year of Shun Ti, but actually 75 years had elapsed between those two dates.

tricts) was equal to the secondary third rank. The offices of Chih-chou 知州 and Shang-chou 上州 (Magistrate of a chou-city) were each equal to the secondary fourth rank. The above references are given for clear understanding.



SIXTH GENERATION. — *A-lieh A-chia* 阿烈阿甲 (PLATE 16): He was also named Yüan Te 元德 and, as the eldest son of Lieh, succeeded to his father's throne. In the 22nd year of Shun Ti (Chih-yüan) (1356) (actually the 16th year of Chih-cheng), the fu-magistracy was abolished, and the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu was established in its stead. It was later changed into the office of the magistracy of T'ung-an chou. The Emperor conferred on him various degrees of honor, the dragon-design medal, the honorary title of Ch'ao-ch'ing ta-fu Ch'i-tu-yü 朝請大夫騎都尉 (Minister of the Imperial audience, and the seventh order of nobility), and appointed him as Chief magistrate of the chou-city, with the addition of the principal third rank. His wife was named A-shih-yüan 阿室圓 (also, Chü-mu 佾母). She was the daughter of A-tu 阿都, Yu-ch'eng 右丞 (Junior deputy) of the Mongol family Hu-i-p'u-tu 胡以普都 of Chien-ch'uan 劍川.²⁸ On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen 恭人. She gave birth to four sons, named A-te 阿得, A-chü 阿佾, A-ya 阿牙 and A-chien 阿見. His second wife gave birth to three sons, named A-ts'ung 阿從, A-tai 阿歹 and A-ch'ang 阿昌. The eldest son, A-te, succeeded to his father's throne.

[The graves of the different ancestors of the 21 generations mentioned above are all located on the Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 (Jade dragon Mountain). Twice a year, in the winter and summer, the Mu family still offers sacrifices to them, in accordance with traditional custom. As to the graves of the different ancestors of the following seven generations, it built temples to them, and still regularly offers sacrifices to them.]

6. FROM THE SEVENTH TO FOURTEENTH GENERATION

SEVENTH GENERATION. — *A-chia A-te* 阿甲阿得 (PLATE 17): He was the magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Te 木得, he was also named Tzu-jan 自然 and Heng-chung 恆忠. He was the eldest son of Chia. In the last reign of the Yüan dynasty, he became Chih-chou 知州 (Magistrate) of the chou-city of T'ung-an and later he was promoted to the position of Li-chiang Hsüan-fu-ssu fu-shih 麗江宣撫司副使 (Vice-Chieftain of the district of Li-chiang).

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382) the Celestial army (Chinese army) came to the southern part of China, and conquered Ta-li and many other cities. Te was the first to lead his troops to swear allegiance to Fu Yu-te 傅友德, Commander-in-Chief of the Southern expedition, Ying-kuo Kung 穎國公 (Duke of Ying-kuo), and T'ai-tzu T'ai-shih 太子太師 (Grand preceptor to the Heir Apparent). Fu and other military leaders made a report to the Emperor, on behalf of Te. His Majesty was so pleased that he conferred on him the surname Mu 木, and ordered him to work together with Fu at headquarters, waiting for suitable appointments.

²⁸ Chien-ch'uan 劍川 is a walled city between Ta-li and Li-chiang. It is 210 li from Ta-li.

I append here the Imperial decree of Hung-wu conferring on A-te the surname Mu, according to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*:

"Through the protection of God, the manifestation of the supernatural forces of the seas and mountains, and the many virtues of my ancestors, fifteen years have peacefully elapsed since my accession to the Throne, and almost all lands of the world have come within the Imperial map. But the different barbarians of the South-west, deceived by Liang Wang²⁹ of Yün-nan, and relying upon the altitude of their native place and the remoteness of their land from my throne, disobeyed my Imperial orders and instructions. For this reason I especially ordered Fu Yu-te, Commander-in-Chief of the Southern punitive expedition 征南將軍, and marquis of Ying-ch'uan 潁川; Lan Yü 藍玉, Assistant Commander-in-Chief 副將軍, and marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌侯; and Mu Ying 沐英, marquis of Hsi-p'ing, to lead 300,000 mail-clad soldiers — the cavalry and infantry advancing all together — to punish them for insubordination. No sooner did the Imperial army reach their land than the chief criminals were captured. As you, A-te, Native official of Li-chiang, were the first to lead his followers to submit as an example to the barbarians, your loyalty to me was clearly established.

"Moreover I appreciate your learning as expressed in the memorial submitted by you through your envoy some time ago. Thus I confer upon you the surname Mu, and order you to listen to General Fu in so far as he may propose to give you an official position, and to lead you in the accomplishing of meritorious acts in the future, so that you may gain glory for yourself.

"Be careful enough not to forget what I have said, forever.

"In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382)."

In the 16th year of the same period (1383), Fu instructed Mu Te to re-establish Li-chiang as a fu-city, and appointed him as its magistrate. In the second moon of the same year (March, 1383), he joined the army of the Southern expedition, and helped the Commander-in-Chief to conquer the village of Fu-kuang-chai 佛光寨³⁰ where the Junior prefect P'u Yen-tu 普顏篤, appointed by the Yüan dynasty, burned himself to death.

In the third moon (April, 1383), the great chief Pu-chieh 卜剗 of the Hsi-fan tribes 西番 intended to lead his troops to capture the region of Pai-lang-ts'ang 白浪滄³¹ in the district of Li-chiang. Te ordered his eldest son, A-ch'u 阿初, to lead his own troops against them, and force them to retreat. In the eighth moon (September), Te attacked Pei-sheng fu 北勝府 and made captive its native chief, the usurping P'ing-chang 平章 (Controller), Kao

²⁹ The Liang Wang 梁王 was a descendant of the fifth son of Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan), Pa-tsa-la-wa-erh-mi 把匝剌瓦爾密. The Yüan emperors bestowed on him the title King Liang of Yün-nan. When he was pursued by the Ming forces he fled to Chin-ning chou 晉寧州 to the village of Hu-na-chai 忽納砦 where he burnt his Imperial robes and drove his wife and children into the Lake of Yün-nan (Tien Ch'ih 滇池) to die. Liang himself then jumped into the lake. After the prince's death, the senior and junior deputies Ta Ti 達的 and Lü Erh 驢兒 hanged themselves.

³⁰ Fu-kuang-chai is 30 li north of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川 or 20 li east of Ta-li Lang-k'ung (ch'üung) hsien 大理浪穹縣, the present-day Erh-yüan 洱源.

³¹ Pai-lang-ts'ang is the Na-khi Bă-lă-ts'o in the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜) under Li-chiang (*vide* origin of Yeh-yeh, p. 71, note 8; p. 72).

Sheng-hsün 高生尋, descendant of Kao Ta-hui 高大惠.³² Later Kao Sheng-hsün was killed by the I 夷 (Lo-lo), who offered his head to Te. Pei-sheng fu was thereafter changed into four chou-cities. Again, by joining the army of the Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency Fu, Duke of Ying-kuo, and under the service of Commander Tung 董指揮, Te succeeded in capturing Shih-men Kuan 石門關 (Stone-gate Pass), T'ieh-ch'iao ch'eng 鐵橋城 (Iron bridge city), and many other places. His military exploits on this expedition were made known to the Emperor by a special report. In the ninth moon (September-October) Te was summoned to the Imperial court to an audience with the Emperor, and to pay tribute. Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖 (Hung-wu) was so pleased with his military services that he conferred on him Imperial letters patent, appointing him as hereditary T'u-kuan chih-fu 土官知府 (Hereditary native magistrate) of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang, and giving him the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu 中順大夫, with orders to safely defend Shih-men Kuan, and to resist the advance of the Fan-ta 番韃 (Nomads). A complete set of official uniforms, made of coloured satin and embroidered with golden flowers, was given him; also a golden-flowered belt with four Chinese characters, *Ch'eng Hsin Pao Kuo* 誠心報國 (Loyalty to the Nation), engraved on the central badge, six silver ingots, and a silver medal designed with the character *Ling* 令 and weighing 20 taels.

In the 17th year of the same period (1384), Te ordered his son, A-ch'ü, to attack and capture the Tao-k'ou 刀寇 (Knife brigands). He was so victorious in this expedition that the Emperor rewarded him with many silver ingots. In the 19th year (1386), A-nu-ts'ung 阿奴聰, native magistrate of the chou-city of Chü-chin 巨津, rebelled against the Imperial rule by attacking Stone-gate Pass and other villages. Te and A-ch'ü led their troops to join the expedition of Lu Chung-heng 陸仲亨, Marquis of Chi-an 吉安侯, and succeeded in capturing the villages of Stone-gate Pass, as well as the place called Meng-ku-ho 蒙古和. A-nu-ts'ung then fled with his men to the Hsi-fan. In the twelfth moon of the same year (December, 1386-January, 1387), the brigand leader returned to Chü-chin chou. In the 20th year of the same period (1387), he was captured alive, and was brought a prisoner to the headquarters of Commander-in-Chief Fu and there executed.

Te was born in the fourth year of the reign of Yüan Wu Tsung 武宗 (Chih-ta 至大) (1311), and died on the 6th day of the tenth moon of the 23rd year of Ming Hung-wu (November 11th, 1390). His wife was named A-shih-she 阿室社, daughter of Ho Lüeh-ko 和畧哥 (the Second Chronicle gives the name Ho Lüeh-k'o 可), Chao-mo 照磨 (Commissary of records) of San-pi-ts'un 三必村. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen 恭人. She gave birth to three sons, named Ch'u 初, K'uei 虧 and Ssu 寺. His second wife, A-shih-mi 阿室彌, gave birth to one son, named Ch'i 七. His eldest son, A-ch'ü, succeeded to his throne.

EIGHTH GENERATION. — *A-te A-ch'ü* 阿得阿初 (PLATE 18): Native magistrate of the fu-city. His official name was Mu Ch'ü 木初, and he was also named Ch'i-yüan 啓元 and Shih-ch'un 始春. As the eldest son of Te, he suc-

³² Kao Ta-hui was governor of the commandery Shan-chü 善巨郡 which was the later Pei-sheng and the present Yung-sheng 永勝.

ceeded to his father's throne. Before his accession to the throne, in the 16th year of Ming Hung-wu (1383), on account of his merit in defeating Chief Pu-chieh 卜刼 of the Hsi-fan, Commander-in-Chief Fu, Duke of Ying-kuo, proposed to the emperor to appoint him as Assistant-leader of 1,000 men. In the second tenth moon (November–December) of the 17th year of the same period (1384), the proposal was approved by the Imperial Board of Civil Office, which issued a dispatch bearing the character *Chung* 忠, No. 3, appointing him as Assistant-leader of 1,000 men, together with the additional duty of Leader of 100 families, as a test. In the eleventh moon (December, 1384–January, 1385) he entered on his duties.

In the twelfth moon (January, 1385), the native magistrate of Pao-shan chou 寶山州 became recalcitrant. Ch'u went with General Li of Ta-li military station, and settled the trouble by means of skilful strategem, capturing many stockaded villages in the mountains of that district, and restoring the people to their peaceful pursuits. Later in the same year, La-mi-ju-chi 刺密如吉, the native magistrate, again occupied the mountain districts, starting a new rebellion. Ch'u led his troops thither to attack them and the aforesaid districts were again recovered. The captives taken and the brigands killed in that fight numbered more than 20. In the 20th year of the same period (1387), Yang-nu 楊奴, native magistrate of the chou-city of Chien-ch'uan 劍川, and others were guilty of misdeeds. Ch'u hastened there with government troops to punish them, and made them all prisoners. In the eighth moon (September–October) of the same year, the usurping Commander-in-Chief, Pao-chu 保朱³³ of Chien-ch'uan, was also guilty of misdeeds. Ch'u proceeded with the Military governor Cheng Hsiang 鄭祥 of Ta-li military station, succeeded in capturing Pao-chu, and then put him to death.

In the third moon of the 21st year of Hung-wu (April, 1388), Ch'u led his native troops to join the army of the Commander-in-Chief Mu Chao-ching Ying 沐昭靖英,³⁴ Prince of Ch'ien-ning 黔寧王 and Marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯, and attacked the two cities of Ching-tung 景東³⁵ and Ting-pien hsien 定邊縣.³⁶ He then captured these two cities, killed the powerful leaders of the Po-i savages 伯夷蠻,³⁷ took and executed many prisoners, such as Tao Ssu-lang 刀斯浪, etc.

In the 24th year of Hung-wu (1391), Ch'u received an official dispatch bearing the character *Ting* 定, No. 504, from the office of the Military governor

³³ In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* the name is written Chu-pao 朱保. He usurped the rank of Yüan-shuai 元帥.

³⁴ This is the Mu Ying who was given the posthumous title of King of Ch'ien-ning and the appellation of Chao-ching 昭靖 (Glorious and peaceful). As the titles given were retroactive they are used here as if he bore them while alive.

³⁵ Ching-tung is a town on the Black River the upper part of which is known as the Chung-ch'uan Ho (*q.v.*), 10 stages south of Hsia-kuan and Ta-li, in south central Yün-nan.

³⁶ Ting-pien hsien is south of Meng-hua 蒙化 and is the present Nan-chien 南澗. It is situated at the confluence of the Meng-hua and Nan-chien Streams, the Meng-hua Ho 蒙化河 being the Red River. Nan-chien is really situated on the north bank of the Nan-chien Ho. In the T'ang dynasty it was the land of the P'u-lo-man 濮落蠻.

³⁷ The Pa-i, Shan or Tai, who inhabit southern Yün-nan, are meant here.

of the Right army 右軍都督, informing him that his hereditary right had been confirmed and duly approved by the Emperor. On the 18th day of the fifth moon (June 20th) he assumed his official position, succeeding his father. In the eleventh moon (November–December), he went to the Imperial capital to pay tribute to the Emperor and to apply for Imperial letters patent. In the second moon of the 25th year of the same period (February 23rd–March 23rd, 1392), he was given Imperial letters patent bearing the character *Chia* 甲, No. 697, which conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu and the hereditary right of the native fu-magistracy. He was then rewarded by the Emperor with many rich gifts and sent back in honor.

In the ninth moon (September 17th–October 16th) of the same year, by serving under the Military governor Feng Ch'eng 馮誠, he captured Yung-ning chou 永寧州³⁸ and took by storm Pai-chiao 白交³⁹ and other villages adjacent to the border of Lang-ch'ü 浪蕓.⁴⁰ He then forced the brigands to retreat, captured their leader, Pu-pa-ju-chia 卜八如甲, and forced the headman La-t'a 喇塔 of the village of Shui-chai 水寨 to submit with his people. In the 26th year of the same period (1393), Chia-ha-la 賈哈喇 of the La-ma family 喇馬氏,⁴¹ native magistrate of the Salt-well Sub-military station of Tso-so 左所 in Ssu-ch'uan, conspired to start a rebellion. Ch'u and the Military Governor Ho Fu 何福,⁴² Marquis of Ning-yüan 寧遠侯, were both in reserve to help the government troops. In the first moon of the 27th year of the same period (February, 1394), the rebel Chia-ha-la of Tso-so invaded the two cities of Pei-sheng and Lang-ch'ü. Ch'u helped Mu Ch'un 沐春,⁴³ Marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯 and Duke of Hui-hsiang 惠襄公, by leading his troops thither, and recovered these two cities. They then established the Lan-ts'ang military

³⁸ Yung-ning is the present semi-independent magistracy north-east of Li-chiang and the Yangtze.

³⁹ Pai-chiao is the present Pai-chiao pa 白交壩, or Pai-chio pa 白角壩, which adjoins Yung-ning territory.

⁴⁰ Lang-ch'ü chou is south of Yung-ning and west of the Wo-lo Ho (River) about half-way between Yung-ning and Yung-sheng (Yung-pei 永北). It is the Ning-lang 寧浪 of to-day; see Chap. VII, p. 429.

⁴¹ La is the family name of the present ruling T'u-ssu 土司 (chief) of the Tso-so 左所 country east of Yung-ning in Ssu-ch'uan. The La family is of the Mo-so tribe but most of its subjects are Lo-lo. Tso-so land is separated from Yung-ning territory partly by the Yung-ning Lake, known to the Na-khi as La-t'a Khü. The main village of Tso-so, where the chief's yamen is situated, is called To-shi (To-she-chai 多舍寨). La-t'a was a native of Tso-so territory and its headman. He had a son called La-ma-fei 喇馬非 who paid tribute, whereupon he was given the title of Fu-ch'ien-hu 副千戶 (Assistant chiliarch). According to the *Ming-Shih* Chia-ha-la's territory was Po-hsing 柏興, the present Yen-yüan hsien; he was the native chief of the Mo-so tung or cave (dwelling) Mo-so. (See also Part VI, Ch. II. 6, Tso-so, page 463.)

⁴² Ho Fu was a native of Feng-yang 鳳陽 in An-hui. He came, together with Fu Yu-te, to attack Yün-nan.

⁴³ He was the son of Mu Ying who died in the 25th year of Hung-wu, the sixth moon and *ting-mao* 丁卯 day (July 7th, 1392). Mu Ch'un 沐春 inherited the rank of Chen-shou 鎮守 (Guardian) of Yün-nan. (*Chen-shou* was the title of a Tartar General). He ruled the *Chen* (Principality) for seven years and died at the age of 36.

station 瀾滄衛 for the purposes of defence. In the same year, Ch'u joined the military expedition of the Military governor Ch'ü Neng 瞿能, and succeeded in pacifying the rebels. Later he transported military provisions to the Salt-well military station.⁴⁴ In the eleventh moon (December) of the same year, Pa-t'a-kan 八塔干, Ho-t'ou 火頭 (Fire-headman)⁴⁵ of Lan chou 蘭州, became recalcitrant and unruly. Ch'u led his own troops to fight him; he captured and killed more than 100 brigands, and restored the tribes to their peaceful pursuits.

In the ninth moon of the 30th year of Hung-wu (September 22nd–October 20th, 1397), Ch'u went with General Li of Ta-li military station to attack Ko-shih 革石,⁴⁶ A-nao-wa 阿惱瓦, and a few other villages. They captured the rebel bandits and made the pretending P'ing-chang 平章, Chia-ha-la, prisoner. In the eleventh moon (November–December), there was newly established the Government of military and civil affairs of Li-chiang, to which an official seal, character 以, No. 87, was issued by the Imperial court. This government was intended by the Imperial order to safeguard the village of Yang-t'ang-chen 楊塘鎮, to check the advance of the Hsi-fan, to arrange all things to fit the circumstances, and to embody all matters in one unit, in order that national prestige might be enhanced. In the ninth moon of the 31st year of the same period (October, 1398), Ch'u helped the Commander-in-Chief Mu Ch'un 沐春, General of punitive expeditions, Marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯 and Duke of Hui-hsiang 惠襄公, to attack the Po-i 伯夷. They besieged the city of Lu-ch'uan 麓川,⁴⁷ and made the brigand leader Tao-kan-meng 刀幹孟 prisoner [a native chief of Lu-ch'uan and P'ing-mien 平緬 who had rebelled and ousted Ssu-lün-fa 思倫發, the Hsüan-wei-shih of Lu-ch'uan. His territory was in P'iao-t'an 驃賧 (name for the eastern part of Burma)]. When he returned from this expedition, he was given many silver ingots and other rich gifts by the provincial authorities. In the 35th year of the same period (1402),⁴⁸ he sent his eldest son, A-t'u 阿土, to the Imperial capital to pay tribute to the Emperor, who gave him also many silver ingots and sent him back honored.

In the second year of Ming Yung-lo (1404) Ch'u led his troops to Ch'ü-chin

⁴⁴ Yen-ching wei 鹽井衛 (Salt-well military station) corresponds to the sub-prefecture of Yen-yüan 鹽源, which in turn is dependent on the prefecture of Hsi-ch'ang (Ning-yüan) in Ssu-ch'uan.

⁴⁵ A *Ho-t'ou* is a small village official, lower than a headman. The name *ho-t'ou*, which actually means a scullion, has also reference to his entertaining any official who may come to the village.

⁴⁶ The name of the village is Ko-shih, not Tsin-ko-che as CHAVANNES gives the name in the translation of the Second Chronicle. The word *tsin* (*chin* 進) here means to advance (they advanced on Ko-shih and A-nao-wa, the Na-khi A-na-wüa). These villages are in Tso-so and Mu-li 木裏 territories respectively.

⁴⁷ Lu-ch'uan is the present-day Lung-ch'uan 隴川, 140 li south-west of T'eng-yüeh 騰越, the present T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝. It is called Mong-wan in Shan, and is situated on the Nam-wan River; in Chinese its name is Nan-wan Ho 南碗河. According to the *Ta-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 498, fol. 2b, Lung-ch'uan belonged to Burma during the Wan-li period of the Ming dynasty (1573–1619), and later reverted to China. The Pai-man 白蠻 (Pa-i or Shan) dwell there.

⁴⁸ This should read the fourth year of Chien-wen 建文 of Hui Ti 惠帝 (1402), for T'ai Tsu (Hung-wu) died on the 24 of June, 1398.

chou 巨津州 and relieved A-chi 阿戟, native magistrate of that city, from the siege of the Hsi-fan brigands, whose chief, A-niang-yün 阿娘勻, was forced to retreat with his men. Many other officials and people who had been taken captive by these brigands were thus released. In the fourth moon of the third year of the same period (May, 1405), he ordered his brother, A-ssu 阿寺,⁴⁹ to accompany the Imperial messenger and Eunuch Yang Lin 欽差內監楊麟, together with the pacified Hsi-fan representatives, to the Imperial capital to pay tribute to the Emperor. In the tenth moon (October-November) he himself prepared presents consisting of horses and native products, and went with some of his subordinates to the capital to pay tribute. His Majesty gave him many silver ingots and sent him back much honored. In the fifth moon of the fourth year of the same period (May-June, 1406), he received a dispatch from Commander-in-Chief Mu 沐, instructing him to accompany Chu Ch'eng 朱程 the Chih-hui-shih 指揮使 of the Chen-fu-ssu 鎮撫司 of Chin-i wei 錦衣衛 (the military station of Chin-i) to the land of the Hsi-fan, to establish two An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification officers) in the *tao* 道 of Yang-t'ang-chen 楊塘鎮, the Chang-kuan-ssu 長官司 of La-ho-ch'ang 刺何場, and the Chang-kuan-ssu of Ni-na⁵⁰ for the purpose of urging the I-fan (Wild tribes) to go and pay tribute to the Imperial court, news of which was reported to the Emperor on Ch'u's behalf. He was then given Imperial dispatches instructing him to safeguard the land. The Emperor also conferred upon him a golden shield with an inscription of four characters, *Ch'eng Hsin Pao Kuo* 誠心報國 (Loyalty to the Nation), in reward for his military exploits in Chü-chin 巨津, Lin-hsi 臨西, Mao-niu-chai 毛牛寨, Pao-shan chou 寶山州, Lan chou 蘭州, the Lang-ts'ang Chiang 浪滄江 (Mekong), etc.

In the fifth year of Ming Yung-lo (1407) His Majesty conferred on Ch'u the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu 中憲大夫 (Minister of the principal fourth rank) and the hereditary right of the native fu-magistracy, by an Imperial order, containing dispatches: *I* 義, No. 76, and *Chia* 甲, No. 809. In the tenth moon (November) of the same year, Ch'u ordered his eldest son, A-t'u, to search for a golden shield in the household of A-chi 阿吉, a native official and An-fu-ssu, appointed by the Yüan dynasty, and forward it directly to the Yün-nan Provincial Treasurer.

In the fifth moon of the eighth year of the same period (June, 1410), he went himself to Pao-shan chou 寶山州, and to the villages of Pai-ti 白的⁵¹ and Yüan-shih-wa 元始瓦 and many other places, and succeeded in persuading the village headman, A-yung-mu 阿容目, to furnish a number of laborers each year to serve the government, commencing from that year. He then sent men to pay tribute to the Imperial court; the Emperor gave him an Imperial receipt, and sent them back with many gifts and highly honored. In the fourth moon of the 10th year of the same period (May-June, 1412), he prepared tribute consisting of horses and many native products, and requested his official secretary,

⁴⁹ He was Ch'u's second younger brother and was called Mu Sheng 木塞.

⁵⁰ Ni-na is the Na-khi Nyi-na and the Tibetan Ni-nag — the district of Wei-hsi 維西, northwest of Li-chiang and east of the Mekong.

⁵¹ The Chinese Pai-ti is the Na-khi district of Bbër-ddër west of the Yangtze loop; BACOR's Be-djri should read Mbe-ddü, "Village large," or large village; one of the eight villages of Bbër-ddër is meant. (See: p. 262.)

A-t'a 阿他, to offer them to the Emperor, who conferred on Ch'u's father, A-te 阿得, the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, on his mother the honorary title of T'ai-kung-jen 太恭人, and on his wife the honorary title of Kung-jen, by the respective Imperial orders. *Chia* 甲, No. 997; *Chia* 甲, No. 998; and *Chia* 甲, No. 999. When these orders were delivered to their official residence, they all expressed their hearty thanks, kneeling down in the direction of the Imperial throne.

Meanwhile, on account of his military merit gained by helping Mu Ch'un in his expedition to settle the affairs of the cities of Ching-tung 景東, Yung-ning 永寧 and Lang-ch'ü 浪蕩, etc., and by helping the Military governor Ho Ch'ü 何瞿 in his expedition to attack the Salt-well military station of Ssu-ch'uan, and to capture the rebels La-ma-jen-tsu 刺馬仁祖 and Chia-ha-la alive, after taking the villages of Ko-shih and A-nao-wa, the Emperor issued him a decree I 乙, No. 119, promoting him one rank higher, and conferring on him a golden girdle with the four characters, *Ch'eng Hsin Pao Kuo* 誠心報國 (Loyalty to the Nation), together with many other gifts listed in detail in the book of the Hereditary rights of the Mu family [the *Huang-Ming En-lin-lu*]. In the 14th year of the same period (1416), after he had been promoted in rank by the Emperor's special grace, he was permitted to retire, and transferred his official seal to his heir, Mu T'u 木土, to preserve the hereditary right.

Ch'u was born in the fifth year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1345) and died in the twelfth moon of the first year of Ming Hung-hsi (January, 1426). His wife was named A-shih A-mu-hsiang 阿室阿木相 (her official name was A-shih-sa 阿室撒), daughter of A-mu 阿木 (Mu-hsien 木仙), who was native leader of 1,000 households of T'ung-an chou. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to seven sons, named T'u 土, Niang 娘, Chi 戟, Chia 迦, Chün 均, Hsing 興 and Hui 惠.

His second wife was named A-shih-lo 阿室羅, daughter of the Chang-kuan-ssu of La-ho-ch'ang 刺何場. She gave birth to one son, named Mu 目. His third wife was named A-shih-li 阿室里. She gave birth to one son, named Pao 保. His fourth wife was named A-shih-yang 阿室羊. She gave birth to two sons, named Tu 都 and Hsi 希.

His eldest son, A-t'u 阿土, succeeded to his father's throne.

In the fifth year of Ming Cheng t'ung (1440), the Emperor conferred on Ch'u, on account of the military merit of his grandson, two more posthumous honorary titles of T'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫 by the Imperial order, *Wu* 戊, No. 767, and on his wife, A-shih-sa, the posthumous honorary title of Shu-jen 淑人 by the Imperial order, *Wu* 戊, No. 768.

NINTH GENERATION. — *A-ch'u A-t'u* 阿初阿土 (PLATE 19): His official name was Mu T'u 木土; he was also named Yang-min 養民 (Yü-min 育民). As the eldest son of Ch'u, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 17th year of Yung-lo (1419) he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and went to the Imperial capital to pay tribute. He lodged at the Board of Civil Office. In the tenth moon (October–November) of the same year, the aforesaid Board applied for him to the Emperor, who sanctioned his hereditary right in due time, and presented him with many silver ingots and satin garments and sent him back highly honored. He also received Imperial letters

patent *Wen* 文, No. 5708, whereupon he assumed his official duties in the first moon (January 15th–February 13th) of the 18th year of the same period (1420). In the following year (1421), His Majesty, yielding to popular opinion, conferred on him Imperial letters patent, stating that thereafter he was only to be ordered to proclaim the Imperial will, but not to be transferred on any occasion. In the 21st year of the same period (1423), he ordered his official secretary, Mu Mi 木彌, and the sergeant Yang Chung-li 楊仲禮 and many others to pay tribute at the Imperial court for the purpose of applying for (new) letters patent. He was then given the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy by the Imperial patent *Ping* 丙, No. 115. On his wife, A-hu 阿護, was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen by the Imperial patent *Ping* 丙, No. 116.

In the third year of Ming Hsüan-te (1428), owing to the frequent inroads by A-k'uei-chang 阿虧丈 at Shih-men Kuan (Stone-gate Pass), T'u led his men to attack and capture him. The country was then taken, and many new roads and ferries were built by him to facilitate communications. In the first moon (January 21st–February 19th) of the eighth year of the same period (1433), he assembled his troops, and in the second moon (February 20th–March 20th) captured the village of Lüeh-shao 掠峭, which then acknowledged its allegiance. Again, in the third moon (March 21st–April 19th), the Yung-ning Fan brigands 番賊 carried off magistrate A-jih 阿日 of Pao-shan chou 寶山州. T'u led his troops himself, and recovered him from the hands of the brigands through many stratagems.

T'u was born in the 24th year of Yüan Shun Ti 順帝 (Chih-cheng 至正) (1364), and died on the 24th day of the fourth moon in the 8th year of Ming Hsüan-te (May 13th, 1433). His wife was named A-shih-fu 阿室甫 (her official name was Kao Shih-hu 高氏護), daughter of Kao Chung 高仲, native magistrate of the fu-city of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶.⁵² On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to seven sons, named Ti 地, Chung 仲, I 義, Ch'ang 昌, Shu 恕, Chü 苴 and Hui 揮. His eldest son, A-ti, succeeded to his father's throne.

In the fifth year of Cheng-t'ung (1440), on account of the military merit of his son A-ti, the Emperor conferred on T'u the posthumous honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu, and on his wife the posthumous honorary title of Shu-jen by Imperial order *Wu* 戊, No. 769 and *Wu* 戊, No. 770, respectively.

While T'u was still living, he published a proclamation to the district of Pai-sha li 白沙里, forbidding the officials to graze their cattle on the people's crops. Once cattle belonging to officials were eating the peasants' crops. Those who witnessed this wondered why the officials did not remove their cattle. T'u learned of this, and immediately ordered the buffaloes or cows to be killed and offered as a solemn sacrifice in the Pei-yo Temple 北嶽神祠 (see Sa-ddo or Pei-yo). The whole of the beef was divided among the people for food. Thus all his subjects were made obedient to his laws and regulations. Henceforth, it became their custom every year to make contributions to the Pai-yo Temple out of the sales of their cattle, for the purpose of offering regularly a similar sacrifice.

⁵² Ho-ch'ing, a commercial town 80 li south of Li-chiang, formerly belonged to the Li-chiang district under the rule of the Na-khi chiefs. Its inhabitants are mostly Lă-bbu (Min-chia

TENTH GENERATION. — *A-t'u A-ti* 阿土阿地 (PLATE 20): His official name was Mu Shen 木森. He was also named Sheng-jung 升榮 and Ta-lin 大林. As the eldest son of T'u, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the ninth year of Ming Hsüan-te (1434) his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed by the Imperial decree *Wen* 文, No. 154, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 13th day of the seventh moon of the same year (August 17th, 1434), he assumed his official duties. In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438), he led his troops with Commander-in-Chief Mu Chung 沐忠 (Mu Ching-sheng 沐敬晟),⁵³ Prince of Ting-yüan 定遠王, to settle the trouble at Lu-ch'uan 麓川 caused by Burmese brigands. During the expedition, the armies from the various sections of the country were anything but brave, and many deserted, except the Li-chiang troops who proved their valor by first venturing across the river and then burning seven of the enemy's camps, capturing one leader alive, and chopping off 16 heads. They captured two elephants, and decapitated 24 prisoners in another lot. Ti was thereupon rewarded by the Imperial court with a silver bowl, a flower-design shield, many pieces of silk and satin, etc.

In the fourth year of Hsüan-te (1439), he again joined the government troops and decapitated 20 of the enemy. This time he was similarly rewarded, and, in addition, Mu Chung, Prince of Ting-yüan of the Yün-nan and Kuei-chou government, gave him a farmstead in the village of Sha-ch'iao 沙橋.⁵⁴ In the fifth moon of the fifth year of the same period (June, 1440), on account of his merit gained by conquering Lu-ch'uan, the General historiographer Wang Chung-i kung-i 王忠毅公驥,⁵⁵ Marquis of Ching-yüan 靖遠侯, made a report on his behalf to the Emperor, who then rewarded him with several pieces of colored satin and many other gifts.

In the ninth moon (October 26th–November 25th), he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and requested some of his servants to offer them as tribute to the Imperial court for the purpose of applying for an Imperial patent. After certain investigations were made by the Board about his merit, the Emperor granted his request, and gave him the letters patent *Wu* 戊, No. 771, conferring on him the honorary titles of T'ai-chung ta-fu, Tzu-chih-shao-yin 資治少尹 (Assistant junior intendant of a circuit), and Yün-nan Pu-cheng-shih-ssu Ts'an-cheng 雲南布政使司參政 (Counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial treasurer). His ancestors, two generations before him, received various posthumous honors from the Emperor. He assumed his official duties in the capital of Yün-nan. Although he had returned to his native place,

民家) tribespeople, only a few Na-khi being among its population. It is not 350 li south-east of Li-chiang as CHAVANNES states without giving his source of information.

⁵³ The title *Chung-ching* 忠敬 was a posthumous one. After returning with his troops from Lu-ch'uan to Ch'u-hsiung he died in 1439. Of the Mu 沐 family, 16 generations ruled in Yün-nan, the first one being Mu Ying 沐英. They were military governors of Yün-nan and ruled that province like a feudal fief.

⁵⁴ Sha-ch'iao is eight stages from K'un-ming on the Ta-li road, and a distance of 575 li from the provincial capital.

⁵⁵ His name was Wang I 王驥 and his appellation Shang-te 尙德. He was a native of Shu-lu 東鹿 in Pao-ting fu, Chih-li. He was of tall stature and imposing appearance. He died at the age of 83. The title *Chung-i* 忠毅 was a posthumous one.



PLATE 49.—THE ANCESTRAL TABLET OF YANG SHEN

楊 慎 牌 位



PLATE 50. — THE TOWN OF LI-CHIANG

麗江城

Looking east over the city from a hill called Lion Mountain or Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山, in Na-khi, Wua-gkv-mbu. The Na-khi name of the city is Ngu-bá, though it is also known as Yi-gv.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 51. — THE LI-CHIANG MARKET OR SSU-FANG KAI

麗江四方街

Looking east. Everyday is market day between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. Na-khi women are the traders.

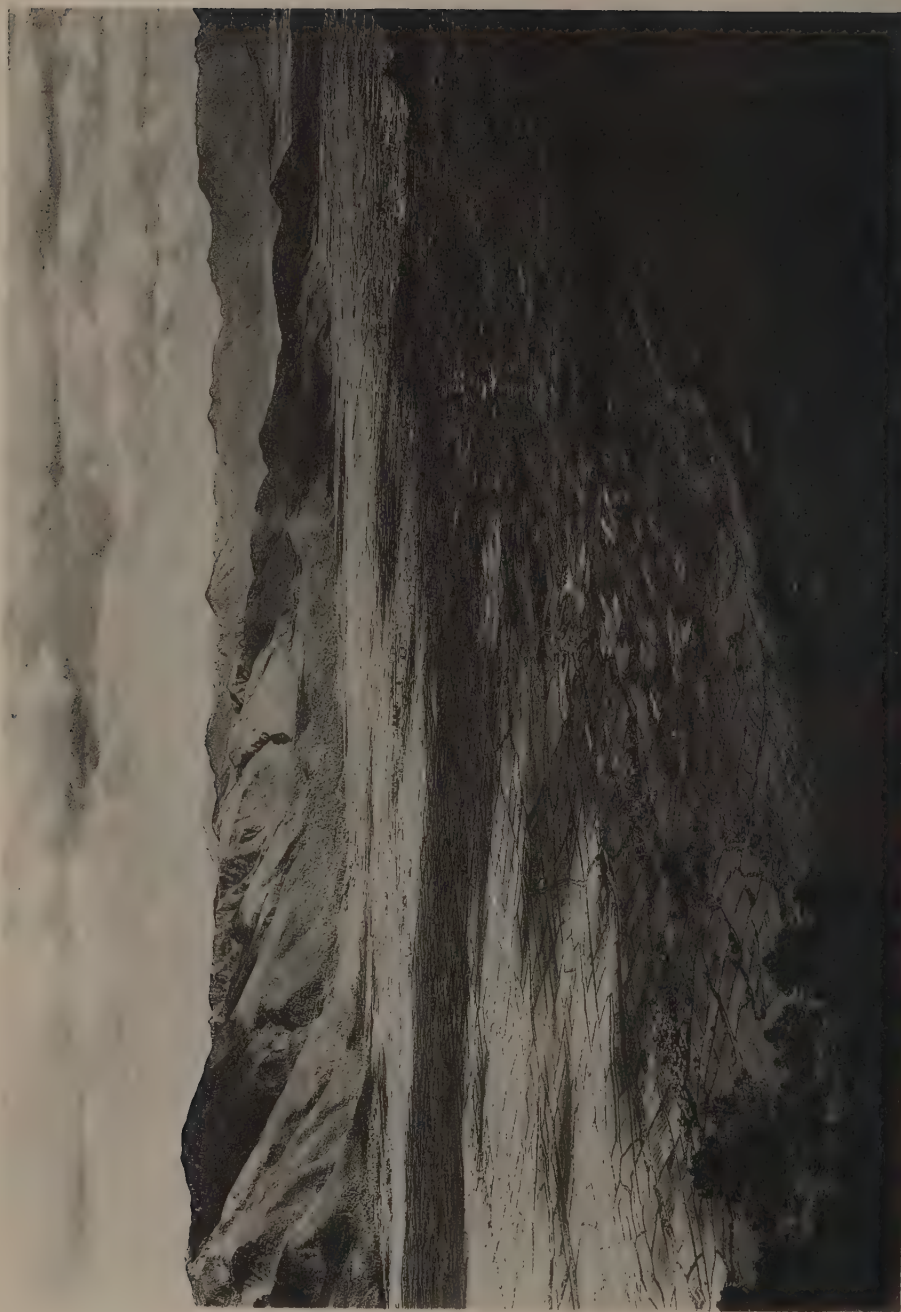


PLATE 52. — THE NORTH-WESTERN PART OF THE LI-CHIANG PLAIN

麗江壩白沙鄉

The Hsiang or Commune of Pai-sha, looking south-east from the trail to Hár-lér-gkv. Lower left, the village of Dügkv or Yü-lung-ts'un; the building embowered in the grove of tall trees to the right of village is the Pei-yo Miao. See Plate 61.

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)



PLATE 53. — A TYPICAL STREET OF LI-CHIANG

麗江城中特色路

Crystal clear streams flow through the town in various directions. The city is divided by the Na-khi into small villages each of which has its name. This part of the city through which the Yü Ho 玉河 or Ngu-lu gyi flows is called Gyi-ddü-p'u.



PLATE 54. — THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN OR JADE-DRAGON MOUNTAIN

獅子山上望玉山

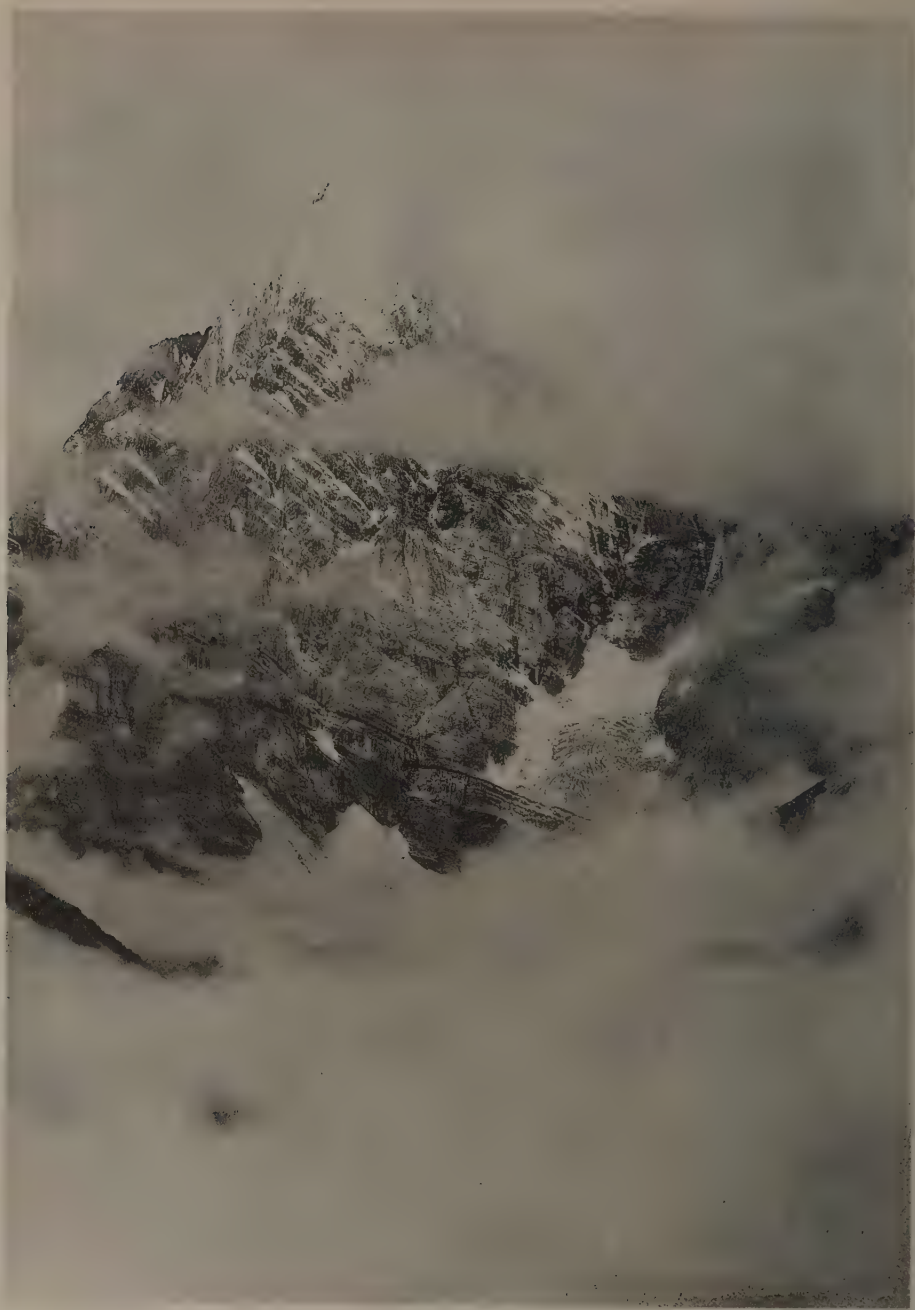
As seen from Shih-tzu Shan west of Li-chiang, looking north. Shan-tzu-tou the highest peak is visible. The fields and villages in the foreground are in Ta-yen li and the center of the plain is in Pai-sha li. Hsiang Shan (Elephant Mountain) in center, right; part of Shih-tzu Shan lower right.



PLATE 55. — THE THREE PROTECTING LORDS, THE GANGKAR-LING SNOW PEAKS

貢 噶 嶺 雪 山 里 克 蘇 木 袁 博

The Gangkar Risum gampo, the Three Protectors. The three peaks rise from a plateau 17,000 feet in height. From left to right they are: Jambyang, Chhena-dorje. Photographed from an elevation of 14,900 feet west of Mt. Nu-tsi-ga, in Mu-li; Hsi-k'ang. See also Plates 56, 57, 58, 59.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 56.—MOUNT CHHANA-DORJE, THE HOLDER OF THE THUNDERBOLT OF THE
GANGKAR-LING SYSTEM

貢 噶 嶺 金 剛 手 (神) 山

As seen from a ridge near Dra-go-tse, elevation 15,350 ft. Approximately 21,000 ft.
in height.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 57. — MOUNT JAMBYANG, THE GOD OF LEARNING OF THE GANGKAR-LING SYSTEM

貢噶嶺文殊山

Photographed from Bayu Camp with front lens removed, elevation 15,800 ft. Approximately 21,000 feet in height.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 58. — JAMBYANG AND CHENREZIG OF THE GANGKAR-LING SYSTEM

貢噶嶺 文殊山 與 觀音山

Photographed from Bayu Camp, elevation 15,800 feet.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 59. — MOUNT CHENREZIG OR KUAN-VIN, THE GODDESS OF MERCY OF THE
GANGKAR-LING SYSTEM

貢 噶 嶺 觀 音 山

Photographed from Bayu Camp with front lens removed, elevation 15,800 ft. The deeply eroded cliff is porphyry and is not part of the main peak, a deep gorge separates the mountain from the cliff. It is the highest of the three peaks and probably 21,500 feet in height.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 60. — MINYA GANGKAR, THE MINYA SNOW PEAK

康定明雅貢噶大雪山

The highest peak of the Minya Gangkar Snow range, altitude 24,900 feet. Photographed from a ridge overlooking Bü Chhu Lung-pa east of Yü-lung-shih from an elevation of 16,500 feet.



PLATE 61. — THE TEMPLE OF SA-DDO OR PEI-YO MIAO

玉龍村北嶽廟

Centuries-old maples and cypresses surround the temple. Over the entrance to the temple are four large tablets bearing the Chinese characters 恩薄三多 En P'u San To = Gracious all pervading San-to (Sa-ddo).

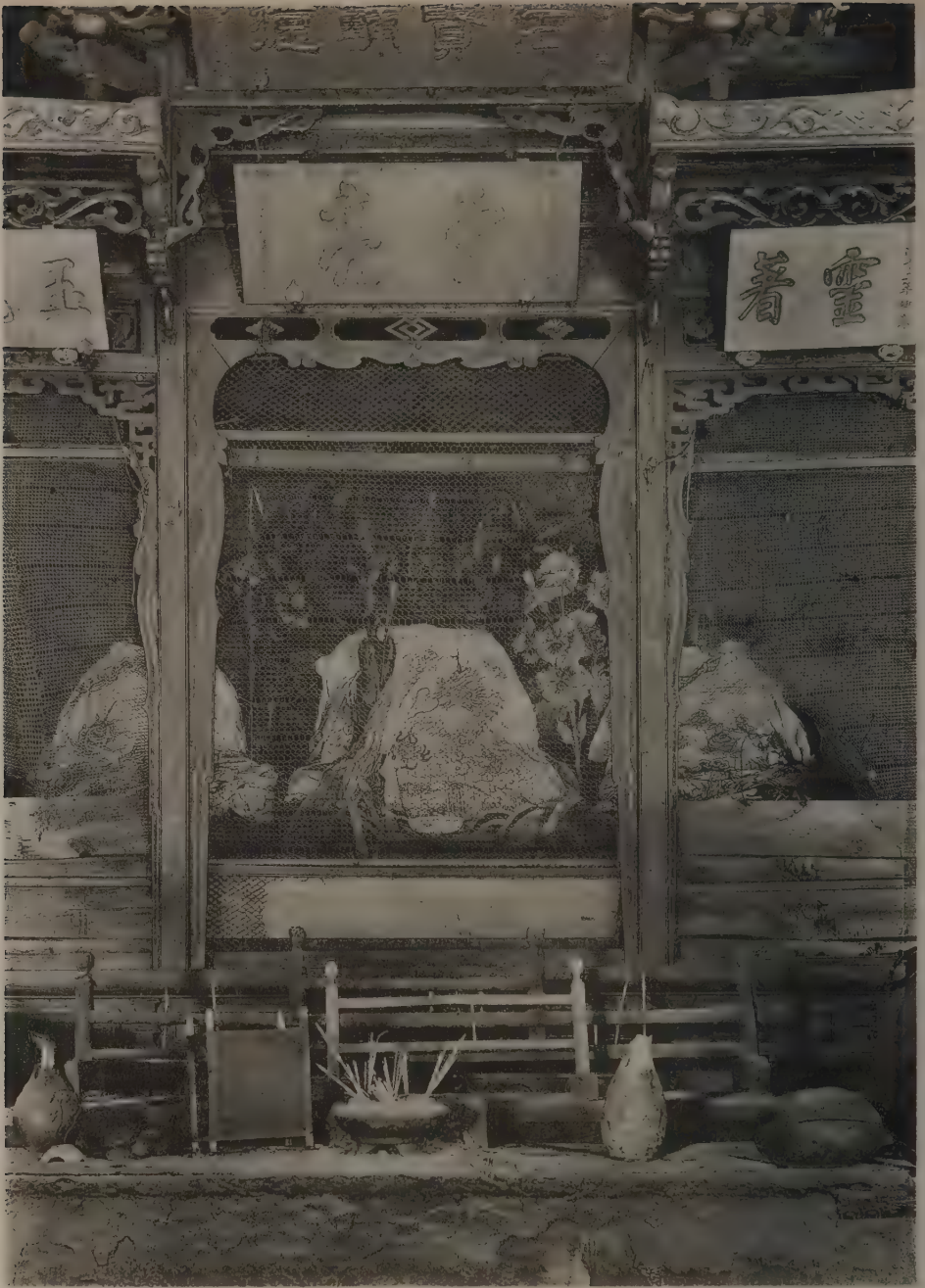


PLATE 62. — MAIN SHRINE OF SA-DDO OR PEI-YO

北嶽正殿

The central figure is Sa-ddo (Pei-yo); to his left sits his wife Gkyi-chi-ndzër-dto, and to his right his concubine Gkyi-chi-ndzër-mun. When prayers are offered to Sa-ddo their names are also mentioned. He, himself, is addressed as P'u-la Sa-ddo hä ddü, the god Sa-ddo, the great god.



PLATE 63. — CHHOS-KYI-HBYUNG-GNAS

The Guru Karma-pa who visited Li-chiang. After a painting from the Yü-feng Ssu (Jade-peak Lamasery) at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan.



PLATE 64. — THE CHIEH-T'O-LIN LAMASERY

解歷林喇嘛寺，或福國寺

The lamasery is beautifully situated on Chih Shan the Khyu-t'o-llü Ngyu of the Na-khi. The trees in foreground are mainly *Pinus yunnanensis*.

his official seat was reserved in the office of the Yün-nan provincial treasurer. On his wife, A-shih-li 阿室里, was conferred by separate Imperial letters patent, *Wu* 戊, No. 772, the honorary title of Shu-jen.

In the same year, the office of Governor of Yün-nan was first established, and was filled by the Yün-nan Tu-yü-shih 雲南都御史丁 (Imperial grand censor) Ting who wrote an inscription for him in praise of his past merit and to encourage him in future service. In the sixth year of the same period (1441), he led his troops to assist Commander-in-Chief Wang Chung-i kung-i, Marquis of Ching-yüan, on his expedition against Lu-ch'uan. Ti gained considerable merit by taking 16 prisoners, capturing one elephant, and attacking Ssu-jen-fa 思任發,⁵⁶ headman of the village of Cha (chai) 柵寨.

He was born in the 34th year of Hung-wu (1401),⁵⁷ and died in the twelfth moon of the 6th year of the reign of Ming Cheng-t'ung (January 12th–February 10th, 1442). His wife was named A-shih-li 阿室里, and was the daughter of A-su 阿俗, Hsün-chien 巡檢 (Sub-district deputy magistrate) of Mu-pao 木保.⁵⁸ On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to three sons, named Hsi 習, Na 那 and T'a 他. His second wife, A-shih-neng 阿室能, gave birth to one son, named Jih 日. His third wife gave birth to one son, named A-nü 阿女.

A-hsi succeeded his father.

ELEVENTH GENERATION. — *A-ti A-hsi* 阿地阿習 (PLATE 21): His official name was Mu Ch'in 木嶽. He was also named Wei-kao 惟高 and Chün-ch'iao 峻喬. As the eldest son of Ti, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the seventh year of Cheng-t'ung (1442) his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed, and he received official letters patent issued by the Imperial court through the office of the Yün-nan Viceroy 總督, Wang 王, Grand historiographer of the Board of military affairs and Ta-li ssu-ch'ing 大理寺卿, Director of the Grand Court of Revision. On the 10th day of the third moon of the same year (April 20th, 1442), Hsi assumed his official duties. In the second year of Ching-t'ai (1451), when the Hsi-fan brigands 西番 invaded Chü-chin chou 巨津州, he personally led his troops against them. On this expedition he decapitated 42 brigands and took 26 prisoners.

In the sixth moon of the 3rd year of the same period (June 17th–July 16th, 1452), Lo Wen-k'ai 羅文凱, hereditary magistrate of the chou-magistracy of Lan chou, was murdered by brigands. Hsi was instructed by the government to devise plans to capture them. He succeeded in taking ten of them prisoner, including their leader Lo-hao 羅好.

A-yung-t'a 阿容他, leader of another group of brigands, led over 300 men to plunder the people. Hsi took his own troops to attack them and captured 18 brigands, including their leader Ho-cha 和札; at another time he took 12 prisoners. In the sixth year (1455), Pao-shan chou, Pai-ti, and a few other

⁵⁶ Ssu-jen-fa was the native chief of Lu-ch'uan who had revolted. After the attack on Lu-ch'uan, he escaped. Cha-chai was his stockaded village.

⁵⁷ This should read the third year of Chien-wen (1401), as Hung-wu's reign ended with his 31st year.

⁵⁸ Mu-pao li is a commune consisting of several villages about 20 li south-west of Li-chiang. The leading village is Muan-shwua-wüa.

places were looted by the Fan brigands under the command of their leader Tao-jih-pu-t'a 刀日卜他 and his son A-su 阿俗. Hsi personally led his troops and made four prisoners, killing eight other brigands. Thus A-su surrendered, and Hsi arranged to find him and his men a place to live in. In the second year of T'ien-shun (1458), Yen-chung-chang 鹽仲丈, chief of the Hsi-fan brigands, cruelly plundered some of the frontier districts, whither Hsi sent his troops to pursue them. Five brigands were killed, and four were made prisoners. In the fourth year (1460), A-su again occupied Pao-shan chou with his men. Hsi sent his troops thither and killed 23 of his remaining followers. In the same year, Hsi sent men to pay tribute to the Emperor, and in the following year, the latter conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy, by Imperial letters patent *Hsin* 信, No. 23. On his wife, Kao-shih-shan 高氏善, was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen.

In the sixth year of T'ien-shun (1462), he conquered the villages of La-pao 剌寶,⁵⁹ Lu-p'u-wa-chai 魯普瓦寨, Shu-lo 鼠羅,⁶⁰ Ni-lo 你羅 and Chan-p'u-wa 占普瓦. In the eighth year (1464), he conquered the villages of Shu-lo 鼠羅, La-lo 剌羅, Ai-na-wa 岩那瓦, Li-feng 里棒, Chien-neng-wa 見能瓦 and Mei-shih-wa 梅矢瓦.

In the fourth year of Ch'eng-hua (1468), he conquered the villages of Ni-na 你那,⁶¹ Mu-lai-ko 母來各, Tang-wa 當瓦, Pen-tu-wa 本都瓦 and Ai-tien 岩甸. In the sixth year (1470), he conquered the villages of Ni-na, Wei-hsi, Hsia-chieh 下接, Chü-chia-wa 具加瓦, Hsiang-pi-wa 相必瓦, La-mu-wa 剌木瓦 and La-ho-ch'ang 剌何場. In the 18th year (1482), he conquered the villages of Chao-k'o 照可, Ch'i-tsung 其宗,⁶² La-p'u 剌普,⁶³ Chün-li-ch'ang 均里場, Ch'i-li-ch'ü-ting 其立佉丁, etc. In the 19th year (1483), he con-

⁵⁹ La-pao is identical with the ancient Pao-shan, three stages north of Li-chiang. Lu-p'u-wa-chai (stockaded village of Lu-p'u-wa), is the Na-khi (Lv) Lu-p'ër-wa to the north of La-bpu mbu, a peak overlooking the Yangtze (*which see*). *Wua* is a Na-khi term for a group of houses or hamlet, the Chinese *wa* 瓦 is its phonetic equivalent.

⁶⁰ Shu-lo is the name of a region and village which the Hsi-fan call Shen-dzong; it is in Mu-li territory, in south-west Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang). An iron chain bridge once spanned the Shu Gyi (Iron River) at that particular spot; the name Shen-dzong means "iron bridge" in Hsi-fan. The river is called *Zho Chhu* in Hsi-fan (KINGDON WARD calls it Shu-lo Ho [*Shu-lo* is Na-khi for "iron valley" and *ho* is the Chinese for river] and HANDEL-MAZZETTI, *Dou tschu*). This latter is a misnomer, he apparently confounds it with the *Tong Chhu*, an affluent of the *Zho Chhu* which has its source in the Kung-ka-ling 貢噶嶺 (Mt. Jambyang [hJam-dbyangs]) peaks. The *Zho Chhu* has its source at Na-wu (called Nabu by MAJOR DAVIES), 10 days to the north of Shen-dzong, and not in the Kung-ka-ling peaks, as heretofore believed.

The valley of the central *Zho Chhu* is inhabited by a tribe called the *Shu-khin* (Iron people), named after the river; they speak a mixture of Na-khi and Tibetan, but their language is understood neither by the Na-khi nor the Hsi-fan. They are said to be descendants of soldiers placed there as guards by the Na-khi chiefs — like the inhabitants of the village of O-yü on the same river further south, who, however, still speak pure Na-khi.

The lower stretch of the *Zho Chhu* is inhabited by a related tribe called the *Zhër-khin* — see my article on the *Zhër-khin* tribe in *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. III, 1938; pp. 171-188.

⁶¹ Ni-na is the Na-khi *Nyi-na*, or the Chinese prefectural city of Wei-hsi. The other names apparently are those of villages in *Nyi-na* (Wei-hsi) district.

⁶²⁻⁶³ Ch'i-tsung and La-p'u are two villages, called in Na-khi *Gyi-dzu* and *La-p'o*; the former is situated on the west bank of the Yangtze at the confluence of the *La-p'u Ho*, which has its source north of the *Li-ti-p'ing* — the Yangtze-Mekong divide. *La-p'o* is situated on the south bank of the stream, about 20 li from Ch'i-tsung.

quered the villages of Chung-tien 忠甸 and Tsao-wa 早瓦. In the 20th year (1484), the villages of Chung-tien and Tsan-lo 僭羅 surrendered of their own accord.

Hsi was born in the fourth year of Hsüan-te, *chi-yu* 己酉 (1429), and died on the 24th day of the eighth moon in the 21st year of Ming Ch'eng-hua (October 2nd, 1485). His wife was named A-shih-shun 阿室順, and her official name was Kuan-yin-shan 觀音善, daughter of magistrate Kao 高 of Ho-ch'ing. On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to four sons, named Ya 牙, Ti 的, Chu 住 and Pao 寶. His second wife, Kuan-yin-fu-cheng 觀音福珍, daughter of the Kao family, gave birth to two sons, named Tz'u 束 and Su 俗. His third wife, A-shih-niang 阿室娘, daughter of the Sub-district deputy magistrate of Mu-pao 木保, gave birth to five sons, named Chi 吉, Sha 沙, Lu 祿, T'a 他 and Chien 見. His fourth wife, A-shih-kuei 阿室桂, daughter of the Yang family 楊氏 of Shun-t'ang 順盪, gave birth to two sons, named Lo 樂 and Ti 的. In all he had 13 sons. His eldest son, A-ya, succeeded him.

TWELFTH GENERATION. — *A-hsi A-ya* 阿習阿牙 (PLATE 22): His official name was Mu T'ai 木泰. He was also named Pen-an 本安 and Kai-sheng 介聖. As the eldest son of Mu Ch'in, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 21st year of Ch'eng-hua (1485) A-chia-nan-pa 阿加南八, leader of the Fan brigands, invaded Pai-tien 白甸⁶⁴ and many other villages, whither Ya personally led his troops in pursuit; he decapitated five brigands and defeated the rest. In the 22nd year of the same period (1486), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year he conquered the village of Chü-kung 苴公 in Shu-lo.

In the 23rd year (1487), the brigands returned with stronger forces. Ya rearranged his troops, and terrible fighting took place in the mountains near the mouth of the Ha-pa Chiang 哈巴江 (Ha-pa River).⁶⁵ He decapitated fifteen of the brigands, and took six prisoners. Taking advantage of his victory, he pursued them to the village of K'o-tsung 可琮, where they intended to offer resistance, but he again defeated them and decapitated 72, holding 18 prisoners for trial. Afterwards, the brigands, who hid in the village of Wu-ya 吾牙, scattered out of fear, and those who had been captured by the brigands, were all again restored to their daily pursuits. The two chief officials of Yün-nan, the Provincial Treasurer and the Brigadier-General, gave him many rolls of satin and a flower-design shield as a reward for his meritorious achievements on that expedition.

In the same year, Ya conquered the village of Yü-yang 于楊 in Shu-lo,

⁶⁴ Pai-tien is a small town or village south-west of Wei-hsi on the west bank of the Mekong, but situated along the foot-hills. The crest of the range, which here forms the divide between the Mekong and Salween, is, on British maps, the Yün-nan and Burma border, but on the Chinese military map of 1928 the border not only includes the Salween valley but also the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 (eastern branch of the Irrawadi), the latter is correct.

⁶⁵ This river descends from Ha-pa Shan (Na-khi, Ha-ba ndshër-nv-lv) in Chung-tien 中甸 territory, and flows through the land of a native chief who bears the title of Pa-tsung 把總. His territory is called in Na-khi, Ha-ba and in Chinese Ha-pa. The stream flows through a broad valley past several villages into the Yangtze, but near its confluence is confined in a deep rocky gorge.

while the village of Pieh-tien 別甸 surrendered of its own accord. In the 24th year (1488) (actually first year of Hung-chih) he included the latter village in Shu-lo territory.

In the second year of Hung-chih (1489), Ya conquered the village of Chia-jih 加日 in Chao-k'o 昭可, and captured the lower part of Shih-t'ou-k'an 石頭坎 in the same district. In the third year (1490), A-chia-nan-li 阿加南立, leader of the Fan brigands, ruthlessly plundered many villages of the district of Chü-chin 巨津, whither Ya personally led his troops, attacking him three times. He took 89 prisoners, while many brigands drowned themselves in the river. He then conquered the villages of Pa-lo 巴羅, and Ngai-(Yen-)wa 岩瓦 in Ni-na (Wei-hsi district). In the fourth year (1491), he conquered the villages of T'o-san 托散 and Ch'ü-yü 佉玉 of Chung-tien as well as Chün-chi-yü 均集玉.

In the first year of Hung-chih (1488), Ya had received official letters patent *Ch'ou* 丑, No. 888, issued by the Board of Civil Office, and on the 2nd day of the second first moon of the same year (February 14th, 1488), he assumed his official duties. In the fifth year (1492), he conquered the villages of K'ung-li-yü 空立玉 in Chung-tien, while Chien-sha-ko 見沙各 and the village of T'o-ch'i-lo 托其羅 in Shu-lo surrendered of their own accord. In the sixth year (1493), he conquered the village of Sheng-hou-yü 生後玉 in Chung-tien. In the same year, Chü-te 具得, leader of the Hsi fan brigands, caused trouble in the neighborhood of the village of Lang-o 崑峨⁶⁶ of the city of Pei-sheng chou 北勝州 by secretly conspiring against the government with the wild Fan 野番 brigands, whose abode was on the borders of Ssu-ch'uan. Ya was instructed by the three chief officials of Yün-nan to lead in person his troops to settle that affair. On his arrival, he devised many plans, and at last succeeded in enticing 35 of the Hsi-fan brigands and Kan-t'ieh 干鐵, their leader, to come out of their retreat. He thereupon took them prisoner, and at the same time sent his troops to pursue the rest. Later, three of the above-mentioned prisoners committed murder, and they were compelled to pay an indemnity in accordance with the usual custom. The money thus obtained was used to pay the plundered soldiers and people. Ya then took hand-prints of the aforesaid Fan brigands, and had them carved on wooden blocks for preservation in his office. This case was reported to the two chief officials, the Yün-nan Provincial Treasurer and Brigadier-General; the Imperial Eunuchs gave him many presents of colored satin, a flower-design shield, and many silver ingots. A special official was ordered to send all these things, and he received them. Meanwhile, the Commander-in-Chief, Mu Tsung 沐琮,⁶⁷ General of the Southern expedition 征南將軍, Imperial tutor, Duke of Ch'ien-kuo 黔國公 and Duke of Wu-hsi 武僖公, reported on his behalf to the Emperor, who then gave him all the land pertaining to the village of Sha-lan 沙蘭村, near the city of Pei-sheng chou (the present Yung-sheng). Henceforth that village was to be called by the new name of Feng-ti-chuang 奉地庄 (Feng-ti farm), and was to be

⁶⁶ Lang-o is south-east of Yung-pei 永北 (Yung-sheng), near a little lake called Ts'ao Hai 草海 (Grass Lake); it is directly west of the small town Jen-li 仁里, which is situated on the west bank of a small stream called I-ch'a Ho 矣察河 which flows into the Yangtze.

⁶⁷ He was the son of Mu Pin 沐斌, the grandson of Mu Sheng, and the great-grandson of Mu Ying 沐英, who all had governed Yün-nan.

handed down to his descendants for ever. In the same year, Ya conquered the following villages of Chung-tien: Ch'ieh-tsan 伽僭, Hsi-li-ch'ü 西里佉, Ta-tang 大當 and Hsiang-ko 香各.

In the ninth year (1496), he conquered the village of Nien-yü 年玉 of Chung-tien, and established the village of Ai-na-wa. In the 10th year (1497), he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and sent men to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent. The Emperor gave him many silver ingots together with many other gifts, and conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy, and on his wife, A-shih-kuei 阿氏貴, the honorary title of Shu-jeu by Imperial decree *Yin* 寅, No. 18.

In the 11th year (1498), Ya conquered the villages of Wa-jih-wa 瓦日瓦 of Chung-tien, and Hsi-li-wa 西里瓦, and La-chia-wa 刺甲瓦 of Shu-lo. In the 12th year (1499), he conquered Chung-tien, and established the villages of Ta-nien-yü-wa 大年玉瓦, and Hsiang-ko-wa 香各瓦. In the same year, he conquered the villages of Feng-lu-wa 俸魯瓦 of Ni-na, Ku-p'u-wa 古普瓦 of Shu-lo, Pu-wa 卜瓦, P'ing-k'ou-tien 平口甸, Mu-jo-tien 母若甸, Chia-san-yen-wa 加散岩瓦 and Mu-feng-wa 木俸瓦. In the 13th year (1500), he conquered the villages of Mi-la-yen-wa 迷刺岩瓦 and Ch'ü-na-wa 佉納瓦 of Shu-lo. In the 14th year (1501), he conquered the villages of Li-yao-ko 立堯各 of Ni-na, and Yü-la 玉刺. In the same year, the brigands of Shu-lo surrendered of their own accord. In the 15th year (1502), he conquered the villages of Hui-ch'ü 揮佉 of Chung-tien, La-hung-wa 刺紅瓦, Shou-li-wa 手立瓦, and T'o-p'u-wa 托普瓦 of Ni-na.

Ya was born on the 15th day of the sixth moon of the 6th year of Ching-t'ai (July 29th, 1455), and died on the 21st day of the eleventh moon of the 15th year of Hung-chih (December 20th, 1502). His wife was named A-shih-chüan 阿室卷, and her official name was A-shih Shan-kuei 阿室善貴. She was the daughter of magistrate A 阿 of the chou-city of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川.⁶⁸ On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jeu. She gave birth to four sons, named A-ch'iu 阿秋, A-chung 阿鍾, A-yü 阿于 and A-lien 阿連. The eldest son, A-ch'iu, succeeded to his father's throne.

For reference, it is said that Mai Tsung 麥琮, one of the ancestors of the Mu family, once accepted an invitation of the King of Ta-li. On his way home, he felt that he had lost his spiritual power. He then went to the Yü-lung Shan, intending to drink some of the spiritual water out of the stone basin (*see* p. 92), but searching everywhere, he could not find it. For a moment he happened to take a rest under a rock. He unconsciously planted his bamboo staff into the ground. Suddenly he found that the earth was becoming softer and softer, while the bamboo staff had grown 11 joints taller than it had been before. In a little while branches and leaves sprouted luxuriantly. He then began to understand and said: "I have not yet lost my spiritual power, but I must have committed a sin. Eleven generations later, I shall be reborn to accomplish my destinies." A few days afterwards he died.

Counting from the time of Mou-pao A-tsung 牟保阿琮 (Mai Tsung) to A-hsi A-ya (Pen-an) exactly eleven generations have passed. Ya was born a genius.

⁶⁸ Teng-ch'uan is one stage north of Ta-li, a distance of 90 li.

Without being taught by anybody, he could read the pictographs of the Nakh language invented by his ancestor Mai Tsung. In addition, he did much to cause our Mu family to prosper by following the virtuous examples of his ancestors. Ya was probably Mai Tsung reborn, and the prophecy made by Tsung in his life was perhaps true. I think this is what Buddha said about "the theory of cause and effect," and about "the theory of transmigration of a man's three lives."

THIRTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-ya A-ch'iu* 阿牙阿秋 (PLATE 23): His official name was Mu Ting 木定. He was also named Ching-chih 靜之. As the eldest son of Mu T'ai 木泰, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 16th year of Hung-chih (1503) his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the 17th year (1504), he received his Official letters patent, *Ch'ou* 丑, No. 1107, issued by the Board of Civil Office, and in the fifth moon and the 13th day of the same year (June 24th, 1504), he took up the duties of his office. In the third year of Cheng-te (1508), he conquered the villages of Ts'ung-chung 從仲 and T'ien-lung 天龍 of Ni-na. In the fourth year (1509), he conquered Ni-na, A-te-chiu 阿得酋 and other places. In the fifth year (1510), he sent horses and native products to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent. His Majesty conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu [the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu* says Chang-shun ta-fu] and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy, and on his deceased wife, Kao-shih-hsiang 高氏香, the honorary posthumous title of Kung-jen, and on his second wife, Kao-shih 高氏, also the honorary title of Kung-jen by Imperial decree, *Chih* 智, No. 908.

In the same year, the village of T'ao-mu 陶目 surrendered of its own accord. In the seventh year (1512), the villages of Ping-so-li 井索立 and Ta-hsiang-tien 大香甸 turned to his allegiance. In the eighth year (1513), he conquered the villages of Na-ku 那古, Ya-lieh-wa 牙烈瓦 and Lu-mi 魯彌 of Shu-lo; in the ninth year (1514), those of Pan-lo-wa 伴羅瓦 and Shih-wa 失瓦; in the 10th year (1515), the villages of Chieh-lo 節落 and Mei-shih-wa 梅失瓦, while the villages of Kuang-shih 光失 and Pan-tien 伴甸 surrendered of their own accord. In the 11th year (1516), he conquered the village of Kan-na-wa 干那瓦 of Chung-tien, and gained a victory over the villages of Li-yu 立由 and Tao-tsai 刀才. In the 12th year (1517), he conquered the villages of Ko-niang 各娘 and La-hung-wa 刺紅瓦 of Ni-na, also Ch'ang-an 長安 of Shu-lo, and in the 14th year (1519), the village of A-t'ao ts'un 阿陶村 of Ni-na. In the 15th year (1520), he conquered the villages of K'uei-tien 虧甸 and Kan-p'u-wa 干普瓦 of Chung-tien, and in the 16th year (1521), the villages of Ma-wa 麻瓦 of Yung-ning and Hsiang-ko-wa 香各瓦 of Shu-lo.

In the first year of Chia-ching (1522), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Wa-t'o 瓦托 and Chu-ko-wa 處可瓦 of Shu-lo, and also Mu-feng-wa 木奉瓦 of Yung-ning. In the second year (1523), he again conquered the village of Ma-wa of Yung-ning. In the fourth year (1525), he conquered the villages of T'ao-so 陶索 of Ni-na, Yeh-yin 也音 and Mu-sheng 木勝 of Shu-lo. On account of his relieving the siege of the neighbouring district of Yung-ning, the Brigadier-General and the Viceroy of Yün-nan conjointly inscribed a scroll for him in memory of his remarkable deeds, and presented him with a flower-

design shield. In the same year, he conquered the following villages of Ni-na: Ch'ien-pao 欠保, Wu-ts'un 五村, La-chia 刺加, and Shih-ts'un 失村. In the fifth year (1526), he conquered the upper part of the village of Lo-na-ts'un 羅那村 of Chao-k'o, and the lower part of the village of Li-hsi 立西,⁶⁹ also the village of Pi-lu-ko 必魯各 of Ni-na, and the village of Na-sheng 那勝 of Yen-ching 鹽井.⁷⁰

Ch'iu was born on the 23rd day of the twelfth moon of the 12th year of Ch'eng-hua (January 7th, 1477), and died on the 2nd day of the eighth moon of the 5th year of Chia-ching (September 8th, 1526).

His wife, A-shih-hsiang 阿室香, was a daughter of the Kao family 高氏, her father being magistrate of Pei-sheng chou. Her official name was Kao-shih Yen-shou-miao-hsiang 高氏延壽妙香. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to three sons, named A-kung 阿公, A-shan 阿山 and A-tsung 阿琮. His second wife was named A-shih-ching 阿室井, and her official name was Kao-shih Yen-shou 高氏延壽. On her was conferred the same honorary title as that of his first wife. She gave birth to four sons, named A-mu 阿木, A-chü 阿苴, A-chi 阿戟 and A-ts'ung 阿從. His eldest son, A-kung, succeeded to the throne.

FOURTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-ch'iu A-kung* 阿秋阿公 (PLATE 24): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Kung 木公,⁷¹ he was also named Shu-ch'ing 恕卿, Hsüeh-shan 雪山 and Wan-sung 萬松. As the eldest son of Mu Ting, he succeeded to his father's throne.

In the sixth year of Chia-ching (1527), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year, he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Pi-lu-ko 必魯各 of Ni-na, Na-sheng 那勝 of Yen-ching, T'ao-so 陶索, Hsi-yüan 西原 and Ch'ien-tien 欠甸. In the same year, two men, named An 安 of Hsün 尋⁷² and Feng 鳳, rebelled, and in the seventh year (1528), they invaded the province, and even besieged the provincial capital. Kung gained

⁶⁹ The village of Li-hsi, now written 立酒, is west of Wei-hsi in the valley of the Salween.

⁷⁰ Yen-ching is the present Yen-yüan 鹽源 in Ssu-ch'uan, under whose jurisdiction are the Wu-so 五所 and the Mu-li King.

⁷¹ It was Mu Kung who, as a young man, before he became the native magistrate of Li-chiang, compiled this and the Illustrated Chronicle with the help of his friend Kao. He also wrote a collection of poems entitled *Hsüeh-shan Shih-chi* 雪山詩集, (Collection of Poems by Hsüeh-shan, which was Mu Kung's given name). One hundred and fourteen of his poems were printed in a small volume called *Hsüeh-shan Shih-hsüan* 雪山詩選 (Selections of Poems by Hsüeh-shan). A preface was written to these poems by Yang Shen 楊慎, dated Chia-ching 己酉, the 6th month, 24th day (July 18th, 1549). The Li-chiang Records state that Yang Shen chose 114 of the poems and called them a "Selection of Poems" by Hsüeh-shan.

⁷² The names of the two rebels were An-ch'üan 安綏 and Feng Ch'ao-wen 鳳朝文. The former was a native of Hsün-tien 尋甸, north-east of K'un-ming, in the prefecture of Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, and the latter of Wu-ting 武定, north of K'un-ming. In both places they held positions as hereditary native officials (*t'u-ssu* 土司). The two joined forces and attacked Yün-nan fu (K'un-ming), burning the north-east gate. They took Sung-ming 嵩明, Yang-lin 楊林 and Ma-lung chou 馬龍州.

The *Ma-lung chou chih* 馬龍州志, ch. 2, fol. 24b-25a, states that in the 7th year of Chia-ching (1528) the Wu-ting and Hsün-tien T'u-ch'iu 土酋 (Native chiefs) rebelled. At first the Jen-te fu 仁德府 (Native officials) An-yang 安洋 and An-nai 安迺 continuously rebelled, whereupon a transferable official was placed at Hsün-tien. When the fu-magistrate collected the annual taxes in grain, he undressed and beat the wife and son of An-ch'üan and im-

great merit by sending his troops to relieve this siege. The Commander-in-Chief, Mu Ming-ching-kung Chao-hsün 沐敏靖公詔勳,⁷³ General of the Southern punitive expedition, and Imperial tutor, reported on his behalf to the Emperor to have his exploits registered for reward.

In the eighth year (1529), Kung conquered and rebuilt the villages of Tai-hai 大海⁷⁴ and Hai-lo 海螺 of Yung-ning. In the ninth year (1530), through application and recommendations made to the Emperor on his behalf by Wu Wen-ting 伍文定, Imperial censor of the Board of Military Office, and by the chief officials of Yün-nan, he received his official letters patent, *Ch'ou* 丑, No. 1056, issued by the Board of Civil Office. In the fourth moon of the same year (April 27th–May 26th, 1530), he assumed his official duties. In the same year, he conquered the villages of T'ang-ho 當何 and Chüan-na 卷那 of Chao-k'o, and the village of Chia-kuang-ting 加光丁. In the 10th year (1531), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Tang-tsung 當琮, T'ien-sheng 天勝寨, Hsiao-chai 小寨 and Kuang-shih-chai 光世寨 of Shu-lo.

In the 13th year (1534), he selected gifts consisting of horses and native products, and sent them by envoys to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent. In the 15th year (1536), His Majesty conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu and the hereditary right of magistrate of the fu-magistracy by official letters patent, *I* 義, No. 278. An Imperial scroll was also given him, bearing the four Chinese characters, *Chi Ning Pien Ching* 輯寧邊境 (Concord and tranquility of my frontier). He also received many pieces of colored satin and silver ingots. On his wife, Feng-shih-mu 鳳氏睦, was conferred the posthumous honorary title of Kung-jen, and on his second wife, Feng-shih-shao 鳳氏韶, the same honorary title.

In the 14th year (1535), he conquered the villages of Nien-ko 年各 and Nien-nao 年惱 of Chung-tien, while the village of Chia-kuang-ch'ü-pa 加光佉巴 surrendered of its own accord. In the 15th year (1536), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of T'ien-chu 天柱 of Ni-na, T'ieh-chu 鐵柱 and Hsiang-ya 香押 of Shu-lo, and pacified the villages of T'ien-pao 天保, Chin-

prisoned them. Thereupon An-ch'üan united with the Wu-ting barbarian (*man*) Feng Ch'ao-wen and rebelled. They then killed 13 officials of Hsün-tien and Wu-ting; 20,000 soldiers joined them and they burnt and looted the city (*ch'eng* 城). The city Jen-te (fu) was established under the Yüan dynasty as Jen-ti Wan-hu-fu 仁地萬戶府, but was later changed to Jen-te fu. The old city wall is 5 li east of the Hsün-tien hsien of to-day. Under the Ming dynasty it was changed to Hsün-tien Chün-min fu 尋甸軍民府 (Military and civil magistracy of Hsün-tien). It is now governed by Hsün-tien hsien. The *Sung-ming chiu-chih* 嵩明舊志, ch. 3, fol. 11b–12a, says that in the 6th year of Chia-ching (1527) An-ch'üan rebelled. He was killed by Governor Fu Hsi 傅習 of Yün-nan. His men were defeated and went to Sung-ming, which they captured. They killed two majors, Wang Sheng 王昇 and T'ang Kung 唐功. For further reference, see: ED. CHAVANNES "Trois inscriptions relevées par M. Charria" (II-Notice sur les chefs aborigènes du district de Wou-ting 武定 in *T'oung-pao* Vol. 7, 1906, pp. 681–689), where the rebellion is described in detail.

⁷³ Mu Chao-hsün was his proper name. The title of Duke of Ming-ching was conferred on him posthumously. He was the son of K'un 崑 who at the age of 14 became Duke of Ch'ien-kuo 黔國, Kuei-chou province. He died at the age of 40.

⁷⁴ This must refer to the villages around the lake of Yung-ning, called La-t'a Khü in Na-khi. Half of the lake is in Yün-nan and half in Ssu-ch'uan. Various villages are grouped along the shores of the lake and the foot of the encircling mountains.

chu 金柱 and Li-t'o 里托. In the 16th year (1537), he conquered the village of Kao-sheng 高勝 of Chung-tien. In the 19th year (1540), Annam 安南 rebelled against the Imperial rule. Kung assembled his troops, preparing for active service with the government forces. He was instructed by Mao 毛,⁷⁵ Imperial censor of the Board of military office, to remain in reserve for the time being, but to select beforehand certain roads for troop movement, and to await mobilization. Meanwhile, His Majesty rewarded him with a silver wine-cup, weighing 10 taels, to be handed down to his descendants as a priceless treasure.

In the 24th year (1545), he conquered the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水 and Sheng-hsin 勝新, also T'ien-pao 天保. In the 26th year (1547), he conquered the villages of Hsiang-shui and Sheng-pao 勝保. In the 27th year (1548), he conquered T'ien-kao 天高 village and Ch'ang-sheng 長勝 of Ni-na. He then ordered his eldest son, A-mu 阿木, to lead his troops to capture Mao-ch'ü-ko 毛佉各⁷⁶ and to subdue the villages of Kung-ts'u 鑛粗,⁷⁷ Tang-lai 當來 and Lu-ku 魯古. In the 28th year (1549), he ordered A-mu to lead his troops to subdue the villages of Kan-t'ao 干陶 and Ko-pan-pa 各伴巴 of Chung-tien. In the 32nd year (1553), he himself conquered and rebuilt the village of T'ien-sheng 天生 of Chung-tien.

Kung was born on the 10th day of the seventh moon of the 7th year of Hung-chih (August 10th, 1494), and died on the 10th day of the ninth moon of the 32nd year of Chia-ching (October 16th, 1553). His first wife, A-shih-meng 阿室蒙, was the daughter of magistrate Feng 鳳 of the fu-magistracy of Wu-ting 武定,⁷⁸ and her official name was Feng-shih-mu 鳳氏睦. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to one son, named A-mu 阿目, who succeeded to the throne. His second wife was named A-shih-yü 阿室于, and her official name was Feng-shih-shao 鳳氏韶. She gave birth to two sons, named A-chia 阿價 and A-t'ui 阿退 respectively. In the 40th year of Chia-ching (1561), on account of his son's merit, His Majesty conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of Ya-chung ta-fu 亞中大夫 and on his wife, Feng-shih-mu 鳳氏睦, the posthumous honorary title of Shu-jen.

7. FROM THE FIFTEENTH TO NINETEENTH GENERATION

FIFTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-kung A-mu* 阿公阿目 (PLATE 25): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Kao 木高.⁷⁹ He was also named Shou-kuei 守貴, Tuan-feng 端峯 and Chiu-chiang 九江.

⁷⁵ Mao Po-wen 毛伯溫 was minister of war and in 1539 headed the troops who were to punish Annam. He was a native of Chi-shui 吉水 of Chiang-hsi 江西 (Kiangsi).

⁷⁶ Mao-ch'ü-ko belonged to the district of Lin-hsi 臨西.

⁷⁷ Kung-tsu 鑛粗 is the way it is written in the inscription on the stone-drum of Shih-ku 石鼓, for the translation of which see p. 283.

⁷⁸ Wu-ting is a town three stages north of K'un-ming. Both his wives were daughters of Feng Chao-ming 鳳朝明 whose native name was I-lu 矣祿. He was the second hereditary native prefect bearing the name Feng. The family name of his ancestors was originally A 阿; this was changed to Feng in 1488 by Imperial order. His first ancestor was A-erh 阿而 who was given the chieftainship of the Lo-wu tribe 羅婺部 by the Nan-chao King Tuan Chih-hsing 段智興, during Sung Hsiao Tsung 宋孝宗, period Shun-hsi 淳熙 (1174-1189). — From the *Wu-ting chou chih* ch. 3, fol. 49a.

⁷⁹ It was Mu Kao who in 1548 won the victory over the Tibetans which is described on the stone-drum at Shih-ku, engraved in October, 1561. See pages 282-285.

As the eldest son he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 33rd year of Chia-ching (1554), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year he conquered and rebuilt the villages of T'ien-chieh 天接 and Huang-chin-ch'iao 黃金橋 of Ni-na. In the 34th year (1555), the application recommending him as the legal successor to his father's throne of the fu-magistracy of military and civil affairs of Li-chiang was duly sanctioned by the Emperor. In the same year, he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Na-shui 那水 and T'ien-chang 天掌 of Shu-lo, while the village of Li-ko 立各 surrendered of its own accord.

In the 35th year (1556), A-mu received his official letters patent, *Chi* 急, No. 4946, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 9th day of the second moon of the same year (March 19th, 1556) he assumed his official duties. In the 38th year (1559), numerous brigands, led by a man named Ku-p'u 孤蒲, besieged the village of Kao-sheng 高勝 in Chung-tien. On the receipt of an urgent message, A-mu ordered his elder son, A-tu 阿都, to lead his troops to raise the siege. His son killed many brigands and gained a great victory.

On the 9th day of the sixth moon of the 39th year (July 2nd, 1560), he instructed capable subordinates to prepare a budget for wages of workmen required for certain large constructions. On account of this service, the Department of works of the Yün-nan Viceroy conferred on him the third rank of civil official, and applied on his behalf to the Board of Civil Office for its confirmation and for Imperial letters patent. In accordance with the usual custom, he selected horses and native products, and sent them by envoys as tribute to the Imperial court. To assist him the three chief officials of Yün-nan gave him 10 men's rations out of the provincial granary, and 10 transport horses for the journey to the Imperial capital. On the 8th day of the eighth moon of the 40th year (September 16th, 1561), he himself applied to the Board of Civil Office for the confirmation of his third rank of civil official and for Imperial letters patent.

The Emperor then conferred on him the honorary title of Ya-chung ta-fu, together with the following commendatory words, "You have been loyal to your nation; you have honored your parents by cutting off flesh from your own arm, to be used as medicine in curing their illness; you have civilized the frontier lands; you have shown your power by safely defending your State against the Pei-fan 北番 (tribes of the north). Speaking of the fame of your virtue, you are perfect both in loyalty and in filial piety. As to your reputation for knowledge, you are well-learned both in literature and in military science. Now We have the pleasure to confer on you specially the third rank of a civil official, and allow your official degree to be classed in the same order as those of Our nine ministers, and your hereditary right of nobility to be preserved in your Ch'iao-mu 喬木 for ever and ever." On his wife, Tso-shih-shu 左氏淑, was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. The above-mentioned titles were all conferred by the Imperial patent *Hsin*, 信, No. 877. Again, His Majesty gave him four characters, *Ch'iao Mu Shih Chia* 喬木世家⁸⁰ (The ancient,

⁸⁰ 喬木世家, of these four characters the first two are from the *Shih Ching* 詩經 (Book of poetry), Book I, 9th ode, stanza 1, 南有喬木 — "In the south there are stately trees." These characters were selected as the family name of the Li-chiang chiefs is Mu 木 (tree) and because they lived in the south of the Empire.

honorable and exalted Mu family), and permitted him to erect an arch in front of his house with these four Chinese characters carved on it.

According to the *Huang-Ming En-lin-lu*, fols. 22a-b, in transmitting the official appointments and gifts, the Emperor in his decree wrote as follows:

"Succeeding under Heaven's decree to the throne, We command as follows:

"So far as We know Our Empire, according to the Imperial system is just like a family. For this reason those near and those from afar are treated alike regarding the appointment of officials and the bestowing of titles. This in order to broaden the principle of tranquility throughout Our Empire and to exhibit the law of encouragement.

"Mu Kao, hereditary native prefect of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang and Ya-chung ta-fu of the third rank, if you examine your ancestry, will recall that your forebears were promoted to be prefects. They accomplished many meritorious acts, and as Imperial subjects, from generation to generation, all respectfully performed the duty of defending the Imperial border. By your merit you can make your family as glorious as before, devoting yourself with sincerity to the State. . . . The people on the Imperial border were influenced by your instructions, and the northern barbarians were repressed by your acknowledged power. Speaking about your fame based on your virtue, We believe you to be both loyal and filial. Praising you for your ability, We appreciate that you are versed both in letters and in military affairs.

"Thus We confer upon you an Imperial patent by which you will be promoted to the third official rank, and occupy a seat among the nine ministers, so as to show Our esteem for you. We hope that you will exert yourself to keep the peace of Our State. Defend your native place, and comfort and instruct your people. Reverently receive the Imperial bounty sanctioned with Our Imperial seal, and keep your ancient family noble forever. Be reverent!"

The Emperor again commands as follows:

"According to the State law of recompensing one for merit, if a title is conferred on a husband, a favor must be extended to his wife. This to emphasize the principle of the five human relationships (五倫) and to strengthen the law of inheritance.

"Tso-shih, wife of Mu Kao . . . , you were endowed with virtue and came from a family of rank and position. As you are diligent in helping your husband, you obtained a reputation of lofty virtue. We especially confer upon you the title of Shu-jen by an Imperial patent. Receive this silken [Imperial] bounty and glorify your sex forever!

"Given in the 40th year of Chia-ching (1561), *Hsin* 信, No. 877."

The Emperor also presented him with three pieces of colored satin and 600 silver ingots, he also sent back 10 men's rations taken from the provincial granary and the 10 transport horses given him by the three chief officials of Yün-nan. All these things arrived safely at the fu-magistracy. On the 7th day of the eighth moon of the same year (September 15th, 1561), when the gifts were delivered to him at his office, he expressed his sincere thanks for the grace of the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. The complete list, in detail, of the rest of the Imperial gifts may now be found in the book of Hereditary Rights.

In the 43rd year (1564), he ordered his son, A-tu, to relieve the village of Sheng-pao 勝保 and, by sending his troops still farther, he also conquered the villages of Chin-chia-la 金加刺 and Ch'iu-kuang 秋光 of the district of Shu-lo. In the 44th year (1565), he conquered the villages of Ts'o-ko 磋各 and Li-ya-ti 立壓地 of Ni-na. In the fifth moon of the 2nd year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (May 27th-June 26th, 1568), he ordered A-tu to settle the affairs of the rebel Ku-p'u 孤蒲 by attacking him in his retreat in the villages of Pa-t'o 巴托 and Ko-li 各立. This his son carried out successfully.

Mu was born on the 22nd day of the first moon of the 10th year of Cheng-te (February 5th, 1515), and died on the 11th day of the eleventh moon of the 2nd year of Lung-ch'ing (November 29th, 1568). His wife, A-shih-mao 阿室毛, was the daughter of magistrate Tso 左, of the fu-magistracy of Meng-hua 蒙化府,⁸¹ and her official name was Tso-shih-shu 左氏淑. On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to two sons, A-tu and A-ch'un 阿春 of which the elder succeeded to the throne.

SIXTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-mu-A-tu* 阿目阿都 (PLATE 26): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Tung 木東, and he was also named Chen-yang 震陽, Wen-yen 文嚴 and Yü-hua 鬱華. As the elder son of Mu Kao 木高, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the third year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (1569), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year, he ordered all the people of his different districts to help him kill the brigand leader Ku-p'u 孤蒲, whose followers were then thoroughly defeated and dispersed. In the fourth year (1570), he sent his troops to the village of Ts'ai-tien 才甸 of Ni-na, where he was victorious. In the same year, he received his official letters patent *Chi* 急, No. 32, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 18th day of the twelfth moon of the same year (January 13th, 1571), he assumed his official duties, and then conquered and rebuilt the village of T'ien-hsi 天喜 of Ni-na. In the sixth year (1572), Hsiang-tao 相刀,⁸² leader of the Tibetan tribes of the village of Li-kan-mao 利干毛 of Ni-na, knelt before him and repented his former crimes.

In the second year of Wan-li (1574), Tu selected horses and native products, and sent them by envoys as tribute to the Imperial court, to express his thanks to the Emperor for his grace, and to apply for Imperial letters patent. In the same year, he rebuilt the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水 and Lei-sheng 雷勝. In the third year (1575), His Majesty conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu and on his wife, Kao-shih-hsien 高氏嫺, the posthumous honorary title of Kung-jen, also on his second wife, Meng-shih-fu 孟氏富, the same honorary title, by the Imperial patent *Chih* 智, No. 104. The Emperor also gave him four Chinese characters, *Hsi Pei Fan Li* 西北藩籬 (Screen

⁸¹ Her ancestor was a certain Tso-ch'ing-lo 左青羅 who was native associate magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Shun-ning 順寧 in the Yüan dynasty. His descendant Tso-ho 左禾 became the Huo-t'ou 火頭 of nine tribes and the interpreter of Shun-ning chief in the Ming dynasty. He was made a chou-magistrate of Meng-hua 蒙化 in the 3rd year of Yung-lo (1405) because he persuaded a rebel by name Kao Ta-hui 高大惠 to submit. The office then became hereditary — *Meng-hua fu chih* 蒙化府志, ch. 4, fol. 19a.

⁸² CHAVANNES gives the name as Hsiang-tao Hu-mu 相刀胡目. The words *Hu-mu* (Eye of the barbarians) refer to his being the leader of the Tibetans of the village of Li-kan-mao of the district of Nyi-na (Ni-na). This epithet occurs on the stone-drum inscription at Shih-ku.

of my north-western frontier), and permitted him to build an arch for his house bearing these four characters. He also presented him with three pieces of colored satin, and 600 silver ingots, and paid his men travelling expenses equal to the salary of two men, provisions for 12 men, and four horses for their journey home. On the 21st day of the tenth moon of the same year (November 22nd, 1575), when the gifts had been delivered at his office, he expressed his thanks to the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne.

In the same year, he in person led his troops against the village of La-ch'iu-kuang 剌秋光, and ordered his eldest son, A-sheng 阿勝, to advance on the villages of Na-ch'i-yin 那其音 and Ni-pao 你保, where they gained a great victory, beheading over 400 brigands and taking over 300 prisoners. In the fifth year (1577), the Fan brigands invaded the border of the village of Mao-ch'ü-ko 毛佉各⁸³ in the Ni-na district, whither he ordered A-sheng to attack them with his troops. The brigands were prepared to resist him, in that they already had mustered several ten thousand men who occupied as their headquarters the villages of A-hsi 阿西 and Chi-chü-ngai (yen) 集直岩 at the mouth of the Tao-na-ting-ssu River 刀那丁思江.

At first A-sheng's army lost the battle, and was forced to retreat from its defensive line. Thus, the brigands became bolder and stronger. A-sheng then ordered his troops to be courageous and divided them into four camps. Meanwhile, they proved their valor by assaulting the two villages of strategic importance, and capturing or killing over 1,000 brigands. All the hidden retreats of the enemy were at last taken. No sooner did his troops advance on Niang-ti 娘的, Kuo-tsung 果宗, Ts'ao-na-mu 草那目, Ch'un-kan 春干, T'ao-ch'i-wei 陶其尾, A-hsi-ni 阿西你 and Wang-lüeh-shao 王畧哨, than all these desolate places surrendered of their own accord. In the seventh year (1579), Tu established the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水, Sheng-lieh 勝烈 and Feng-yang 俸楊.

Tu was born on the 26th day of the ninth moon of the 13th year, *chia-wu* 甲午, of Chia-ching (November 1st, 1534), and died on the 18th day of the eleventh moon of the 7th year, *chi-mao* 己卯, of Wan-li (December 6th, 1579). His wife, A-shih-lu 阿室魯, was the daughter of magistrate Kao 高 of the magistracy of Pei-sheng chou,⁸⁴ and her official name was Kao-shih-hsien

⁸³ Mao-ch'ü-ko was in the district of Lin-hsi, and the latter belonged to Ni-na (Nyi-na), the present Wei-hsi.

⁸⁴ Her first ancestor was Kao Pin-hsiang 高斌祥; he was the first native magistrate of Pei-sheng (Pei-sheng T'u-chih-chou 北勝土知州) during the Yüan dynasty. Owing to meritorious services, Yün-nan officials bestowed on him the title of Chung-shun ta-fu 中順大夫. He died in the 13th year of Ming Hung-wu (1380). Her father was Kao Te 高德, the ninth hereditary native magistrate of Pei-sheng. He took office in the 33rd year of Chia-ching (1554) — *Yung-pei T'ing chih*, ch. 3, fols. 33b and 34b.

The first native official (magistrate) of Shun-ning, which is 320 li south-south-west of Ta-li, was Meng-hung 猛闕. He was the descendant of Meng-yu 孟祐 who was chief of the P'u man 蒲蠻 (P'u savages), the P'u 濮 of ancient times; see note 95. The latter inhabit besides Shun-ning, Ching-tung 景東, P'u-erh 普洱 and neighboring regions. They came under Chinese rule during the Mongol dynasty. When Meng-yu submitted to the Chinese empire in the time of the Mongol dynasty (in the first year of the period T'ien-li of Emperor Ming Tsung, 1329) his name was officially changed to Meng 猛 (Fierce and brave). — See also *Shun-ning fu chih*, ed. 1725, ch. 5, fol. 26a. Meng-hung was authorized to rule in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382). Later his people stopped paying taxes, quarrelled and killed

高氏嫻. On her was conferred the honorary title of Fu-jen. She gave birth to three sons, named A-sheng 阿勝, A-ch'eng 阿成 and A-hsien 阿先. His second wife, A-shih-hui 阿氏揮, was the daughter of magistrate Meng 猛 of the fu-magistracy of Shun-ning 順寧, and her official name was Meng-shih-fu 猛氏富. Tu's eldest son, A-sheng 阿勝, succeeded to the throne.

SEVENTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-tu A-sheng* 阿都阿勝 (PLATE 27): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Wang 木旺. He was also named Wan-ch'un 萬春, Yü-lung 玉龍 and K'un-kang 坤崗.⁸⁵ As the eldest son of Mu Tung, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the eighth year of Wan Li (1580), his hereditary right of fu-magistrate was duly recommended and confirmed. In the ninth year (1581), he received his official letters patent *Chi* 急, No. 58, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 21st day of the third moon of the same year (April 23rd, 1581), he assumed his official duties. In the same year, he established the villages of Li-hsi-ko 立習各 and T'ien-ling 天靈 of Chao-k'o. In the 10th year (1582), the soldiers of the Wu-so 五所⁸⁶ of the Yung-ning 永寧 district burned and destroyed 27 small villages of Shu-lo. In the first moon of the same year, he personally led his troops to the attack and forced them to retreat to the interior of Yung-ning. In the eighth moon of the same year, he again led his main troops, and divided them into several battalions, to advance by different routes. On his arrival at the village of Tao-li 刀立 of Shu-lo, the headman of Tso-so 左所 assembled many soldiers to lay siege to his military headquarters. He victoriously raised that siege and defeated them completely. With his triumphant troops, he again attacked and conquered the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水, P'u-la 普刺 and Chia-wa 加瓦. In the 11th year (1583), on account of the rebellion of the Hsi-k'ou 西寇, western robbers, he supplied the government with 1,000 taels of silver for the soldiers' pay. In the same year, he personally led his troops to invade Yung-ning and conquered the villages of A-lo 阿羅 and Kuang-li 光立, where he captured magistrate A-hsiung 阿雄⁸⁷ of the fu-magistracy, together with his followers, but did not kill them. In the 12th year (1584), the remaining followers of A-hsiung joined the brigands of the five So (Wu-so) districts, and again besieged the village of Hsiang-shui and also Kuang-shih 光世. Sheng personally raised the siege, and defeated them completely. He then conquered the village of Hsiang-shui-wa 香水瓦 and established the village of T'ien-yu 天佑.

In the same year, a punitive expedition was carried on against Burma 緬, and this time he supplied the government troops with 2,000 taels of silver. In the 13th year (1585), he selected horses and native products, and sent envoys to pay tribute to the Imperial court to thank the Emperor for his grace, and to

one another. In consequence, a Ta-li military official attacked and conquered them, after which a transferable official was installed.

⁸⁵ In the Second Chronicle it is written Shen-kang 神崗.

⁸⁶ The Wu-so 五所, who were once under Yung-ning, are the five districts ruled by Na-khi T'u-ssu, or Chiefs, belonging now to south-west Ssu-ch'uan (see Wu-so).

⁸⁷ A-hsiung was of the eighth generation of the A 阿 family of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu 永寧土司; he took office in the second year of Wan-li (1574), succeeding his brother A-ying 阿英. He died in 1586. (See Genealogy of the Yung-ning chiefs, p. 367.)

apply for Imperial letters patent. His Majesty gave him three valuable gifts, and sent his men back with an official reply.

In the 14th year (1586), he established the village of Hsiang-chu 香柱. After that, he marched with his men to La-t'a 刺他,⁸⁸ and captured all the land of the villages of Hsiang-shui, Chi-mai 戟買, Lo-hsiang 羅相 and Chang-ming-yüan 丈明原. In the 15th year (1587), he captured and killed the brigand leaders A-chüan 阿卷 and La-mao-chia 刺毛加 of the Tso-so⁸⁹ district. In the 16th year (1588), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Pu-wa 卜瓦 and Pao-chih 寶之. In the same year, the Hsi-fan tribes of La-t'a conspired with the people of Wu-so to besiege the village of Hsiang-chu. Immediately he led his troops to raise the siege, and gained a great victory over the enemy. In the same year governor Hsiao 蕭 of Yün-nan joined three other chief officials of this province, to submit a report on his behalf to the Emperor, who then conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, and on his wife, Lo-shih-ning 羅氏寧, the honorary title of Kung-jen by the Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 931. In the second moon of the 17th year (March 16th-April 14th, 1589), when the Imperial dispatch was delivered at his office, he expressed his thanks to the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne.

In the same year, he rebuilt the village of Chün-lu-wa 均魯瓦 of the district of Chao-k'o. In the 19th year (1591), he rebuilt the iron-chain bridge of the village of San-pa-t'ing-ch'ü 三巴丁佉 of Ni-na.⁹⁰ In the 20th year (1592), he built the wall of the village of Chao-ts'ang 昭蒼 of the Ni-na district. In the 21st year (1593), he rebuilt the villages of Hsiang-shui and P'u-pao 普保. In the 22nd year (1594), he rebuilt the walls of the villages of Pa-t'o 巴托 and Pu-hsi 卜習. In the same year, Burmese brigands plundered the cities of Yung T'eng 永騰,⁹¹ whither he led his troops to relieve the people, forcing the brigands to retreat. In the 23rd year (1595), he rebuilt the villages of Tsung-che 宗者 and Yin-chu 銀柱寨 of the Ni-na district. In the fourth year of Ch'ung-cheng 崇禎 (1631), on account of his grandson's military merit, the Emperor conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of T'ung-feng ta-fu 通奉大夫, together with the additional honorary title of Pu-cheng shih 布政使 (Provincial Governor, *see* note 96), and on his wife, Lo-shih 羅氏, the posthumous honorary title of Fu-jen. [The *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fol. 40a, states that the Emperor gave him, in addition, the posthumous title of Junior treasurer in the Kuang-hsi provincial treasury.]

Sheng was born on the 1st day of the ninth moon of the 30th year of Chia-ching (September 30th, 1551) and died on the 13th day of the fifth moon of the

⁸⁸ La-t'a 刺他 is the Na-khi name of the Tso-so district, from the T'u-ssu's family name, which is La 喇.

⁸⁹ In the 15th year of Yung-lo, the headman of Tso-so was called La-ma-fei 喇馬非. The name in the Chronicle is written 刺, but it should be 喇.

⁹⁰ There is no iron rope or chain-bridge in the Wei-hsi district to-day, unless the district to the south between Lan-p'ing and Yün-lung was included in Ni-na in those days. There are several iron chain-bridges over the Pi Chiang 訛江, marked Lo-ma Ho on MAJOR DAVIES' map.

⁹¹ The towns of Yung-ch'ang 永昌 and T'eng-yüeh 騰越 in south-western Yün-nan are here meant.

24th year of Wan-li (June 8th, 1596). His wife, A-shih-neng 阿室能, was the daughter of magistrate Lo 羅⁹² of the magistracy of Lan chou, and her official name was Lo-shih-ning 羅氏寧. She gave birth to three sons, named A-chai 阿宅, A-hsi 阿希 and A-hsiang 阿祥. The eldest, A-chai, succeeded to the throne.

According to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fol. 35b, the Emperor in his Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 554, states as follows:

"As you, Mu Wang, aimed at pacifying the rebellion, you unfortunately lost your life on the battle-field. Your great fidelity to Us cannot be obliterated from Our memory. You are indeed a pattern of manly honor. For this reason We give you an Imperial patent by which you receive the title of Chung-shun ta-fu and Junior counsellor to the provincial governor of Yün-nan."

All this is not mentioned in the Genealogical Chronicles. It would appear, according to the Emperor's opening sentences, that Mu Wang lost his life on the battle-field while suppressing a rebellion.

EIGHTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-sheng A-chai* 阿勝阿宅 (PLATE 28): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Ch'ing 木青. He was also named Ch'ang-sheng 長生, Ch'iao-yo 喬岳 and Sung-ho 松鶴. As the eldest son of Mu Wang, he succeeded to his father's throne. Before his hereditary right was confirmed, in the 20th year of Wan-li (1592), the Li-su 力蘇⁹³ tribes of Yün-lung chou 雲龍州 plundered some government salt from the office of the Salt magistrate of Wu-ching 五井 (Five Salt-wells). He received a dispatch, issued by Commander-in-Chief Mu Ch'ang-tsu 沐昌祚,⁹⁴ Ch'ien-kuo 黔國武靖公, General of the Southern punitive expedition, and Imperial tutor, with the joint signatures of two other chief officials of Yün-nan, instructing him to settle this trouble. He personally led his troops thither and, defeating the enemy, he decapitated 83 of the brigands. Thus, he was honorably rewarded with a flower-design shield and many other gifts.

⁹² The first native official of Lan chou was called Lo-k'o 羅克, and was a native of Lan chou. In the Mongol dynasty he was made a Wan-hu 萬戶 (chief of 10,000 families). During the reign of Hung-wu (1368-1398) he made his submission with all his people. On account of military merit he was made a T'u chih-chou 土知州 (native sub-prefect). One of his successors, by name Lo-ts'ai 羅才, in company with Mu Ch'u 木初 (8th generation), attacked the Po-i 伯夷 [chief] Tao-ch'ien-meng 刀千孟 and during this campaign he acquired merit. The office then became hereditary until Lo-ts'an 羅燦, who ruled in the capacity of a T'u-she 土舍 (native resident) but his hereditary right was not recognized — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 143, p. 6a.

⁹³ The Li-su 獯獯, or 力些, are aborigines who inhabit the south-western part of the province of Yün-nan, especially the region around Yün-lung. They do not form any particular agglomeration in Yün-nan, but are distributed over the entire province, some Li-su villages occurring even in Yung-ning territory, north-east of Li-chiang. Yün-lung is a prefectural city situated on the Pi Chiang 沱江, also called the Lo-ma Ho 羅馬河, and is north-east of T'eng-yüeh (T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝). In the Li-chiang prefecture they dwell at the entrance to the Yangtze gorge of the Yü-lung Shan (Jade dragon Mountain), on the steep cliffs of 'A-ts'an-gko. Near them, at La-muan-dze, dwells another tribe called the Chung-chia 狆家. They came originally from Kuang-hsi (Kwangsi).

⁹⁴ Mu Ch'ang-tsu was military governor of Yün-nan and hereditary Duke of Kuei-chou (Ch'ien-kuo). He was the son of Ch'ao Pi 朝弼, who was dismissed from office in the sixth year of Lung-ch'ing (1572) on account of misconduct.

In the 24th year (1596), Chai's hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. He then assumed his official duties. In the 25th year (1597) when the towns of Ta-hou chou 大侯州⁹⁵ and Shun-ning 順寧 rebelled, he assisted by supplying 4,000 taels of silver for soldiers' pay.

In the 34th year (1606), on account of the military merit of his son, the Emperor conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, and on his wife, Lo-shih-ch'un 羅氏春, the posthumous honorary title of T'ai-kung-jen by Imperial patent, *I* 義, No. 284. In the seventh year of T'ien-ch'i (1627), the Emperor gave permission to his son to build for his mother, Lo-shih, an arch in honor of her chastity. In the fourth year of Ts'ung-cheng (1631), on account of the military merit of his son, the Emperor again conferred on him a posthumous honorary official degree — that of the second rank and honorary title of T'ung-feng ta-fu 通奉大夫, with the additional honorary title of Pu-cheng shih 布政使 (Provincial Governor),⁹⁶ and on his wife, Lo-shih, the posthumous honorary title of Fu-jen, by the Imperial patent, *Jen* 仁, No. 4.

[It is related of Mu Ch'ing that he was tired of life and committed suicide on the Li-chiang snow range].

According to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fols. 27a-b, in transmitting the decree giving Mu Ch'ing his posthumous rank the Emperor wrote as follows:

"Mu Ch'ing, you are the father of Mu Tseng, Native prefect of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang. On account of your son's merit, I confer upon you the posthumous titles of Chung-hsien ta-fu and Native prefect of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang. Though you could not keep your body alive, yet you had a good son. You became more renowned because you lost your life. Your spirit may seek to receive this. Receive this blessing and exert your strength in the nether world."

Chai was born on the 8th day of the eighth moon of the 3rd year of Lung-ch'ing (September 18th, 1569), and died on the 15th day of the tenth moon of the 25th year of Wan-li (November 23rd, 1597). His wife, A-shih-chia 阿室加, was the daughter of magistrate Lo 羅, of the chou-magistracy of Lan chou, and her official name was Lo-shih-ch'un. She gave birth to one son, named Ssu 寺, who succeeded to the throne.

NINETEENTH GENERATION. — *A-chai A-ssu* 阿宅阿寺 (PLATE 29): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Tseng 木增. He was also named Ch'ang-ch'ing 長卿, Hua-yo 華岳 and Sheng-pai 生白 (pronounced Sen-pe in Yün-nan). As the only son of Mu Chai 木宅, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 26th year of Wan-li (1598), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed.

In the same year, the brigand leader A-chang-la-mao 阿丈刺毛, of the

⁹⁵ The ancient Ta-hou chou was 150 li south-east of Shun-ning. In olden days it was the land of the Man-i 蠻夷 (Barbarians). Their chief was called Meng-yu 孟祐 and belonged to the P'u-man 蒲蠻 tribe. They submitted during the reign of Chung-t'ung 中統 (1260-1263) of the Mongol dynasty.

In the 25th year of Wan-li (1597) the name was changed to Yün chou 雲州; to-day it is called Yün hsien 雲縣.

⁹⁶ Under the Ming dynasty a Pu-cheng shih was a governor of a province, but now the title refers to a provincial treasurer.

village of Hsiang-shui ⁹⁷ rebelled. He led a punitive expedition against him, and defeated him thoroughly. In the 27th year (1599), he attacked the rebels of the villages of Hsiang-shui and Hao-yao 好堯, where he gained a great victory. In the 28th year (1600), he submitted a report to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned his hereditary right, and presented him with his official letters patent *Chi* 急, No. 10, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 10th day of the seventh moon of the same year (August 18th, 1600), he assumed his official duties. He captured the brigand leader Pi-li 必哩 at the village of T'ao-tien 陶甸 in the district of Chung-tien. In the 29th year (1601), he fell upon the rebels of the villages of Hsiang-shui, P'u-wa 蒲瓦 and Hao-yao, where he attained a great victory. He then sent troops to the village of Ts'ai-tien 才甸 of the district of Ni-na, where he won a great victory. In the same year, he fought the rebels of the village of Shu-lo (west of Mu-li 木裏), and was victorious on that expedition. Again, he charged the rebels of the allied villages of Hsiang-shui, Tso-so and Hao-tien 好甸, where he captured and killed the disobedient resident, Hsi-yüan-chü 西原苴.

In the third moon of the 30th year (April 22nd–May 20th, 1602), he won a great victory at the village of Shun-ta 順大. He carefully examined the merits and demerits of his men on that expedition, and varied their pay accordingly. The Emperor also rewarded him with 20 taels of silver. He then fought the rebels of the villages of Hsiang-shui and Hao-tien at the mouth of the Tang-ting River 當丁江, where he was again victorious. In the 31st year (1603), he repaired the Yung-chen bridge 永鎮橋 of the Ni-na salt-well 你那鹽井.⁹⁸ In the same year, Ssu killed the brigand leader P-li 必哩 in the village of Shu-lo. In the 33rd year (1605), in the district of Hsiang-shui, he decapitated the brigand leader A-chang-la-mao on the bank of the Pa-hu River 把胡江.

In the 34th year (1606), in accordance with the usual official regulations, he sent his envoys to the Imperial court to apply for Imperial letters patent. The Emperor then favoured him with a reply through the medium of the Board of Civil Office. In the sixth moon (July 5th–August 3rd) of the same year, the aforesaid Board issued him Imperial letters patent, conferring on his father, Mu Ch'ing, the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, with the additional title of magistrate of the fu-magistracy, and on his mother, Lo-shih-ch'un 羅氏春, the honorary title of T'ai-kung-jen. Again, the Board conferred on him the same honorary title as that of his father, and on his wife, Lu-shih-fan 祿氏夔, the honorary title of Kung-jen, by the Imperial patent *I* 義, No. 283. In the second moon of the 35th year (February 26th–March 27th, 1607), he expressed

⁹⁷ This was in the present-day Tso-so territory east of Yung-ning, and in south-west Ssu-ch'uan.

Under the Nan-chao Kingdom, the Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 of to-day was called Hsiang-ch'eng chün 香城郡, the first part of the name of the village being apparently derived from that district, to which Hsiang-shui belonged.

⁹⁸ The river on which the city of Ni-na is situated is called the Yung-ch'ün Ho 永春河 (River of eternal spring). The salt-well here mentioned as belonging to the Ni-na (Wei-hsi) district, can only be the La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴 salt-well which, however, is not in the Wei-hsi district, at the present time. La-chi-ming is west of Lan-p'ing 蘭坪, which once belonged to Li-chiang.

his thanks to the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne.

In the 37th year (1609), he led his troops in person to the villages of Kan-p'u-wa 干普瓦 and Pa-t'o 巴托 of the Chung-tien district, where the brigand leader Ku-p'u 孤蒲 with his followers knelt before him. In the 40th year (1612), he ordered his troops to assault the village of Ts'ai-tien 才甸 of the Ni-na district, over which he gained a great victory. In the 41st year (1613), he fought against the brigands of the village of Pa-t'o of the Chao-k'o district, where he was victorious. In the 43rd year (1615), he seized three Ta-tzu 達子 (Tartars), and sent them directly, together with the heads of the brigands and some captured military weapons, to the three chief officials of Yün-nan, to be registered for merit. In the 44th year (1616), he conquered the village of Lu-pa-ting 魯巴丁 of Shu-lo. In the 45th year (1617), he again ordered his troops to attack the village of Pa-t'o, where he was victorious. In the 46th year (1618), he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and sent them by envoys as tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of celebrating the birthday of the Emperor, who presented him and his wife with many pieces of fine hemp, silk, colored satin, gauze, socks and boots, and authorized him by a special Imperial decree to defend the frontier lands. He received all these things in good condition.

In the same year, as the city of Liao-yang 遼陽 in Feng-t'ien 奉天 was greatly alarmed [on account of Manchus?], he transported directly to the Board of revenue 10,000 taels of silver for the soldiers' pay. The fund was transferred on his behalf to the Board of war for the registration of merit. His Majesty ordered the matter to be carefully printed in a special record, and published as a good example to all the officials in the whole country. At the same time the Board of Civil Office sent him a reply, conferring on him an Imperial official dress of the third rank, and a reward of silver coins worth 30 taels. In the 47th year (1619), he instructed the five divisions of the village of Pa-t'o to supply a certain number of laborers for government work. In the 48th year (1620),⁹⁹ he sent 1,200 taels of silver to the Imperial capital to buy cavalry horses for the Imperial military service. His Majesty presented him with two Chinese characters, *Chung I* 忠義 (Loyalty and Righteousness) (PLATE 30). In the same year, by using persuasion, he brought Jih-yin-a-chün 日音阿均 of Hsiang-shui into submission.

In the same year, when Emperor Kuang Tsung of the Ming dynasty changed the year-title to T'ai-ch'ang 泰昌, Kao Shih-ch'ang 高世昌 succeeded his half-brother Kao Shih-mou 高氏懋 in the magistracy of Pei-sheng chou, but their official secretary, named Kao Lan 高蘭, conspired to usurp that same magistracy for himself. Ssu was instructed to settle the affair. Thereupon he led his troops to that city and took prisoner the chief culprit Kao Lan and many of his followers. For that service, he was rewarded with a flower-design medal

⁹⁹ Shen Tsung (Wan-li) died on the 21st day of the seventh moon in the 48th year of his reign (August 18th, 1620). His son Kuang Tsung, who ascended the throne in the same year, adopting the reign title T'ai-ch'ang 泰昌, died after having reigned for less than six weeks, on the 1st day of the ninth moon (September 26th, 1620). He was followed by his son Hsi Tsung 熹宗, who, in the ninth moon of the same year, ascended the throne, adopting the reign title of T'ien-ch'ü. The latter, however, commenced in 1621.

and many other valuable gifts. In the second year of T'ien-ch'i (1622), the tribal chief She 奢¹⁰⁰ of Ssu-ch'uan rebelled against the Imperial rule; Ssu transported a large sum of money to pay the government soldiers for his suppression.

Thus, the governor of Yün-nan rewarded him with a gilt flower-design silver medal and many pieces of colored satin. His Majesty again presented him with a suit of official dress of the third rank, 30 taels of silver, and two (rolls) of hemp and silk. In the same year, Ssu sent envoys to the Imperial capital to offer ten suggestions to the Emperor, and to contribute 1,000 taels of silver to be used on behalf of those who had either sacrificed their lives in the war or had been remarkable for their loyalty or filial piety. The Imperial court praised him as a loyal official. The Board of Civil Office wrote him a reply, informing him that His Majesty had promoted him to the position of Yün-nan Pu-cheng shih-ssu Yu-ts'an-cheng 雲南布政使司右參政 (Junior counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial governor). On the 14th day of the third moon of the 3rd year (April 13th, 1623), he respectfully accepted the appointment. In the fourth year (1624), he resigned from official life.

In the fifth year (1625), he contributed to the government, 1,000 taels of silver for soldiers' rations and transported this fund to the provincial treasurer of Yün-nan. At the same time he sent men to the Imperial capital to apply for Imperial letters patent. The Emperor then conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫, with the additional title of Junior counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial treasurer, and on his wife, Lu-shih 祿氏, the honorary title of Shu-jen, by the Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 555. On his parents and grandparents were conferred various posthumous honorary titles by two other special Imperial decrees. On the 9th day of the fourth moon of the 6th year (May 4th, 1626), he expressed his thanks for the Emperor's grace by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. In the same year, he provided many laborers for the government corvée, and taking advantage of this, he applied to the Emperor for an honor to be conferred on his mother for her marital fidelity. In the seventh year (1627), His Majesty permitted him to build an arch in memory of her chastity. In the first year of Ch'ung-cheng (1628), Governor Min 閔¹⁰¹ of Yün-nan made a report on his behalf to the Emperor for the purpose of recommending and praising his past deeds.

In the same year, he was instructed to lead his troops to the city of Yün-lung,¹⁰² where he took prisoner 13 brigand leaders. He then forwarded to the

¹⁰⁰ This tribal chief's name was She Ch'ung-ming 奢崇明, he was hereditary Hsüan-fu-shih 宣撫使 of Yung-ning, Ssu-ch'uan, and belonged to the Lo-lo tribe 猯羅種. The She family first submitted to Chinese rule during the reign of Hung-wu (1368-1398). Ch'ung-ming was only distantly connected with the She family. Yung-ning (not to be confused with the Yung-ning of north-west Yün-nan) belonged previously to Kuei-chou and forms now the sub-prefectural city of Hsü-yung 叙永 in Ssu-ch'uan. (Latitude 28° 08', longitude 105° 18'. PLAYFAIR). — From the *Ming Shih*, ch. 249, fol. 1a; and *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 2b, and ch. 2, fol. 24b.

¹⁰¹ The governor's name was Min Meng-te 閔夢得. He ruled over Yün-nan and Kuei-chou.

¹⁰² Yün-lung is situated on the banks of the Pi Chiang 滹江 (latitude 25° 54', longitude 99° 36'. PLAYFAIR. MAJOR DAVIES gives latitude 25° 50', longitude 99° 50'.) It is mainly inhabited by the Min-chia 民家 tribe.

Yün-nan government many military weapons which he had captured. In the third year (1630), he rebuilt the village of San-pa-ting-ch'ü 三巴丁伏 of Ni-na district and the bridges of Ch'ing-lung 青龍 and Wei-yüan 威遠,¹⁰³ and also helped the Imperial capital and Kuci-chou province with considerable funds to pay the soldiers, and transported the money directly to the Board. Thus the Yün-nan Viceroy Chu 朱¹⁰⁴ made a report on his behalf to the Emperor, who promoted him to the position of Junior treasurer of the Kuang-hsi provincial treasury in the fifth moon of the 4th year of Ch'ung-cheng (May 31st-June 28th, 1631), and conferred on him the additional honorary titles of T'ung-feng ta-fu, and Junior treasurer of the Kuang-hsi provincial treasury, and on his wife, Lu-shih, the honorary title of Fu-jen, by the Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 4. On his parents and grandparents were conferred various posthumous honors by two other special Imperial decrees. On the 4th day of the fourth moon of the 5th year (May 22nd, 1632), he expressed his thanks for the grace of the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. In the seventh year (1634) the local scholars of the city of Ho-ch'ing invited him to attend a great feast.

In the 10th year (1637), he recovered the village of Yang-li 楊立 of Chao-k'o district. He sent many laborers to work on the Imperial tombs, and transported a contribution of 500 taels of silver to the Imperial court. In the eighth moon of the 13th year of Ch'ung-cheng (September 16th-October 14th, 1640), the Board of Civil Office wrote him a reply, informing him that the Emperor had promoted him to the position of Senior treasurer of the Ssu-ch'uan provincial treasury, and had permitted him to build an arch in the Yün-nan provincial capital in honor of his loyal deeds, as an example and in order to give encouragement to other tribal chiefs of all other provinces. His Majesty then presented him again with flower-design silks, a sheep and wine,¹⁰⁵ which were delivered with the Imperial dispatches to the office of the Yün-nan provincial treasurer, which ordered messengers to take the presents to him, whereupon he reverently received them.

In the same year, Ssu rebuilt the village of Na-ya 那牙 of the Ni-na salt-well. In the 15th year (1642), the Fan-i 蕃夷 (Hsi-fan and Lo-lo) tribes of Lang-ch'ü 浪蕩,¹⁰⁶ Tang-wa 當瓦¹⁰⁷ and Chih-tien 知甸, and the Li-su, tribes of the

¹⁰³ Ch'ing-lung is a small town south of Ching-tung, and is near the Black River, (Pa-pien Ho or Pa-pien Chiang 把邊江); Wei-yüan (latitude 23° 30', longitude 100° 45') is a town north-west of P'u-erh, situated on the west bank of the Pa-ching Ho 巴彙河, which flows into the Mekong. Wei-yüan is now called Ching-ku 景谷. It is near a salt-well called Hsiang-yen ching 香鹽井 (Fragrant Salt-well).

¹⁰⁴ The Viceroy's name was Chu Hsieh-yüan 朱燮元. He was a native of Shan-yin 山陰 in Che-chiang 浙江 (Chekiang), and received a doctor's degree in 1584. His first appointment was as judge of the administrative court of Ta-li — *Ming Shih*, ch. 249, fol. 1a.

¹⁰⁵ In ancient days it was the custom to give a present of a sheep and a jar of wine.

¹⁰⁶ Lan-ch'ü is the territory of a Na-khi T'u-ssu south of Yung-ning and north of Yung-pei; the latter town is four stages east of Li-chiang.

¹⁰⁷ Probably the Tong-wa Tibetans are meant, who live north of Chung-tien. The Tong-wa to this day still make raids on Chung-tien and on the territory to the south of it. In 1933 they came in large numbers and held Chung-tien for some time, as a base from which to rob

four mountains of Pi-shuo 必勾 surrendered of their own accord. In the 16th year (1643), Li Yung-chen 李永鎮,¹⁰⁸ leader of 100 households of the chou-city of Chien-ch'uan 劍川,¹⁰⁹ and his brothers started a riot and murdered the magistrate of that city. Ssu was instructed to settle this affair, and succeeded in making them all prisoners and sending them to the office of the Yün-nan viceroy. In the 17th year (1644),¹¹⁰ he contributed labor towards government works, and supported the Imperial court in Nanking with large sums of money to be used for the urgent need of paying the soldiers. His Majesty then conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-p'u-ssu cheng-ch'ing 太僕寺正卿 (Director of the Court of the Imperial Stud).

In the first year of Hung-kuang (1645),¹¹¹ he was ordered to attack the city of Lang-ch'ü, whither he led his troops and settled the trouble caused by its obstinate rebels. In the same year, he was instructed by an Imperial messenger to recruit Tien 滇 (Yün-nan) soldiers. Meanwhile, on account of his merit in supplying funds for the pay of soldiers, the Imperial censor Ch'en 陳 sent some officials to present him with satin, embroidered with golden flowers and woven with four-clawed dragons, which he accepted with great respect. In the fourth moon of the 2nd year of Lung-wu (May 15th-June 12th, 1646), the Board of Civil Office informed him that the Emperor had sanctioned his promotion to the rank of T'ai-p'u-ssu cheng-ch'ing, and had given him a special note, sending greetings to his whole family.

Ssu was born on the 17th day of the eighth moon of the 15th year of Wan-li (September 19th, 1587), and died on the 1st day of the eighth moon of the 2nd year of Lung-wu (September 9th, 1646). His wife, A-shih-yü 阿室子, was the daughter of magistrate Lu-hua-kao 祿華誥 of Ning chou 寧州,¹¹² and her

the neighboring districts. In 1942 over 5,000 Tibetans came and held Chung-tien for a considerable time, till they were driven off by being bombed by Yün-nan military planes.

¹⁰⁸ The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 142, fol. 34b, and the *Tien-hsia-chün-kuo-li-ping-shu*, ch. 109, fol. 21b, both give the name as Yang Yung-chen 楊永鎮 instead of Li 李 Yung-chen.

¹⁰⁹ The city of Chien-ch'uan is two days south of Li-chiang. Latitude 26° 29', longitude 99° 54'. (PLAYFAIR).

¹¹⁰ This should read the first year of the Ch'ing Emperor Shun-chih 順治 (1644). The Mu family remained loyal to the very last to the House of Ming.

¹¹¹ According to the *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 10, fols. 3a-b, Fu Wang 福王 (Prince Fu) assumed the reigning title of Hung-kuang 弘光 in Chiang-nan 江南 (An-hui and Chiang-su [Kiangsu]) in the second year of Shun-chih 順治, in which year he died. He was followed by Prince T'ang 唐王, who ruled in Fu-chien 福建 (Fukien) as Lung-wu 隆武.

¹¹² Lu-hua-kao was the native magistrate (T'u-ssu 土司) of Ning chou. His ancestor, P'u-chieh 普捷, during the Mongol dynasty was Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner) of Tien-t'ing 甸町, which was five li north-east of T'ung-hai hsien 通海縣, which in turn was 150 li north-east of Lin-an fu 臨安府. In the Ming dynasty there appears a certain Lung-sheng 弄甥, who with the opening of Yün-nan at the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368) acquired merit and was given the family name Lu 祿; he was appointed native sub-magistrate of Ning chou in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382). Ning chou was a secondary prefecture north of Lin-an fu, to which it belonged. The name Ning chou dates from the 13th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (Kublai Khan) (1276). At the end of the period of T'ien-pao (about 755), Ning chou was captured by the Man [Savages], when it was called Lang-k'uang 浪曠, though the tribes called it Han-lung 旱龍 in their language. Ning chou is the

official name was Lu-shih-fan 祿氏蘩. On her was conferred the honorary title of Fu-jen. His second wife, the virtuous lady A-shih-hui 阿室揮, gave birth to his eldest son, named A-ch'un 阿春, who succeeded to his father's throne. His third wife, the virtuous lady A-shih-ko 阿室哥, or A-shih-jung 阿室榮, gave birth to three sons, named A-hsien 阿先, A-pao 阿寶, and A-jen 阿仁.

8. FROM THE TWENTIETH TO TWENTY-FOURTH GENERATION

TWENTIETH GENERATION. — *A-ssu A-ch'un* 阿寺阿春 (PLATE 31): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy.¹¹³ His official name was Mu I 木懿. He was also named K'un-lun 崑崙 and T'ai-mei 台美. As the eldest son of Mu Tseng, he succeeded to his father's throne. Since his childhood, he had possessed a wonderful intellect. He was a man full of love and respect, and had great courage and wisdom. His father Tseng loved him greatly. In the fourth year of T'ien-ch'i (1624), when his father retired to Chih Shan 芝山¹¹⁴ to rest and care for his health, his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed.

Every morning, just when the cock began to crow, he would first comb his hair and wash his face, and would then wait quietly at the door of his father's bedroom to pay his respects. Deferentially he would request his father to advise him in the solving of important problems. He would then beg leave to take his breakfast, and would afterwards carry his father's advice into effect. In the sixth moon of the 9th year of Ch'ung-cheng (July 3rd–July 31st inclusive, 1636) the Pi-li 必哩¹¹⁵ Fan-man assembled many brigands, and plundered

present-day Li hsien 黎縣, the name being revived from the T'ang dynasty (eighth year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 [634]) when it was called Li chou 黎州.

The *T'ung-hai hsien chih*, ch. 3, fol. 14a, says that the ruins of the city of Tien-t'ing of the Han dynasty are north of the city of T'ung-hai. The Meng family established there a Tu-tu fu 都督府. The Tuan family established the office of Chieh-tu-shih and changed the name of the city to Hsiu-shan chün 秀山郡 and then to T'ung-hai chün 通海郡. During the Yüan dynasty a Hsüan-wei-ssu was established.

¹¹³ As already remarked on p. 66, Chang Chih-shun says the Genealogical Chronicle was compiled by Mu Kung before he succeeded to his father, Mu Ting 木定, and was finished by 1516. It will be noted that up to Mu Tseng (Mu Sheng-pai) inclusive, the number of the generation is always given, Mu Tseng being the 19th. Beginning with A-ch'un (Mu I), the number of the generation is omitted. It would appear that up to the end of the 19th generation the Chronicle was considered complete, for a colophon now to be found at the end of the Chronicle which has been extended to include the 24th generation, is dated 1648 and 1650; this colophon must first have been placed at the end of the 19th generation (Mu Tseng, who died in 1646). The compilation of the Chronicle experienced an interruption through the imprisonment of Mu I by Wu San-kuei. The greater part was compiled by Mu Kung, and after him must have been kept up by his son and grandsons, etc. There is no additional colophon to tell us who compiled the rest of the Chronicle.

¹¹⁴ Chih Shan is on the southern spur of the Yü-lung Shan, west of the village of Pai-sha 白沙, Boa-shi (see Geographical Part p. 184).

¹¹⁵ Pi-li is apparently identical with the Tibetan tribe Pi-lieh 必烈. Hsü Hung-tsu 徐宏祖, who in his travels came to Li-chiang in 1639, states in his work *Hsia-k'o-yu-chi* 霞客遊記, 1929 ed., Shanghai, ch. 12, fols. 20b–21a, that the Pi-lieh and Hu-ku 胡股 Tibetans established themselves on the northern border of Li-chiang in the year *chia-hsü* 甲戌 (1634). Previously the aboriginal tribe Ying-ch'üan 鷹犬 (hired ruffians), who, subject to the Pi-lieh tribe, was guilty of crimes against the prince of the Pi-lieh, fled and established itself

ruthlessly the frontier of Yün-nan province. Ch'un was instructed by his father to lead his main troops to attack them, and crossing the river (Yangtze), went with his men in a northerly direction. Hearing of his arrival with troops at P'u-wa 普瓦, Pi-li dispersed with his followers to far-away desert places without engaging in fight. Thus Ch'un gained a great victory, and the affair was settled.

In the 10th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1637), Ch'un carefully prepared gifts of horses and native products and, in accordance with the usual custom, sent envoys to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent.

In the city of Lang-ch'ü at that time, there lived a man by the name of A Yung-nien 阿永年, who failed to secure the position of chou-magistrate of the city, and in revenge murdered his rival, Fen-ju 焚如. So Ch'un was instructed by both the viceroy and the governor of Yün-nan to lead in person his troops in order to punish the usurper, who was then utterly defeated. In the meantime, some of his followers offered his head to Ch'un, and in this way he settled the whole affair without much difficulty. His merit resulting from this expedition was afterwards reported to the Emperor, who ordered that thereafter the city of Lang-ch'ü¹¹⁶ be annexed to the territory of Li-chiang.

In the 12th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1639), the Emperor conferred on Ch'un the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, with the additional title of Junior counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial governor, and, according to the usual custom, presented him with rolls of hemp and silk and many silver ingots. On his father, Mu Tseng, was conferred the additional honorary title of the Ssu-ch'uan Senior provincial treasurer. He himself was permitted to build an arch in the provincial capital in honor of his deeds and engrave thereon the four characters, *I Tu Chung Cheng* 益篤忠貞 (Progress, Sincerity, Loyalty, Uprightness).

Meanwhile, on account of the urgent need of money for military purposes, he contributed to the Imperial court for soldiers' rations all the funds collected for the building of the arch. In the 16th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1643), the Yün-nan Civil Governor, Wu Chao-yüan 吳兆元,¹¹⁷ made a report on his behalf to the Emperor, describing all his past deeds and his character of loyalty, obedi-

on the Li-chiang frontier where it committed many piracies, etc. In 1635 the chief of Li-chiang sent his soldiers to oust the brigands, but they were defeated.

The territory of the Pi-lieh tribe was said to have been two months' journey north of Li-chiang. This explains the statement in the Chronicle that they dispersed to far-away desert places without engaging in battle. (See also CHAVANNES, Documents Historiques et géographiques in *T'oung-pao* Vol. XIII, p. 630; and in BACOT *Les Mo-so* p. 192). Hsü's statement and the one in the Chronicle do not coincide and it is quite probable that Hsü's account is the correct one — the Mu family being too proud to acknowledge defeat. Yet, it is stated (page 126) that Mu Tseng killed the brigand leader Pi-li [whose followers apparently adopted his name for their tribe] in Shu-lo in 1603.

¹¹⁶ Lang-ch'ü is ruled by a T'u-ssu whose name is A 阿. His territory is now under the magistracy of Yung-sheng.

¹¹⁷ He was a native of P'u-t'ien 莆田 in Fu-chien 福建 (Fukien) and held the degree of *Chin-shih* 進士. He was first Hsün-fu 巡撫 (Governor) of Yün-nan at the end of the reign of Ch'ung-cheng (1643). Later he became Governor General. — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 120, fols. 18a-b.

ence, purity and honesty. The Board of Civil Office sent the governor a reply, informing him that the Emperor had granted that Mu I should inherit his father's honorary titles of Director of the Court of the Imperial Stud and Junior provincial treasurer, as an example, and to give encouragement to the chiefs of all the other frontier districts. In the 17th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1644),¹¹⁸ the Emperor promoted his father, Mu Tseng, to the rank of Senior provincial treasurer, together with the additional honorary title of Minister of the Imperial droves, and permitted him to erect an arch in honor of his deeds with the following four characters, *Wei Lieh Chiu Ch'ing* 位列九卿 (Ranked among My nine ministers) displayed on it. Unfortunately, in the year *ting-hai* 丁亥 (1647), during the rebellion of the Liu-k'ou 流寇 (Roving bandits)¹¹⁹ this arch and all the gold, silver, official documents and Imperial letters patent given to this family by the different emperors of past dynasties, and by many of the inhabitants of the region, were either burned or plundered, only the lives of the people being spared. However, after the cloudy days had passed, the bright sun appeared again.

In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659) of the Ch'ing dynasty, the Emperor sent his great Imperial army to Yün-nan to exterminate these wild brigands. After they had been utterly defeated, the poor people living in this district again began to enjoy life. When the Imperial army reached Yün-nan, Mu I was the first to submit to the Imperial order, and petitioned the Imperial generals about the miserable condition of his people. On the 29th day of the eleventh moon of the 17th year of Shun-chih (December 30th, 1660), the Board of Civil Office issued him an official dispatch and an official seal, appointing him magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. He went with all the representatives of his people some distance beyond his city to receive the above-mentioned dispatch and seal, showing great deference to the Emperor by burning incense and prostrating a hundred times before the Imperial envoys.

¹¹⁸ Huai Tsung (Ch'ung-cheng) committed suicide on Wan-sui Shan 萬歲山 at dawn on the 19th day of the third moon of the 17th year of his reign (April 25th, 1644). So the orders for the promotions of Mu I must have been issued either the latter part of the 16th year, or the very beginning of the 17th year — more probably the 16th year — the letters patent reaching Li-chiang during the 17th year.

¹¹⁹ The Liu-k'ou (Roving bandits) were the hordes of the bandit chiefs Li Tsu-ch'eng 李自成 and Chang Hsien-chung 張獻忠. The former was the famous rebel who captured Peking when the last of the Ming Emperors hanged himself on Wan-sui Shan. He was a native of Mi-chih 米脂 in Shensi (see GILES, *Biographical Dictionary* No. 1226).

Li's followers overran the country. In the year *ting-hai* 丁亥 (1647) a bandit chief by name Sha Ting-chou 沙定洲, a native chief of Annam, with his men came for the second time to attack Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 (seven stages west of K'un-ming). When he heard that the Roving Bandits had reached Tien 滇 (Yün-nan), he turned back; this was in the first moon of the 4th year of Shun-chih (1647). In the fourth moon of the same year (May 5th-June 2nd) Sun K'o-wang 孫可望, another leader of the Roving Bandits, and his associates entered Yün-nan. He came via I-liang 宜良 and took the capital, Yün-nan fu. He minted Ta Shun 大順 money [Ta Shun was the dynastic title of the rebel Li Tzu-ch'eng who had made himself emperor and called his reign Yung-ch'ang 永昌]. It was Sun K'o-wang who changed the name of the province and capital city from Yün-nan sheng 雲南省 to Yün-hsing sheng 雲興省, and Yün-nan fu to K'un-ming fu 昆明府, and K'un-ming hsien 昆明縣 to K'un-hai hsien 昆海縣. (For further reference, see *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 10, fols. 2-20.) See also E. HAUSER, Li Tzê-Ch'êng und Chang Hsien-Chung in: *Asia Major*, Vol. 2, pp. 436-498; and Vol. 3, pp. 267-287.

Immediately after that, he assumed his official duties. Obeying the gracious Imperial order, he succeeded his father as magistrate of the city, and ruled his people well. He was considered the founder of the State of Li-chiang of the present Ch'ing dynasty.

In course of time, the rebel Wu (Wu San-kuei 吳三桂)¹²⁰ came to Yün-nan, and revolted against the Imperial rule by conspiring with the T'u-fan 吐番. As the district of Li-chiang was strongly defended and justly ruled by Mu I, the latter incurred the wrath of the prince, who hated him thoroughly. In the sixth year *ting-wei* 丁未 of K'ang-hsi (1667), Wu unexpectedly ordered Ch'un to enlist 1,000 native soldiers, to enter his (Wu's) service, but Ch'un refused to obey the command. Seizing this as pretext, Wu searched his official residence and took away a golden seal by which the successive Emperors of the Yüan dynasty had authorized his family to rule and defend this frontier land. Also a silver seal, issued to his family by the three chief officials of this province he confiscated. In the following year (1668), Wu ceded to the T'u-fan, for the purpose of reconciling them, five large districts lying beyond the valley of the Li Chiang (Yangtze), called Chao-k'o, Ni-na Hsiang-lo, Shu-lo and Chung-tien,¹²¹ which originally had been under the rule of the Mu family. Moreover, Wu charged Mu I with the responsibility of making good the lost taxes. In the eighth year of K'ang-hsi (1669), Governor Li 李¹²² of Yün-nan submitted a

¹²⁰ Concerning the history of Wu San-kuei, see: HAENICH, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas, in the *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 14 (1913), pp. 1-129. See also GILES, B.D. No. 2342.

Wu San-kuei was a native of Liao-tung, and at the end of the Ming dynasty was engaged as military commander resisting the advance of the Manchus. He ruled over Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan, where he was semi-independent. In 1674 he threw off his allegiance and incited other feudatory princes to rebellion.

According to the *Pei-cheng-chih*, ch. 20, fol. 41b, Wu San-kuei died of dysentery and choking on the 17th day of the eighth moon in the 17th year of K'ang-hsi (October 2nd, 1678). This happened at Heng chou 衡州 in Hu-nan. In the 16th year (1677) he gave La-p'u 刺普 in north-western Yün-nan to the Mongols to win their support. His reign title was Chao-wu 昭武. His grandson, Wu shih-fan 吳世璠, took the title of Emperor and called his reign Hung-hua 洪化. The *T'ien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 11, fol. 6a, states that Wu San-kuei died in the tenth moon (November 14th-December 13th inclusive). His body was brought back to Yün-nan by Hu Kuo-chu 胡國柱, his general, and deposited in the An-fu yüan 安阜園 (a garden also called Yeh-yüan 野園), which was outside the north wall of Yün-nan fu, according to the *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 9, fol. 3a. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that the Yeh-yüan was built by Wu San-kuei. It is also said that his body was thrown into the Yang-tsung Hai 陽宗海, the present-day Ming Hu 明湖, which is the lake visible from the railroad south of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) after descending from the K'un-ming plain.

¹²¹ Chao-k'o (昭可 or 昭可) is supposed to have been a district east of Wei-hsi. Ni-na (Na-khi, Nyi-na) is Wei-hsi.

Hsiang-lo is the Hsi-fan Hsien-lo, a small village situated in Mu-li territory in a valley among limestone mountains to the east of Mt. Ki-bo sKi-hbo (基波), a high range in the

Yangtze — Ya-lung watershed between Yün-nan and Mu-li Hsi-k'ang. A pass leads over this range called Hi-lo-ra ran and it is to the north of this pass that Hsiang-lo is situated.

Shu-lo is in the valley of the Zho Chhu (Shu Gyi). On the Chinese maps it is written So-lo 索洛 and the river is called Wu-liang Ho 無量河. It is the Shen-dzong of the Hsi-fan in Mu-li territory, south-west Hsi-k'ang. In this valley can still be seen the watch-towers, or blockhouses, erected by the Na-khi chiefs. (For Chung-tien, see pp. 248-252.)

¹²² The governor's name was Li T'ien-yü 李天浴; he was a native of Shun-t'ien 順天 (Peking). He became Governor of Yün-nan in 1668, and was an honest and upright official. Wu San-

recommendation on his behalf to the Emperor, who released him from the burden of that taxation.

During all this time, many native chiefs of Yün-nan, great and small, vied with one another to obtain favours from Wu, by accepting his illegal appointments and quickly changing their official letters patent. Mu I alone stood firm and kept aloof, without wavering in the slightest. Wu searched him repeatedly and severely for his official documents, but he refused to deliver them up to him and intentionally made excuses. His main purpose was to bequeath them to his descendants, in order to manifest his loyalty and righteousness to the Imperial court. Thus the rebel Wu hated him the more, and secretly ordered him to conspire with the T'u-fan. He, however, defended his own territory and remained firm in his contention.

Now the only way left for Wu was to compel him to resign from his position, and to appoint Mu Ching 木靖, his eldest son and legal heir, to the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang and to attend to the affairs of this district. At last he accused Mu I of secretly conspiring with the T'u-fan to cause trouble. By thus falsely accusing him, he had him arrested and sent to Yün-nan fu, where he remained imprisoned for seven years, and nearly died. Fortunately, our August Emperor finally realized the incomparable loyalty of this native subject, who had suffered so much so far away from the Imperial court, and had him released from imprisonment, and reinstated in his original hereditary position. He maintained his magistracy up to the 12th year of K'ang-hsi (1673), when Wu started another rebellion, and intentionally brought much harm upon the Mu family by again presenting the T'u-fan kingdom with that territory belonging to Mu I called Ch'i-tsung and La-p'u, situated within the valley of the Li Chiang, and by charging Mu I with the burden of making good the loss in taxes. It was in the 33rd year of K'ang-hsi (1694) that Viceroy Fan 范¹²³ of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou proposed to the Emperor to have him excused from this heavy burden of taxation.

Although all of Ch'un's past heroic deeds, and the merits he had acquired in his life, never had been rewarded or recorded by the Imperial court, none of his descendants ever forgot them. They orally passed on his praises, as if they had been engraved on a stone monument for posterity. He lived to over 80 years. His children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren lived together with him under the same roof, in all four generations. His happiness was thus not comparable to that of the common people. He was born on the 15th day of the fifth moon of the 36th year of Wan-li (June 26th, 1608), and died on the last day of the first moon of the 31st year of K'ang-hsi (March 17th, 1692). His wife, Lu-shih-kuan 祿氏琯, was the daughter of an official family of the fu-magistracy of Wu-ting 武定.¹²⁴ On her was conferred the posthumous

kuei memorialized the throne to deport people of Tien (Yün-nan) to other places, but Governor T'ien-yü opposed him and the people were left in peace.

¹²³ The viceroy's name was Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳. He was a Han-chün 漢軍, that is, a descendant of a native of North China who had joined the Manchu invaders against the Ming. He was also a Bannerman of the first rank of the Bordered yellow banner (Hsiang-huang ch'i 鑲黃旗). He became Viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou in 1686.

¹²⁴ There was no such family at Wu-ting holding the position of native magistrate. The hereditary native magistracy of Wu-ting belonged to the Feng 鳳 family. The office of

honorary title of Shu-*jen* of the second rank. She gave birth to two sons, named Mu-ching 木靖 and Mu-yu 木櫟. His second wife, Lu-shih-jui 祿氏瑞, was a daughter of the same official family from the same fu-magistracy as his first wife. On her was conferred the same honorary title. She gave birth to two sons, named Mu-chan 木旌 and Mu-hsi 木榘.

TWENTY-FIRST GENERATION. — *A-ch'un A-su* 阿春阿俗:¹²⁵ Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu-Ching 木靖, and he was also named Hsiao-ts'ang 曉蒼 and Wen-ming 文明. As the eldest son of Ch'un, he succeeded to his father's throne.

Since childhood, his character had been one of modesty and simplicity. He was very fond of studying the ancient Chinese classics and poetries. Every day he buried himself among the hundreds and thousands of volumes of old books kept in his library, where he would sit for hours to meditate and appreciate their contents. He read all the old books and manuscripts bequeathed to him by his father and his ancestors, and had them all carved (on wooden blocks) and printed as records, or arranged into literary essays, in order that they be handed down as valuable legacies to his children and later generations. Whenever he heard of famous scholars or sages, he would call on them at their residence, and hold agreeable conversations with them. He never failed to treat them with deference, inviting them to be his teachers, and showering

T'u-ssu of Wu-ting was abolished in the 35th year of Wan-li (1607). Neither was there a Chinese official by the name of Lu who held the post of magistrate of Wu-ting. No such name occurs in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* or *Wu-ting chou chih*.

¹²⁵ Mu Ching in this Chronicle is given as the 21st generation, while in the Second Chronicle his younger brother Mu Yu 木櫟 (*see* PLATE 32), also called Chün-chang 君章, and with the surname Chih-an 治安, is listed as the 21st generation.

Mu Ching became hereditary T'u-ssu on the 12th of April, 1669, or rather he assumed the position only, for he died on the 16th of August, 1671, before the Imperial letters patent arrived. The Second Chronicle states that he died in the 11th year of K'ang-hsi (1672). I presume the First Chronicle to be correct, for it gives the month and day.

In the Second Chronicle Mu Ching is entirely omitted and his younger brother, Mu Yu, is named as the successor to Mu I, who in the meantime had been in prison in Yün-nan fu. This younger son is listed as the 21st generation; he was born on the 15th day of the first moon in the 1st year of Ts'ung-cheng (February 14th, 1628) between the hours of 11 P.M. and 1 A.M., and died on the 15th day of the seventh moon of the 43rd year of K'ang-hsi (August 15th, 1704) between the hours of 9 and 11 P.M. CHAVANNES gives 1688.

The Second Chronicle states that in the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680) Mu Yu became ill and turned the affairs of office over to his son Mu Yao 木堯, who was the nephew of Mu Ching 木靖, although his grandfather Mu I was still alive. Yet we read further on that, on the 23rd day of the tenth moon of the 27th year of K'ang-hsi (November 15th, 1688), his son was given an Imperial dispatch which conferred on his father the posthumous title of Chung-hsien ta-fu. There is certainly an error in this date for this would make his son apply to the Emperor for a posthumous title for his father sixteen years before the latter's death. The dates should either be transposed or the following explanation adopted: The First Chronicle does not give the date of Mu Yu's death, but simply states that the Emperor conferred on him the title of Chung-hsien ta-fu on the same date as given in the Second Chronicle. It seems very probable that the title was bestowed on him before his death and on the date given, *i.e.*, 1688, or eight years after his retirement. The error is then in the Second Chronicle in the statement that the title was conferred posthumously. The other alternative would be to transpose the dates. CHAVANNES, who does not mention these discrepancies, merely takes the earlier date as that of his death, although on that date the Emperor bestowed on him the title of Chung-hsien ta-fu (*see* also p. 141, second paragraph).

upon them his richest gifts. He was, indeed, a man of high literary attainment and with a heart at ease. Later on he devoted himself whole-heartedly to the study of Buddhism, and understood thoroughly the most difficult allusions.

In the later years of his life, he studied many Tibetan Buddhist classics, from which he acquired a clear understanding and spiritual inspiration. In the third moon of the 8th year of K'ang-hsi (April 1st-29th, 1669), the Yün-nan provincial treasurer sent him an official dispatch enclosing his official letters patent issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 12th day of the third moon of the same year (April 12th, 1669), he assumed his official duties. Whenever he met his tribespeople, he would advise them to build up their character, and practice loyalty and filial piety, and encouraged them to follow the examples given in the ancient classics. He was always kind-hearted and merciful to everybody, and never punished his people severely by means of whips. He hated those who liked to talk about cruel and unlawful punishment.

He was not fortunate enough to have an heir, therefore he adopted his nephew Mu Yao 木堯 as his own son and legal heir. On the 2nd day of the seventh moon of the 10th year of K'ang-hsi (August 6th, 1671), he died unexpectedly before the Imperial letters patent arrived. He was born on the 29th day of the eleventh moon of the 7th year of T'ien-chi (January 5th, 1628). His wife, T'ao-shih-i 陶氏怡, was the daughter of the native magistrate of Ching-tung 景東.¹²⁶

TWENTY-SECOND GENERATION. — *A-su A-wei* 阿俗阿胃 (PLATE 33): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Yao 木堯. He was also named Chung-sung 中嵩 and Hua-yo 華嶽. He was the eldest son of Mu Yu 木裕, who was the younger brother of Mu Ching 木靖. As he was adopted by his uncle Mu Ching as his legal heir, he succeeded to his uncle's throne. He was gifted with loyalty and filial piety and was very resolute and wise. Immediately after the death of his adopted father and in accordance with the latter's will, his official secretaries and the tribespeople wished that he should succeed him. But he wept bitterly in mourning dress, saying to his people: "Loyal subjects must be found in the household of obedient sons. Our family has bequeathed to its children the teachings of loyalty and filial piety as valuable legacies for many generations. Is it right for a son to enjoy a life of wealth and honor, and leave his father to suffer poverty and humiliation? If I could carry out my own wish, I should first make my father ruler of this kingdom,"¹²⁷ and

¹²⁶ During Mu Ying's 沐英 incumbency (he was appointed Governor of Yün-nan in 1384), T'ao-o 陶俄 was the first Ching-tung native magistrate. His father was a certain A-chih-lu 阿只魯, who lived during the Mongol dynasty, and controlled several districts among which Wei-yüan 威遠 was one. His name was A-t'ao-o 阿陶俄, which was changed to T'ao in the 17th year of Hung-wu (1384). T'ao-shih-i's father was probably T'ao-hsi 陶璽, who became native magistrate of Ching-tung in the 11th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1638). — From *Ching-tung hsien chih kao*, ch. 5, fols. 49a-50a.

¹²⁷ As already mentioned, in the Second Chronicle Mu Yu is figured as the successor to Mu I instead of Mu Ching, who is given in the First Chronicle. The latter cannot very well be considered to have been native magistrate of Li-chiang, as he died before he had received his appointment, although he was the legal heir. He selected his younger brother's son to succeed him. The latter, however, refused to assume the position while his father was still alive. As his father was actually appointed, he rightly takes the place of his elder brother Mu Ching in the later Chronicle.

then myself." All the tribespeople shouted with joy, praising and obeying him.

In the meantime, he explained in detail why his father, as the brother of his adopted father, should succeed to his position as magistrate of this district, and how he himself would enter into a bond with his father to help carry on the important responsibility of managing the affairs of his people. He sent the same explanation in the form of a petition to the Yün-nan Viceroy Li, who forwarded his proposal to the Emperor and duly obtained for him an Imperial reply, which praised his most filial action, and permitted his father to inherit this magistracy, and to enjoy this official honor for six years. After a certain period his father resigned from official life. Mu Yao then assumed his father's position as his legal heir, but in doing so he still expressed considerable sorrow both in manner and in words, and acted as if he were unwilling to do so.

At that time, the rebel Wu occupied the capital of Yün-nan as his most important strategical post, but Mu Yao remained loyal to the Imperial rule, and never obeyed his command. In addition to this, he secretly investigated Wu's followers, and sent information privately by his headman to Yung-lüeh Chiang-chün Chao 勇略將軍趙 (the Brave and conquering general Chao),¹²⁸ in Ssu-ch'uan province, and in all sincerity volunteered to help his army. Chao sent him a secret reply containing words of praise and encouragement. At the same time, Mu Yao sent the same information to Wang 王, General in defense of the military station of Chien-ch'ang 建昌;¹²⁹ he then quickly assembled many of his tribesmen at the Ch'iu-t'ang Pass 丘塘關,¹³⁰ and there built stone barricades to check the advance of the enemy.

On the 25th day of the seventh moon of the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (August 19th, 1680), Brigadier-general Wang 總鎮府王 and Vice Brigadier-general Wang 標副總府王, under the Yung-lüeh general, both instructed him to enlist quickly 2,000 native soldiers to be ready for the march against the enemy. In case he should experience difficulty in transporting the soldiers' provisions from other parts of Yün-nan at a distance of 1,000 li, he had to find other means of providing the Imperial army with provisions so that the expedition should be successful. The generals promised him that, after it was settled, they would report his merit to the Emperor, and request that the cost of the

¹²⁸ Chao Liang-tung 趙良棟 was a native of Ning-hsia 寧夏, Kan-su. He was Commander-in-Chief (T'i-tu 提督) of Ning-hsia in 1676. In the year 1680 Wu San-kuei's followers took Ssu-ch'uan, and it was at that time that he was sent with an army to destroy the rebels. His title was "The Brave and Conquering General." He was appointed viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou on February 27th, 1680, on account of the merit he had acquired in capturing Ch'eng-tu — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 135, fols. 34b-35a.

It was while *en route* from Shan-hsi to Yün-nan that he was met by Mu Yao's messenger in Ssu-ch'uan. He died in 1697. The *Ning-hsia fu chih*, ch. 13, fols. 25a-27a, has a great deal to say about this general.

¹²⁹ Chien-ch'ang is a long, fertile valley in Ssu-ch'uan, north of K'un-ming. Its capital is Hsi-ch'ang 西昌, the former Ning-yüan fu.

¹³⁰ The Ch'iu-t'ang Kuan, according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 26b, is 25 li south of Li-chiang. It is the entrance to Li-chiang. In front of it are two mountains, one on each side, and the road passing through the center is very difficult to negotiate. A guard-station on the pass was once repaired by the native magistrate, who inscribed on it four characters: *Pao-I T'ien-Hsi* 保义天西 (Protect the West).

rice, which he had advanced to them, be twice repaid, and they would also see that all his heroic deeds were carefully recorded. Again, the Yung-lüeh general and Yün-nan Viceroy Chao sent him a secret note saying that his former report had been duly received, and that his loyalty and righteousness had been acknowledged.

On the 26th day of the second eighth moon (October 18th, 1680) of the same year, the viceroy again instructed him to gather his troops secretly from far and near, and employ them either as guides, or in preparing boats, soldiers' rations and fodder, and promised that his merit in being the vanguard of this expedition would be reported in detail to the Emperor. His Majesty would be requested to show him additional grace and reward him abundantly. Later, the viceroy wrote to Mu Yao again saying he had heard that Mu Yao had rendered good service to the great Imperial army under difficult circumstances, on its arrival in Yün-nan to recover its capital from the enemy. He also told him that he was aware of his brave and fearless fighting *en route* to Yün-nan fu, and how sincerely he had volunteered his services to the headquarters of the Imperial army. He informed him that the Emperor had ordered the Ku-shan-peï-tzu 固山貝子,¹³¹ Chang T'ai 章泰, the Ting-yüan p'ing-k'ou ta Chiang-chün 定遠平寇大將軍 (Great general of the far Southern punitive expedition), to reward him justly according to his own discretion; also that the viceroy himself was rewarding him in advance.

On the 28th day of the fourth moon of the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (June 15th, 1681), the viceroy reported to the Emperor on his behalf, who then gave him an additional official seal and official letters patent, ordering him to manage all his military affairs properly and to defend the frontier to the best of his ability. On the 23rd day of the fifth moon of the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (July 8th, 1681), he again received an Imperial order through the service of the Ku-shan-peï-tzu, Chang T'ai, informing him that the Emperor had greatly appreciated his loyalty, righteousness and patriotism to the nation, in devoting his efforts to the mustering of his troops for purposes of defense; and that now he (the Great general) had specially instructed General Hsi 將軍希, Provincial Commander-in-Chief Sang 提督桑, and the volunteer general Wang Hui 投誠將軍王會, together with a certain Pai Lin-sheng 白麟生, to lead the most powerful Imperial troops, both Manchu and Chinese, to the city of Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄¹³² and against the rebel Wu.¹³³ Mu Yao was instructed to do all

¹³¹ Ku-shan-peï-tzu is the Manchu Ku-sai Bei-tzu (*Ku-sai* signifying *Banner*) and designates an Imperial prince of the fourth order. Chang T'ai led his great army to Yün-nan. His soldiers at that time were quartered in the Kuei-hua Temple 歸化寺. Meanwhile, the robbers decided to hold out against the Imperial forces, and to await the arrival of their own reinforcements from the west. The robber chief, Kuo Chuang-t'u 郭壯圖 (whose wife was the daughter of Wu San-kuei's grandson, Wu Shih-fan 吳世蕃), however, did not listen to this advice and made a sortie with his troops and attacked Chang T'ai. All the Imperial forces under the various generals and the viceroy Chao Liang-tung attacked them in return. The elephants in the regiment of the robbers suddenly stampeded and drove their army into the Chin-chih Ho 金汁河. (This stream is also called Chin-leng Ho 金稜河. According to the *Yün-nan fu chih* it is 10 li east of Yün-nan fu.) Only 27 soldiers of the robber Kuo Chuang-t'u escaped and entered the city — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 104, fol. 2a.

¹³² The rebel general Ma Pao 馬寶 (robber) had fled from the eastern part of Yün-nan (Hsüntien 尋甸) to Ch'u-hsiung, whither the officers Hsi Fu 希福 and Sang Ko 桑格 followed

in his power to levy his own troops, in order to prepare for the defense of his territory. In case the rebel Wu and his brigand followers should flee to his district, he should help the Imperial army to check them, and co-operate with it in order to destroy the brigands. The merit he would thereby acquire would again be greatly rewarded by the Imperial court. Thereupon, Mu Yao recruited more than 10,000 tribesmen, and organized them into a defensive corps and awaited the approach of the brigands. There happened to escape at that time to his post at Li-chiang, over 10,000 brigands led by seven rebel generals, among whom was Hu Kuo-chu 胡國柱,¹³⁴ who intended to steal a march across the river for the purpose of conspiring with the T'u-fan to rise against the government.

Mu Yao secretly ordered some men to pretend to be native guides to show the rebels the road to Tibet, but at the same time instructed the wild Li-su tribe to hide in ambush in all the wild places west of the Lan-ts'ang River (Mekong). He personally led his troops of over 10,000 tribal soldiers, following the brigands step by step; he succeeded in capturing and killing many of them with their horses, whose corpses were strewn along the highway. When he had pursued them beyond the river, the enemy had scarcely half of their number left, and those remaining tried to escape as best they could. Their only road lay either up steep cliffs and over the unsurmountable peaks which surrounded them, or along the large river blocking them in front. Those who tried to escape by climbing up creepers which grew on the cliffs were all killed by the Li-su. At last, the brigand leader Hu Kuo-chu with his confederates was in great despair, and he committed suicide. Mu Yao secured much ammunition and many military weapons, also two dead elephants. He made a detailed report about this expedition to the Great General [Ku-shan-pei-tzu] Chang T'ai. Thereupon His Excellency the Sui-yüan general and Viceroy Ts'ai 綏遠將軍總督部院蔡,¹³⁵ and His Excellency the Yün-nan Governor Yin

them and engaged them in battle at Lü-ho 呂合 (60 li west of Ch'u-hsiung and seven stages west of K'un-ming).

The following notes may be of interest regarding the persons mentioned here:

Ma Pao was a native of Shensi and from the beginning a rebel leader. He submitted to Wu San-kuei in 1659 and became his most loyal follower. In the 15th year of K'ang-hsi (1676) he fought the Imperial troops and relieved Ch'ang-sha. After the death of Wu San-kuei he passed through Kuei-chou *en route* to Ssu-ch'uan where he tried to stop the advance of the Imperial troops. In 1681 when Yün-nan fu was besieged, he was defeated by General Hsi Fu and forced to surrender. In the autumn of the same year he was executed.

Sang Ko (Sange) was a Manchurian Bannerman belonging to the Plain White banner. He was in the vanguard on the march to Yün-nan via south Hu-nan. In 1681 he was recalled to Peking. He died in 1699. (See HAENISCH, *op. cit.*)

¹³³ This is Wu San-kuei's grandson, Wu Shih-fan.

¹³⁴ Hu Kuo-chu was a general under Wu San-kuei. He was first defeated by Chao Liang-tung in the Chien-ch'ang valley. Hu Kuo-chu was later sent to Ssu-ch'uan with other generals to try and persuade that province to join again the cause of the rebels. In this they succeeded and captured various districts. Hu Kuo-chu's troops dispersed after the fall of Hsü chou in Ssu-ch'uan, and he himself fled to Li-chiang where he hid in the high mountains (Yü-lung Shan). Later, on December 19th, 1681, Hsi Fu found him in Yün-lung chou 雲龍州 (south-west of Ta-li on the Pi Chiang), where he was surrounded. To avoid capture he committed suicide by strangulation.

¹³⁵ His name was Ts'ai Yü-jung 蔡毓榮. He was a Han-chün and a Bordered white flag



PLATE 65. — A NA-KHI MUAN-BPÖ D'A

麼些天神壇

Each clan, designated by a family name, has its own altar, at which to propitiate Heaven. On the altar are three treelets, from left to right: an oak representing Heaven, a Juniper representing the Emperor and an oak representing Earth. In the foreground large incense sticks ready to be lighted and put into the ground.

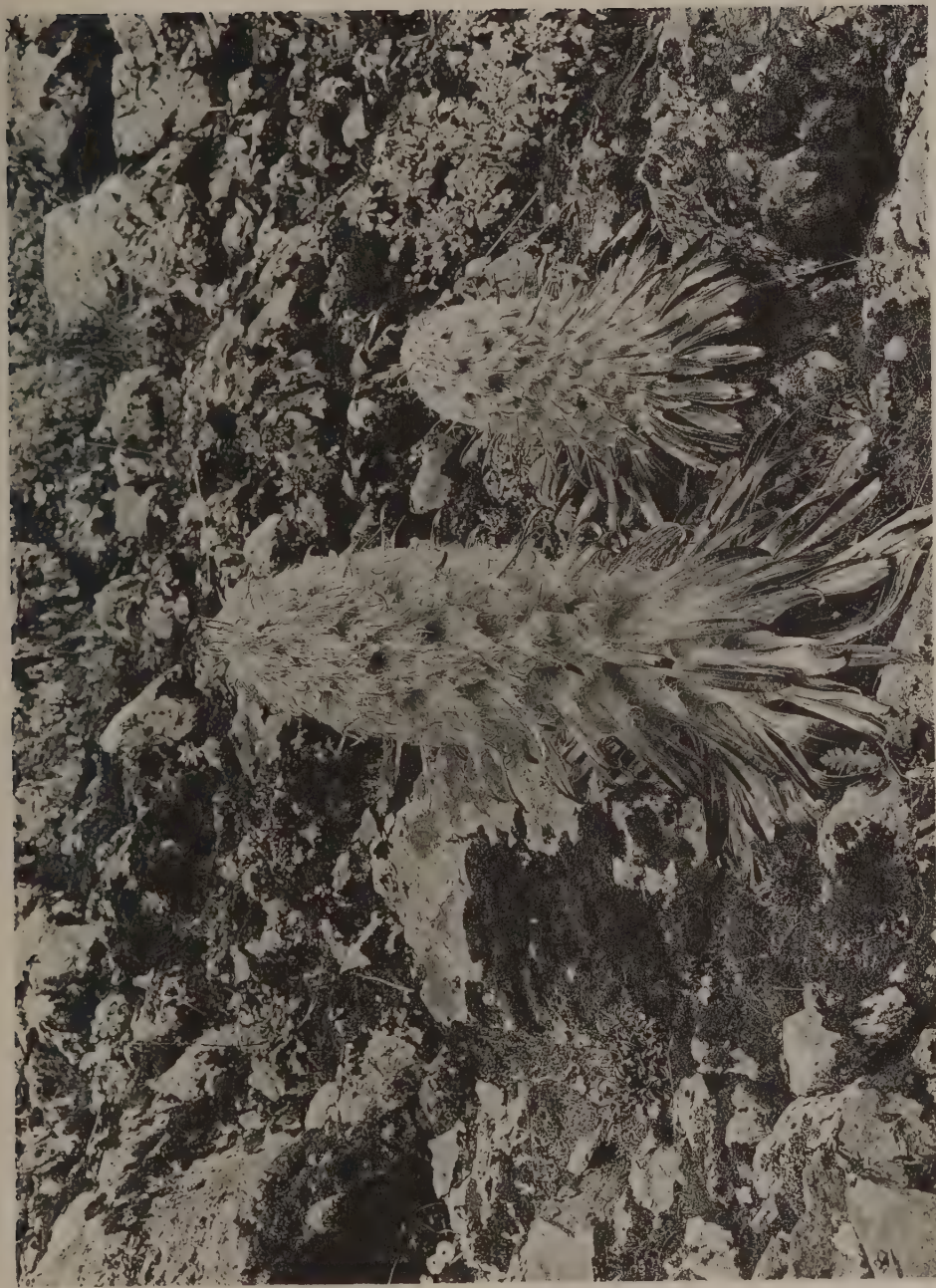


PLATE 66.— MOUNT SHAN-TZU-TOU

王龍山扇子陡

The highest peak of Yü-lung Shan as seen from the village of Lü-mä-ndaw-ts'an (in foreground) in the li of Pai-sha. To the left fan palms (*Trachycarpus Fortunei*), to the right a leafless walnut tree. The rack in front of the house is used for drying grain, turnips, etc.

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 67. — *SAUSSUREA LANICEPS* H-M.

The last of the alpine composites growing among limestone rocks at an elevation of 15,000 feet, at Khi-llü-p'u-dshwà, eastern slopes of the Yü-lang Shan.

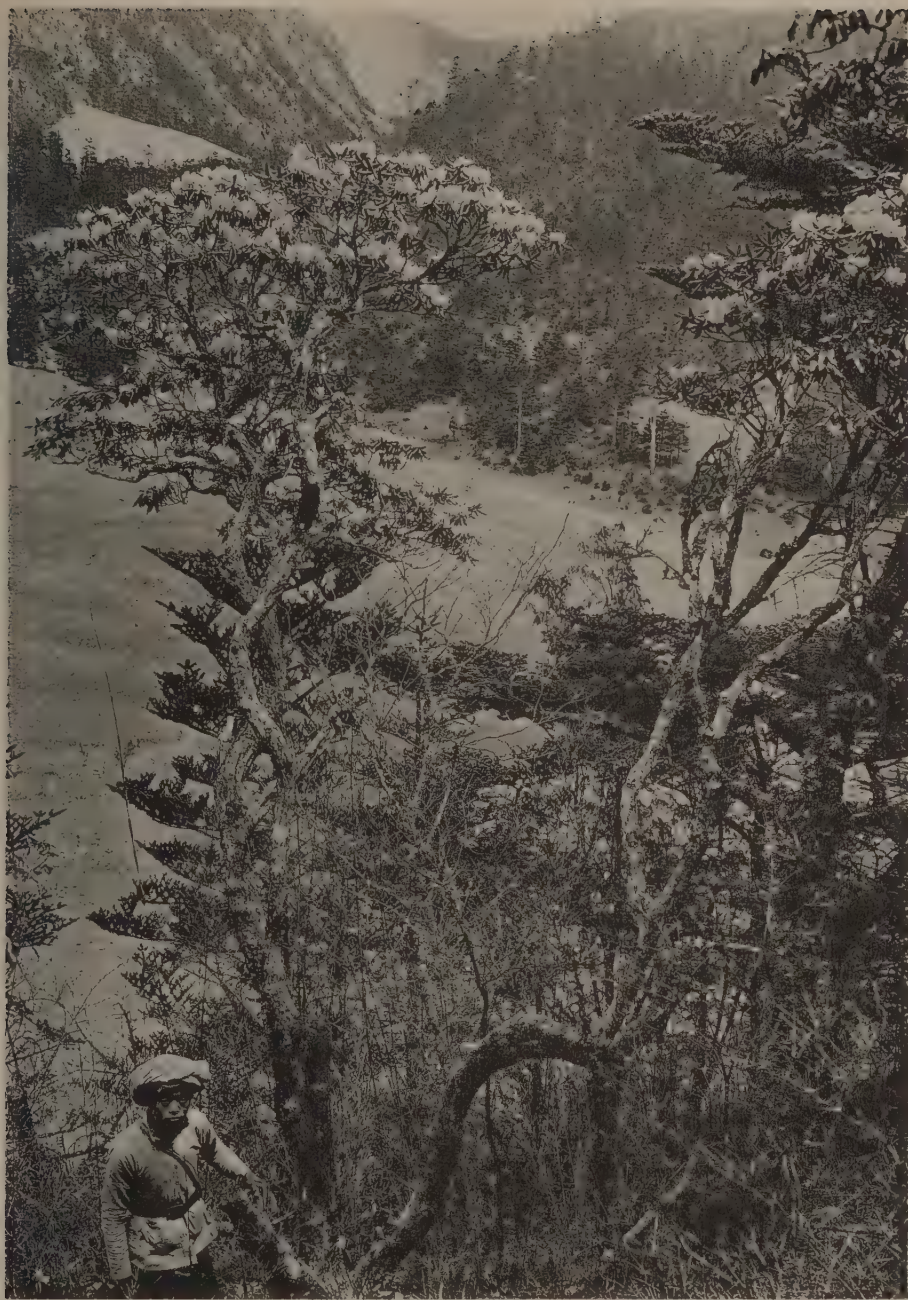


(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 68.—THE LIMESTONE MASS OF SHAN-TZU-TOU

玉龍山扇子陡山峰

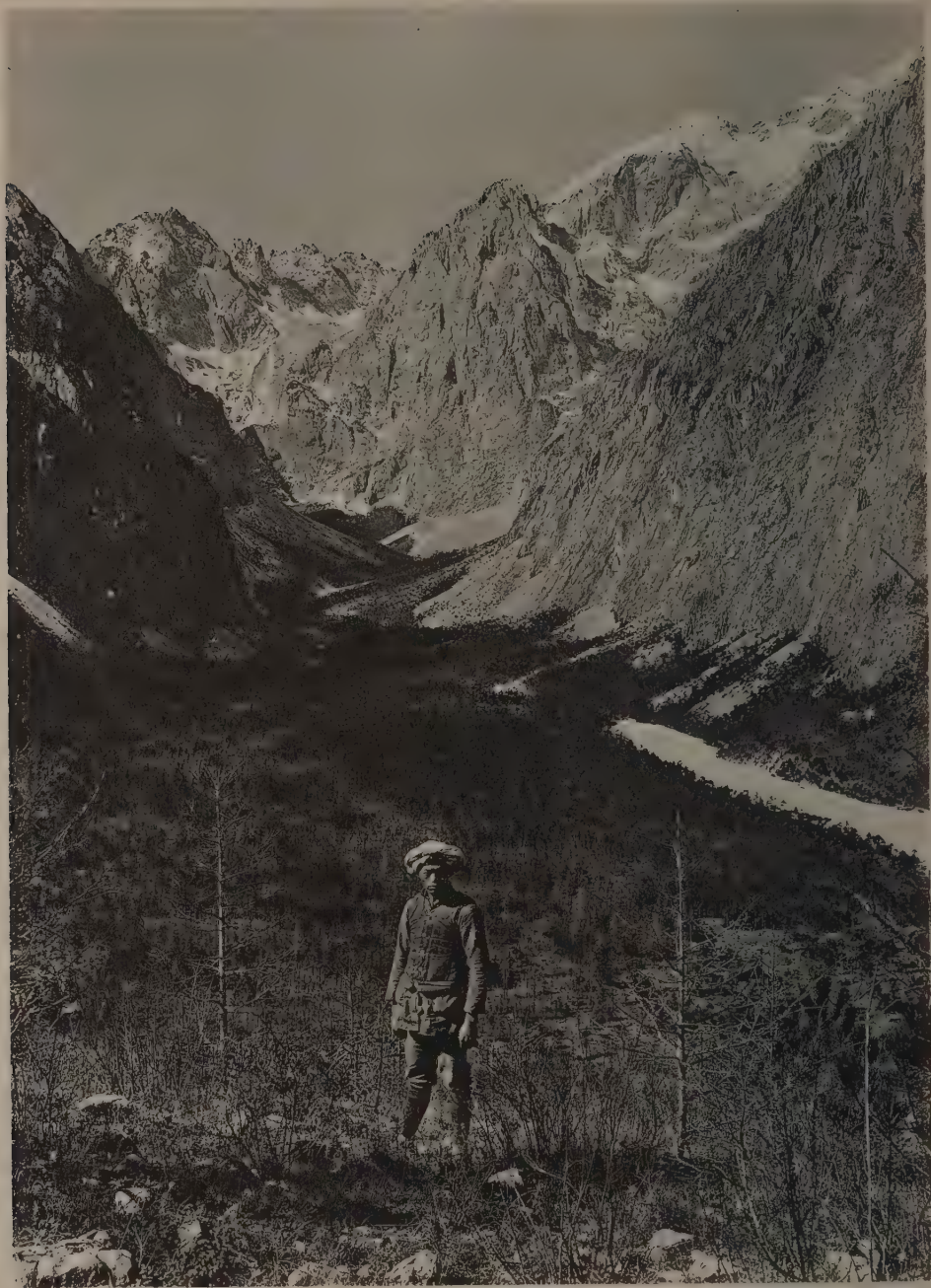
View from near the edge of Sa-ba lo-gkv gorge looking west. The dark patches in the foreground are *Rhododendron prostratum* growing on the scree. Between the main peak and the rugged limestone mass beyond the scree lies the 4,500 feet deep gorge Sa-ba lo-gkv. Photographed from an elevation of 15,500 feet.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 69. — THE ALPINE MEADOW OF MAN-DZU-GKV

In the foreground *Rhododendron Traillianum* trees with *Abies Forrestii*. The forested spur on the other side of the meadow is Ghügh-bô lo and the ravine in the extreme upper left Zhwua-k'o lo. Elevation 11,000 feet.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 70. — THE GORGE SA-BA LO-GKV

撒巴囉古陝景級

The gorge which has no outlet was once glacier-filled; it is now waterless except in its upper part. Forest of spruce and Rhododendron which give way to firs higher up fill the gorge. The glacier in the upper right descends from the highest peak, Shan-tzu-tou, its snout is now at the extreme head of the gorge. Photographed from La-zo-gko-dshwuà elevation 12,300 feet, and 300 feet above the floor of the gorge.

The leafless trees in the foreground are larches (*Larix Potaninii*).

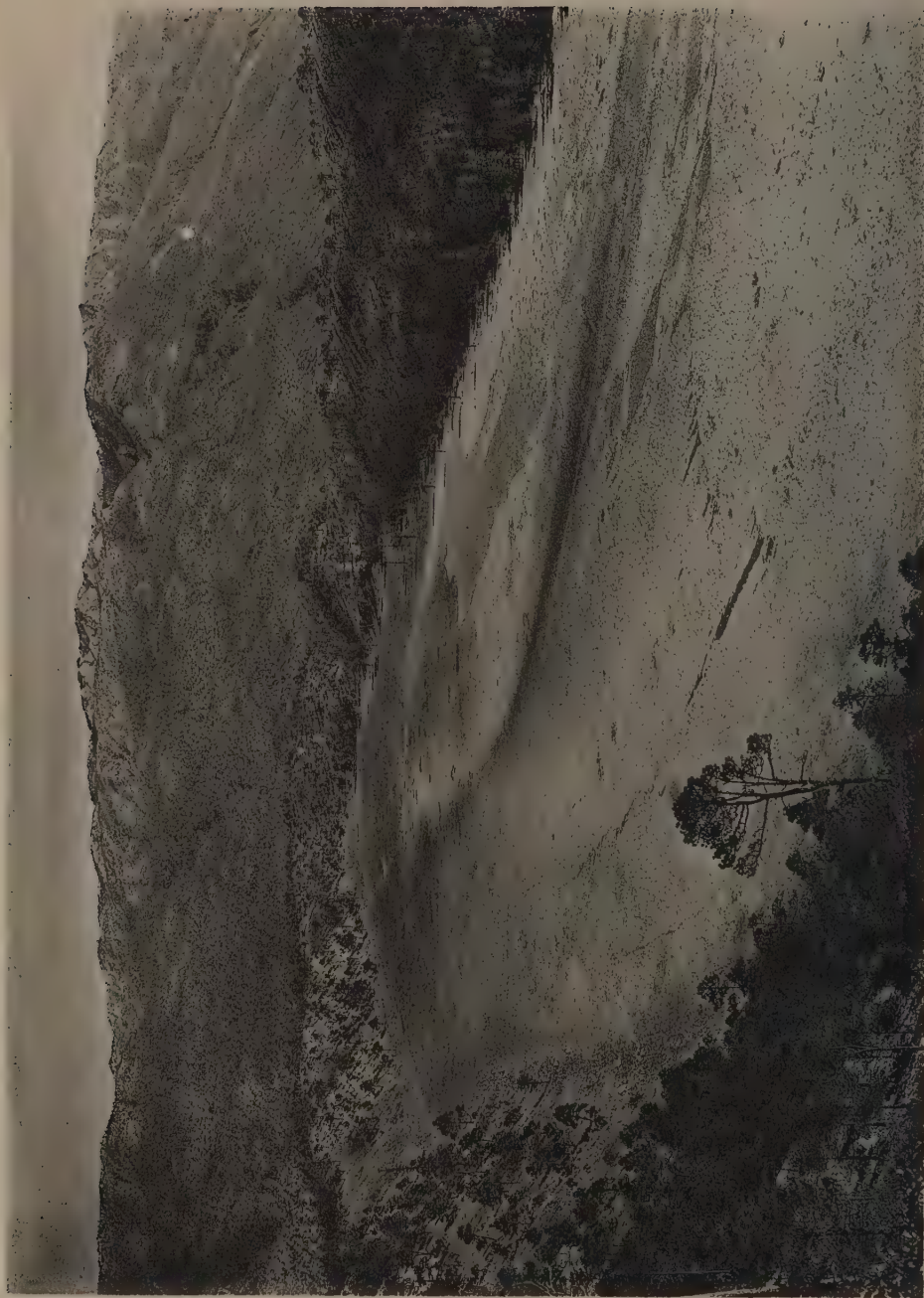


(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 71. — THE SA-BA GORGE

撒巴峽景緻

The mighty gorge once filled with a glacier is now dry and the limestone floor is sparingly covered with *Pinus yunnanensis*. It extends east from about the center of the snow range, south of the Yangtze. A similar gorge (Gyi-p'ér k'a) but longer, extends west from the other side of the range in contraposition of Sa-ba; it is 2,650 feet lower than Sa-ba. The broad rocky mass above the pine-covered spur (left) is Ggö-gko 'a-k'ö; La-zo-gko-dshvuà is near the head (top) of the pine-covered spur whence Plate 70 was taken.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 72. — SA-BA DÜ-LA-LO, THE NORTHEASTERN BRANCH OF SA-BA

The floor of this part of Sa-ba is composed of almost pure marl; the encircling moraines are covered with *Pinus yunnanensis*. The distance from Sa-ba lo-gkv, the head of the gorge, to the end of Sa-ba di-la-lo is over three miles. The glacier which once filled this gorge has now retreated to its very head.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 73. — THE GLACIER AT THE HEAD OF SA-BA LO-GKV

The glacier which once filled Sa-ba is fed by the avalanches of ice and snow from Shan-tzu-tou visible in the picture. In the summer waterfalls tumble over the limestone cliffs which form the head of Sa-ba or Sa-ba lo-gkv. Elevation of glacier 13,250 feet.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 74. — THE NA-KHI VILLAGE OF NV-LV-K'Ö OR HSÜEH-SUNG-TS'UN

麗江白沙鄉廢些村子雪嵩村

The last village on the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain in the Commune of Pai-sha, at an elevation of over 9,000 feet, at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan. The Na-khi name of the village means: "At the foot of the silver rocks," Mt. Shan-tzu-tou in background.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 75. — A NA-KHI FARMER FROM THE VILLAGE OF NV-LV-K'Ö

雪 嵩 村 麼 些 農 夫

He wears a felt hat and sheepskin jacket. The men play nursemaid, while the women perform most of the work, except ploughing.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 76. — NA-KHI WOMEN OF THE VILLAGE OF NŪ-LV-K'Ö

雪嵩村麼些農婦

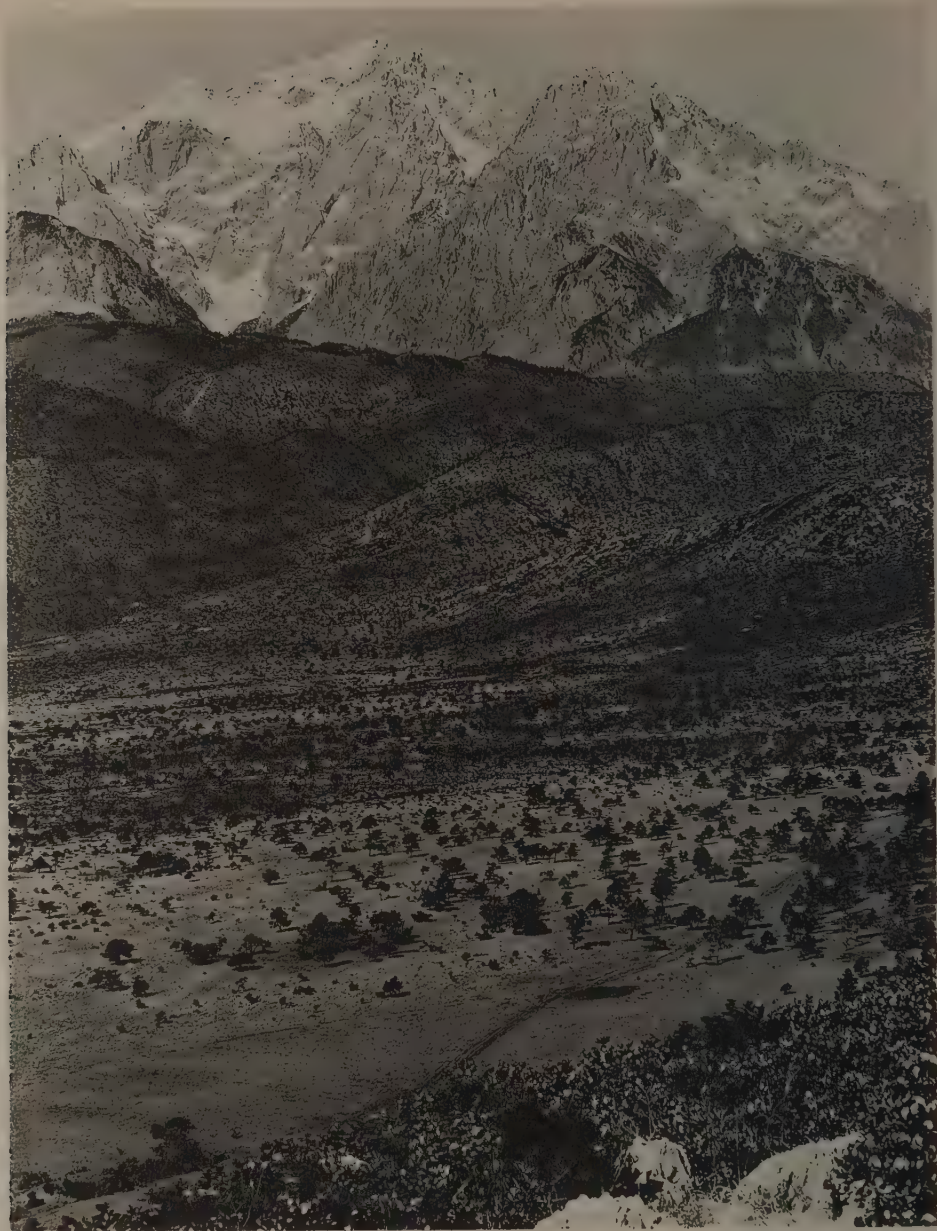
The first two (from left) are unmarried, the third is married. Girls usually wear Chinese caps on festive occasions, otherwise a simple cloth is worn on the head with the hair (braids) wound outside. Married women wear their hair in a knob on the top of the head around which a cloth is wound to keep it in place, another cloth is then placed over it as in the picture.



PLATE 77.—SOUTHERN END OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN IN WINTER SNOW

玉龍山南支脈

View across the upper end of the Li-chiang plain from the eastern limestone range at Dza-dza mbu. The trees are all pines (*Pinus yunnanensis*). The first snow-covered crag (left) is Hua-lä-bpu. The others are called first half Nv-lv-na, the second Nv-lv-p'ër (black and white silver rocks) owing to the black and white scree which descend from the crags.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 78. — MOUNT SHAN-TZU-TOU

玉龍山扇子陡

View from Dza-dza mbu (Dshi-hō gyi-ts'i) across northern end of Li-chiang plain and west to Shan-tzu-tou. The Sa-ba gorge is beyond the diagonal spur. Pine trees on plain; scrub oak and limestone in foreground. Where the lowest snow field seems to join the spur is La-zo-gko-dshwuà.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 79. — NGA-BA, THE ANCIENT BED OF AN ICE LAKE

玉龍山乾海子, 古冰湖底子

Situated at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Yü-lung Shan, elevation 10,500 feet. The trees on the grassy plain are pines (*Pinus yunnanensis*) which higher up give way to poplars (*Populus Bonatii*) and larches (*Larix Potaninii*). The first peak (left) is Ch'wua-lo-gku; the second Sa-ba nv-lv; the third Shan-tzu-tou. Note the man on horseback in lower right.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 80. — NGA-BA TRANSFORMED INTO A BLUE LAKE

乾海子變爲碧池

Only during summers of exceptional heavy rains does a lake form at Nga-ba; by spring, however, the waters disappear entirely. The author's camp can be seen on lake shore (center). The central peak is Nga-ba nv-iv; the last peak Gyi-nà nv-iv.

尹,¹³⁶ both affixed their signatures in a proposal to the Emperor that his hereditary right be confirmed.

In the fourth moon of the 23rd year of K'ang-hsi (May 15th-June 12th, 1684), in accordance with instructions given by the Yün-nan Governor Wang 王,¹³⁷ the Provincial treasurer sent Mu Yao an official dispatch issued by the Board of Civil Office, conferring on him the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. In the fourth moon of the 23rd year of K'ang-hsi (*v.s.*), he accepted his hereditary position. In the same moon, on account of rheumatism, he could no longer look after the affairs of his people, and offered to resign from official life.

According to established custom, Mu Hsing 木興, his eldest son and legal heir, inherited his position. On the 23rd day of the tenth moon of the 27th year of K'ang-hsi (November 15th, 1688),¹³⁸ the Emperor conferred on his father, Mu Yu, the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, together with the hereditary right of magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang, and on his mother, Lo-shih-ch'ing 羅氏慶, daughter of a native family of Lan chou, was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen by special Imperial patent. Mu Yao's mother gave birth to five sons, named Yao 堯, Sheng 盛, Tuan 端, Huang 潢 and Chung 忠. His father's second wife also gave birth to five sons, named Ch'eng 成, Wen 蚊, Kuang 光, Cheng 貞 and Man 滿.

Mu Yao received once more Imperial letters patent for himself, which conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, together with the hereditary right of native magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. He was born on the 6th day of the sixth moon of the 4th year of Shun-chih (July 7th, 1647), and died on the 28th day of the eighth moon of the 47th year of K'ang-hsi (October 11th, 1708). His wife, A-shih chia 阿氏加, was the daughter of the native magistrate of the chou-magistracy of Yao-an 姚安.¹⁴⁰

bannerman. In the 9th year of K'ang-hsi (1670) he became viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan, Hu-nan and Hu-pe. One year later a separate viceroy was appointed for Ssu-ch'uan and Ts'ai remained viceroy for Hu-nan and Hu-pe only. In the 21st year (1682) he became viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou. Together with his son Lin 琳 he was sent into exile for crimes committed, and died there in 1699 — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 135, fols. 35a-b.

¹³⁶ His name was Yin P'i 尹關. He was still governor of Yün-nan in 1681, when Wang Chi-wen was his provincial treasurer.

¹³⁷ His name was Wang Chi-wen 王繼文; he succeeded Yin P'i as governor of Yün-nan. He was a Chinese Bordered yellow bannerman; in 1674 he became Provincial treasurer of Yün-nan, and Governor of Yün-nan in 1681. He was appointed Viceroy in 1691. He died in 1703.

¹³⁸ See p. 136, Note 125.

¹³⁹ The first ancestor of this family was Lo-k'o 羅克, a native of Lan chou. He was the leader of 10,000 families during the Mongol dynasty. In the reign of Hung-wu (1368-1398) he led all his people to submission. On account of merit acquired during military exploits he was made native sub-magistrate. Lan chou, the present Lan-p'ing, is 360 li south-west of Li-chiang. During the Mongol dynasty it was in the Circuit of Li-chiang. Under the Ming dynasty, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382), it belonged to Ho-ch'ing and afterwards again to Li-chiang. Lo-ts'an 羅燦 was the last native sub-magistrate. His successors were merely called Hsi-t'u-she 襲土舍 (Hereditary local residents) — *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 1, ch. 6, fol. 61a.

¹⁴⁰ The first ancestor of the Kao family mentioned in Chinese records is a certain Kao Ming-

On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen of the fourth principal rank. Her official name was Kao-shih-ning 高氏寧. She gave birth to four sons, named Kuei 貴,¹⁴¹ Hsing 興, Hung 弘 and Chung 鍾. His second wife, Li-shih 李氏, gave birth to four sons, named Chih 枝, Ch'üan 全, Ting 定 and Hui 惠.

Although Mu Yao's merits were not properly rewarded or recorded by the Imperial court, yet his fame reached the four corners of the nation. He had proved himself both loyal and righteous to his country. When he was dying, he called his eldest son to his bedside, and handed him a large parcel containing his official seals, dispatches, and diplomas given him by the different emperors, and instructed him to keep them as valuable legacies for his children and those of later generations.

TWENTY-THIRD GENERATION. — *A-wei A-hui* 阿胃阿揮¹⁴² (PLATE 34): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Hsing 木興. He was also named Wei-hsin 維新 and Hsüeh-ch'eng 雪城. He was the second son of Wei (Mu Yao), and succeeded to his father's throne. He was mentally well-endowed, very widely read and had carefully studied all the ancient classics. When full-grown, he understood thoroughly how to manage political affairs. A very sociable man, he attracted numerous friends from all directions. He often strengthened his friendships by widely circulating his poems and specimens of his calligraphy, which he presented to famous scholars and ministers of high rank, who were his contemporaries. The Yün-nan — Kuei-chou Governor-general, Chiang 雲南貴州制軍蔣,¹⁴³ saw his poems and calligraphy and was much surprised at his wonderful skill.

When Chiang had leisure, he used to request Mu Hsing to write poems and scrolls for him, in return for which he presented him with many gifts. For these Hui also repaid him with presents. Thus their friendship became truly intimate and lasting. On the 6th day of the fifth moon of the 31st year of K'ang-hsi (June 20th, 1692), the Yün-nan and Kuei-chou Viceroy, Fan 總督雲貴部院范,¹⁴⁴ sent him an official dispatch, enclosing a diploma, issued on

ch'ing 高明詩. The seventh generation after him was a certain Kao T'ai-hsiang 高泰祥, who was sent by Tuan 段 (Hsing-chi 興智), King of Nan-chao, to stop the troops of Kublai Khan and prevent them from crossing into the Nan-chao Kingdom. Being unable to do this, he fled to his native home at Yao-an. He was captured by the Mongols and decapitated in front of the Wu-hua lou 五華樓, the main south gate of Ta-li.

Yao-an is a sub-prefecture under Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, and is north of Chen-nan (chou) 鎮南縣, now a hsien. The latter is six and a half stages from K'un-ming on the Ta-li road.

¹⁴¹ Kuei died in early manhood before marriage.

¹⁴² His Chinese name is a transcription of his Na-khi name, Aw-wüa Aw-ḡhü.

¹⁴³ There was a Governor General Chiang Chen-hsi 蔣陳錫, who ruled in Yün-nan in 1717, but his name does not appear in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*. The *T'ien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 11, fol. 34b, states that Governor General Chiang Chen-hsi suppressed a rebellion among the Wu-ting chiefs in 1718. According to the *Chung-kuo Jen-ming ta tz'u-tien* 中國人名大辭典, p. 1540, he was a K'ang-hsi Chin-shih and Governor General of Yün-nan — Kuei-chou. He was sent to Tibet to comfort and feast the (victorious) troops, but he died of illness within a hundred li of the Tibetan border.

¹⁴⁴ The viceroy's name was Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳; he was a Chinese Bordered yellow bannerman, and became viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou in 1686. It was he who brought

the 4th day of the fifth moon of the same year (June 18th, 1692) by the Board of Civil Office, ordering him to succeed to his father's position. In the same moon, he assumed his official position. Since he had no legal heir, he adopted the son of his younger brother Mu Hung 木弘, named Mu Ch'ung 木崇, as his own son. He held his position for 28 years; under his rule all his people enjoyed happiness and contentment and proved most obedient to his will. His excellent reputation had spread everywhere.

In the 45th year of K'ang-hsi (1706), a tribe called the Lu-man 爐蠻¹⁴⁵ started a rebellion. Viceroy Chiang secretly instructed the military stations of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang to investigate this matter. As it was not safe for the Chinese to travel into those tribal lands, the viceroy again ordered Mu Hsing to select capable natives of his own land and to send them to Ni-t'ang 泥塘 and Pa-t'ang 巴塘 (Ba-thang) to investigate carefully the real conditions of the rebelling tribes. Furthermore, those men should return quickly to render a true report to the military stations of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang. In this mission, Mu Hsing proved himself not only careful and moderate, but also most patriotic in defending the frontier territory of our empire. In the same year, he contributed some money for the building of the Confucian temple in our city, and did not begrudge 1,000 ounces of silver for opening public schools and engaging teachers.

In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720), the Imperial army launched a punitive expedition against Tibet by way of Yün-nan. Mu Hsing showed his unusual loyalty, righteousness and patriotism to our nation by making a careful report to the government and offering voluntarily 2,000 of his native soldiers to be enlisted against Tibet. In the eighth moon of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (September 2nd–October 1st inclusive, 1720), he received an official dispatch from the two chief officials of Yün-nan, the viceroy and the governor, sanctioning his application to keep 1,000 of his native soldiers as a reserve force, and to enlist 1,000 more for immediate service. He was also appointed by them as Superintendent of military affairs, to lead personally 500 native soldiers, with two second captains and two lieutenants under his own command, to serve as builders of military stations and bridges along the road, defenders of the important ferries, spies and guides to show the way, and carriers of military provisions. An additional dispatch by the above-mentioned officials was given to his son and legal heir, Mu Ch'ung, who was appointed major to accompany this expedition, and ordered to be in charge of 500 native veteran soldiers, with two second captains and two lieutenants under his command. He was to serve under His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief and Imperial messenger Wu 欽差都統伍¹⁴⁶ as vanguard of the front lines, and as builder of

out the first Ch'ing edition of *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Topography of Yün-nan). He died in 1714 — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 135, fol. 35b.

¹⁴⁵ The term Lu-man is derived from Lu 爐 the last character in the name of the town Ta-chien-lu 打箭爐 (now K'ang-ting 康定) on the Tibetan border, capital of Hsi-k'ang. The term comprised the Tibetans living between Ta-chien-lu, Li-t'ang 裏塘 and Pa-t'ang 巴塘 (now Li-hua 裏化 and Pa-an 巴安 in Hsi-k'ang 西康) in the Tibetan Marches.

¹⁴⁶ His name was Wu Ko 伍哥 (Uge). He led, in company with the Assistant Commander-in-Chief Wu Na-ha 吳納哈, 1,000 Manchu soldiers, while the regiments of Li-chiang, Ho-ch'ing and Yung-pei were headed by Major-general Chao K'un 趙坤 (who later became gov-

roads along the mountain passes, and of bridges over the streams. The above-mentioned dispatches were duly approved by the aforesaid officials.

In the meantime, Mu Hsing transported military provisions from the different military stations to the battle fronts. Arrived at La-p'u, he rearranged their system of transport. At La-p'u, there was a headman named Pa-sung 巴松, who had suppressed their official dispatches, and prevented their soldiers' rations from being forwarded, whereby they found it difficult to advance any further. Mu Hsing's native soldiers therefore killed him and recovered many of the dispatches. The reason why the Imperial soldiers, both Manchu and Chinese, suffered from want of rations in Tibet, was entirely due to Pa-sung, who had stopped the transport of supplies. On his arrival at A-tun-tzu 阿墩子, Mu Hsing learned that Pa-sung had been one of the most intimate subordinates of Nien 年, Viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan.¹⁴⁷

While Mu Hsing was trembling with fear, he received a secret dispatch from the Yün-nan and Kuei-chou Viceroy Chiang, in which was enclosed a copy of a false report written by the Ssu-ch'uan viceroy to the Yün-nan viceroy full of accusations against him. Thus he was very much frightened, and became so ill that he could neither eat nor drink. At last his health declined, so that he died on the 9th day of the eleventh moon of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (December 8th, 1720), after he had been carried home in the tenth moon (October 31st–November 29th inclusive) of the same year.

As mentioned above, his son, Mu Ch'ung, accompanied the army of the Commander-in-Chief and Imperial messenger Wu on his expedition, and served under him as vanguard in the front lines. He suffered considerably from exposure on snow-covered mountains, and endured heavy frost. Thus he contracted rheumatism which later developed into a serious case of dropsy. On the 30th day of the second moon of the 61st year of K'ang-hsi (April 15th, 1722) he died, after returning home from this expedition, in spite of treatment

ernor of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou). Ma Hui-po 馬會伯 led 1,500 Green banner troops plus 500 Li-chiang Mo-so soldiers. They were to cross the Yangtze and unite with the Ssu-ch'uan troops on their march on Tsang 藏 (Tibet) — *T'ien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 11, fol. 37a.

See also E. HAENISCH, "Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas," *T'oung Pao*, 1911, Vol. 12, pp. 197–235, 375–424. On p. 402, HAENISCH translates from the *Tung-hua-lu* 東華錄, ch. 29, which I render here from the German: General Uge left Yün-nan on the 12th day of the second moon of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (March 20th, 1720). Uge reports: "As I received a communication from Mu Hsing, native Prefect of Li-chiang fu, asking my permission to accompany me, and at the same time placing his contingents at my disposal, I selected 500 men from his native troops, which I placed under the command of the sons of Mu Hsing and ordered them to join the campaign of our army."

¹⁴⁷ His name was Nien Keng-yao 年羹堯. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* states, ch. 103, fol. 2b, that he became viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan in the 60th year of K'ang-hsi (1721) (see HAENISCH, *op. cit.*, p. 404). He was opposed to the placing of Pa-t'ang and Li-t'ang under the native magistrate of Li-chiang and memorialized the throne to have these two places remain under the rule of Ssu-ch'uan. He sent a subordinate general, Yo Chung-ch'i 岳鍾琪, with troops to Li-t'ang, who was to join the Yün-nan troops on the march to Lha-sa. This general was one of the most renowned. He rushed ahead without waiting for the great army, and with his small detachment captured Lha-sa. It is due to him that the entire military operation, from the advance march from Pa-t'ang to the capture of Lha-sa, took only four months (May 19th–September 20th, 1720). See also CHAVANNES, *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XIII, 1912, p. 634.

by the most skilful doctors. Thus both father and son sacrificed their lives for the sake of our nation.

Although the merit they had acquired was not properly recognized or rewarded by the Imperial court, yet it has been remembered and praised by our people until the present time. There is an o'd saying that so far as loyalty is concerned, an official should bend his body and exhaust his energy in the service of the State, and only death shall put a stop to it. Both father and son were worthy to receive this praise. Mu Hsing was born on the 13th day of the third moon of the 6th year of K'ang-hsi (April 5th, 1667), and died on the 9th day of the eleventh moon of the 59th year of the same period (December 8th, 1720). In the 42nd year of K'ang-hsi (1703), when Mu Hsing was still alive, he respectfully received, by the grace of the Emperor, Imperial letters patent conferring on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu together with the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang, and on his wife, Lu-shih-lung 陸氏隆, daughter of the official Lu 陸 family of the city of Wu-ting 武定, the honorary title of Kung-jen. As he had no son, he adopted his nephew, Lieutenant-colonel Mu Ch'ung, as his legal heir. The latter's wife, Kao Shih-ch'eng-yü 高氏成玉, daughter of the Kao family, native chiefs of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶, also had no son.

TWENTY-FOURTH GENERATION. — *A-hui A-chu* 阿揮阿住¹⁴⁸ (PLATE 35): Hereditary native Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Chung 木鐘; he was also named Yün-lin 雲林 and Yung-mou 永茂.

He was the fourth son of Mu Yao, and succeeded to his brother's throne. Since his childhood, he had been very simple, gentle and quiet in mind. He never was obstinate or disobedient. He was, therefore, much respected and liked by his people both inside and outside his household. At the age of six, Kao Ying-ying 高蔭映,¹⁴⁹ native sub-magistrate of the chou-magistracy of Yao-an 姚安, heard of his pure and gentle character, and invited him to his yamen for the purpose of giving him a perfect education. Kao saw that he was never fond of wasting his time by indulging in games. He consented to give him his daughter in marriage, and treated him as if he were his own son. After some years, Mu Chung begged leave to return home to attend the Imperial examination, but Kao was so fond of him that he could not bear being separated from him. Mu Chung then married Kao's daughter in his father-in-law's yamen.

In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720), the Imperial court sent a punitive expedition against Tibet and his elder brother and his nephew both lost their lives in battle. His country had no one to look after the affairs of its people; their official secretaries, therefore, invited Mu Chung to return to his own country, and made him administrator of all its military and civil affairs. In controlling the affairs of his fu-magistracy, he never neglected to follow the example of the best teaching of his ancestors. He had a very pleasant dis-

¹⁴⁸ He is called Aw-*khü* Aw-dzu in Na-khi, of which the Chinese is a phonetic transcription.

¹⁴⁹ From the time of the Ming dynasty the members of his family have been hereditary sub-prefects of Yao-an. He revised the *Chi-tsu Shan-chih* (Records of the famous Chi-tsu Shan 鷄足山 [north-east of Ta-li]), and co-operated in writing the famous work called *T'ien-hsi* 滇繫.

position and was therefore liked by his tribespeople. Because he was the younger brother of Mu Hsing born of the same parents, and was the uncle of Mu Ch'ung 木崇 of the same blood, therefore in the 61st year of K'ang-hsi (1722), after his brother and his nephew had died of illness, all his people joined to append their signatures to a recommendation on his behalf to the Yün-nan — Kuei-chou Viceroy Chang 雲貴部院張.¹⁵⁰ He was thereupon appointed to look after the affairs of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. The viceroy sent him a short note saying that, as soon as his family record was submitted to the governor as evidence, his hereditary right would be duly recommended and confirmed by official letters patent.

After having been in office for a little over 40 days, there unexpectedly appeared a man by the name of A-chih-li 阿知立,¹⁵¹ of the same Mu family. He, with some others, perceiving the bad state of affairs in this fu-magistracy caused by the deaths of Mu Hsing and his [adopted] son [actually his nephew] Mu Ch'ung, and seeing also that the official seal was securely packed, quickly seized the opportunity at once to accuse the late Mu Hsing to the governor. They unearthed old complaints and brought them forward anew. There were certain headmen who, during Mu Hsing's rule, had been organized by a few leaders of this district, and these men pretended to perform public services for the people. They called themselves the Wu hu 五虎 and Shih-ssu piao 十四彪 (Five tigers and Fourteen tiger stripes or Tiger-cats) Party.¹⁵²

These leaders, during the absence of Mu Ch'ung 木崇 and his father (actually uncle) Mu Hsing, while on service with the military expedition, tried in every possible way to rob the people of their wealth in the name of the Mu family, and, under the disguise of reformers, satisfied their selfish ends. Although there was little truth in the accusations which they brought, the Viceroy and Governor Kao 總督部院高¹⁵³ did not wait to examine carefully these false

¹⁵⁰ His name was Chang Wen-huan 張文煥. He was a native of Shensi and held the military degree of doctor. Although he is here called the Yün-nan — Kwei-chou Governor (部院) he was actually Viceroy since 1720.

¹⁵¹ Aw-dzhi-lër is the Na-khi name of the person who accused Mu Chung at the Yün-nan viceroy's yamen in Yün-nan fu. He lived in the village of Boa-shi mbe-lü (central village of Pai-sha li), a little south of Pai-sha-kai; the hamlet consists of peasants called Mu 木, descendants of Aw-dzhi-lër. In the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 3, fol. 17a, it states that in the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), the native A-chih-li, with Aw-ndo-zo (A-chung-chü 阿仲宜), Ho Ji-chia 和日嘉, and Aw-bpu-t'a (A-pao-t'a 阿寶他), went to Yün-nan fu to accuse Mu Chung and implored and begged the Viceroy Kao Ch'i-cho 高其倬, and the Governor of the province, Yang Ming-shih 楊名時, to nationalize Li-chiang, and establish a Liu-kuan chih-fu 流官知府 (transferable prefect) and reduce the native prefect to a native syndic or advocate.

¹⁵² The *piao* is also a mythical animal (called Gkü in Na-khi) which is supposed to be able to overcome a tiger.

¹⁵³ His name was Kao Ch'i-cho 高其倬. He became viceroy in the 61st year of K'ang-hsi (1722). He was a Chinese Bordered yellow bannerman. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 139, fols. 7b-8a, states that in the first year of Yung-cheng (1723) he memorialized the throne that the bad system of hereditary T'u-ssu should be abolished. His reason was that several headmen or chiefs (four in number) had gathered around them many followers and had robbed Yüan-chiang. Three hundred and twenty-six native village headmen also had rebelled, and he sent soldiers to suppress them. The Chung-tien La-ma, also the Tibetan headmen, led 3,500 families to submission. During the incumbency of Kao as Viceroy, the Governor of Yün-nan was Yang Ming-shih 楊名時.

leaders of the people, but, in the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), suddenly made a report to the Emperor, saying that Mu Hsing had been very covetous and cruel during his official life, and that even now his people were still accusing him.

He also reported that Mu Chung's 木鐘 reputation had suffered badly in his native place. Consequently the district should be nationalized, and the title of its ruler, formerly T'u chih-fu 土知府 (Native magistrate of the fu-magistracy) should be changed into Liu chih-fu 流知府 transferable prefect. Further, that the title Liu t'ung-pan 流通判 (Naturalized sub-prefect) should now be changed to T'u t'ung-pan 土通判 (Native sub-prefect). This report was duly registered and confirmed by the Emperor, and the district became nationalized on the 27th day of the fourth moon of the same year (May 31st, 1723).

After Mu Chung's return from Yao-an to Li-chiang he was busy day and night with military affairs without interruption. Since Mu Chung had assumed his official duties only for about 40 days, how could it suddenly be said that his reputation was bad? It is quite plain that he was unjustly accused by his people. Finally it became known that Viceroy Kao of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou had been for a long time an intimate friend of Nien Keng-yao 年羹堯, Viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan. On receiving the accusation made by A-chih-li against Mu Hsing and Mu Chung 木鐘, Kao planned secretly to take revenge for the murder of Pa-sung 巴松, who was the most favorite subordinate of Nien Keng-yao. At that time, when the members of the Mu family learned that their district was to be reorganized, all tried their best to seize official positions, and acquire some power for themselves. Mu Chung was thus left alone, his influence vanished and he could do nothing. He lived patiently without showing the slightest anger. In the same year, a new magistrate named Yang 楊¹⁵⁴ was appointed to rule the district of Li-chiang. On his

¹⁵⁴ His full name was Yang Pi 楊泌 (this character is also read P'ieh), and he was a Han-chün Cheng-huang-ch'i 漢軍正黃旗 (Chinese Plain yellow bannerman) of the literary degree *Chien-sheng* 監生 (the lowest degree to be obtained by purchase throughout the Empire). In the first year of Yung-cheng he was appointed Commissioner, or Collector, of revenue of the province of Hu-nan. Afterwards in the same year he became the first magistrate of Li-chiang. A memorial stone bearing the name of Yang Pi, whom it honors, stands outside the last village adjoining Li-chiang on the road leading west and to the small air field.

On the eastern slopes of the Li-chiang snow range, back of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö (Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪嵩村) and immediately behind the present Lung-wang Miao (Dragon king Temple) of that village (it is the last village on the western branch of the plain, at the foot of the snow range), there is a limestone wall or cliff called Gkwua-gyi-gkv-lu 'a-gko. *Gkwua-gyi-gkv-lu* (lit., control water inside), a place where issues a beautiful spring which was controlled by a headman; 'a-gko = cliff amongst. On this cliff is engraved the name of the first magistrate, Yang Pi, who assumed the position of Li-chiang magistrate in 1723. The cliff is called in Chinese, *Yü Chu Ch'ing T'ien* 玉柱擎天 (Jade-pillar which upholds [bears] the sky); this may have been intended as a metaphor for "a statesman who upholds the country." The words 玉柱擎天 are engraved in the center of the cliff in huge characters (p. 149 and PLATE 36). To the left side of the main inscription are the characters 雍正甲辰春麗郡守襄平楊泌題書: "In the second year of Yung-cheng *chia-ch'en* (1724), in the spring, the prefect of Li [chiang], Yang Pi of Hsiang-p'ing [Hsiang-p'ing hsien was in Feng-t'ien fu 奉天府 or Mukden] wrote this [central] inscription." At the base of the cliff are the characters *Yü Pi Chin Ch'uan* 玉壁金川 (Jade Wall and Golden Stream). Reference is here made to the snow range (Jade dragon Mountain), which rises like an enormous wall above

arrival at this place, not only did he not investigate the robberies committed by "The Five tigers and the Fourteen piao party," but he appointed those evil-doers as secretaries of the six sub-bureaux in his yamen and as Hsiang-yao 鄉約 (village headmen).

By using these men as his tools, Yang tried to search out all the possible mistakes made by the Mu family. At last they discovered a case. At the period when Mu Wei-hsin (Mu Hsing) was busily occupied with his allotted military duty, he could not find time to collect the land and grain taxes from the chou-city of Chien-ch'uan and send the revenue to the Provincial treasurer. He thus neglected the collecting of taxes for four years. Mu Chung 本鐘 was therefore instructed to go to Chien-ch'uan to clear up the account. In the meantime, the magistrate of that chou-city was secretly instructed by the new magistrate of Li-chiang to confine him privately. The judge P'an Ch'ao-ssu (shih) 潘朝士, whom he employed to look after his judicial affairs, was also arrested and imprisoned. His secretary was forced by means of severe tortures to hand over the official documents which Pa-sung had suppressed with orders to burn them all. His family was then carefully searched and compelled to deliver all the deeds and evidences of their ancestors' landed property. All official documents and dispatches concerning their past generations were ordered to be burned. Happily, his wife, Kao, was a well-educated woman, and could read and write Chinese very well, so that she secretly hid in a strong, safe place, all their Imperial letters patent, and the various medals and proofs given to them by the different emperors, in honor of past merits acquired by their ancestors in the service of the Imperial court.

As the rest of the documents and accounts of this district were burned, nothing could be discovered regarding the quantity of rice and the amount of money kept for public purposes, and stolen by the above-mentioned evil leaders of the people, and appropriated to their own use. In addition, the searchers never credited and put into account that quantity of military rice which had become mildewed and rotten in the barns.

They made a report to the viceroy, who instructed Mu Chung to deliver the exact and entire amount of official property, the public rice and money, without taking into consideration the damage that had been done in the past. Again, the governor instructed the new magistrate to make him pay the balance of over 10,000 taels of silver, which was due from Mu Hsing and his (adopted) son Mu Ch'ung 本崇 to the Provincial treasurer during their official tenure. The new magistrate, taking as an excuse this shortage of payment owed by the Mu family to the government, confiscated Mu Chung's 本鐘 private lands and the buildings thereon which were bequeathed to him by his ancestors. These amounted in all to 12 residences.¹⁵⁵

the Chin-ch'uan (Golden Stream — the Yangtze or Chin-sha Chiang, *i.e.*, River of golden sand).

To the right of these characters, engraved in a horizontal line, come the small characters. *Yung-cheng ping-wu hsia jih* 雍正內午夏日: "On a summer day in the year *ping-wu* of Yung-cheng [1726]," *Ch'eng-chün Nieh Jui t'i shu* 丞郡聶瑞題書: "This theme was written by the assistant prefect Nieh Jui." The name of this person is not to be found in the *Yün-nan T'ung chih*.

¹⁵⁵ These residences (*d'a* in Na-khi) were distributed over the Li-chiang plain. The furthest

玉柱擎天

雍正甲辰春麗郡守襄平楊秘題書

玉壁金川

雍正丙午夏日
丞郡聶瑞
題書

The confiscated houses were used as quarters for the soldiers and offices for the new magistrate, and for other public purposes. With regard to Mu Chung's ancestral landed property, the searchers divided it into two classes. First that which had already been sold or mortgaged to other people by his ancestors, with official deeds or proofs, and second that which had not been sold. From the first they tried to get additional payment, while the second was all confiscated by the government. His servants, house-stewards, and private secretaries were all discharged and forced to return to their native villages, to make their living by raising live-stock. The grazing lands were rented out, in order to obtain money to be used in the district for public purposes.

The investigators again questioned and interrogated his wife, Kao-shih-shou 高氏壽, and tried to make her hand over all their heirlooms of precious objects and valuable trinkets, but she replied that she had been in Li-chiang only for a short time, and had never seen a single precious thing bequeathed to them by the ancestors of the Mu family. What she now possessed had all been given to her by her parents at her marriage. She again said that those things kept by Wei-hsin Kung 維新公 (Lord Wei-hsin) (Mu Hsing) were all taken away by his wife, Ho-shih, while the legacies preserved by Lord Shih-ch'iao 世喬公 (Mu Ch'ung 本崇) were all given to his wife Kao-shih 高氏 (Kao-ch'eng-yü 高成玉). The searchers thought that what she said was true, and found no means to deprive her of her possessions. They gradually stopped their misdoings and felt satisfied with what they had obtained. They then falsified the ancestral records of the Mu family, and invented at their pleasure many false reports, which they sent to the governor. They only gave back to Kao-shih the book containing copies of all the official seals of the ancestors of the Mu family, and directed her and her husband to keep it for themselves for ever.

During this time Mu Chung was still detained in Chien-ch'uan. As soon as he learned that all his property had been confiscated by the government, he stamped his feet and beat his breast in great anxiety. From that time on, he could not eat at all, and gradually became seriously ill with vomiting. He was

north was Kwuà-d'a, at the foot of the snow range to the north of the village of Nv-lv-k'ò (Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪嵩村). The twelve ¹d'a or ³Ts'ä-²nyi-d'a were as follows: ²Ggò-¹dgyü-²hoa-¹tkhi ¹d'a was the residence of the Na-khi ruler in Li-chiang proper; the upper or ²Ggò ¹d'a ³Aw-²lv ¹d'a was situated at Pai-sha 白沙 or Boa-shi; the lower or ²Müān ¹d'a ³Ssu-²chër ¹d'a was back of the present Ministry of Education; ²Law-³shi ¹dtv-²ngv ¹d'a; ²Mbu-¹tkhye ¹d'a was situated below the Mu family temple at Ssi-li-wà; ²Wuà-²nan ¹d'a at Ssi-li proper; ³Shwua-²wuà-²ds ¹d'a near the village of Shu-ho 束河 to the north-west; ²Müān-¹bbu-²ggò ¹d'a, ²Müān-¹bbu-³lū ¹d'a and ²Müān-¹bbu-¹müān ¹d'a (these three apparently count as one), they are the upper, central and lower ²Müān-¹bbu ¹d'a and are situated on the eastern slopes of Sä-bpi zhër nv-lv or Wen-pi Shan near the lamasery ²Müān-¹bbu-¹nä (see pp. 176 and 185) hence the name. ¹A-²k'ò ¹d'a the first and oldest residence of the Mu family, see page 88; ²Kwuà ¹d'a situated by the village of ²Nv-²lv-k'ò, also known as ²Kwuà ¹d'a ³Ch'wua-²ts'o ¹d'a where the stags danced; ³T'aw-¹bpö ¹d'a or ³T'aw-²bbü ¹d'a because there they performed the ceremony of ³T'aw-¹bpö and last ³Lü-³khü ²wuà-²wuà ¹d'a situated near a small lake called ³Lü-³khü or Central lake, the Chinese Chung-hai 中海; to the east of this artificial lake is the small airfield which is lower than the lake and therefore useless because it is swampy. Near it is an artificial hill about 50 feet high, more like a pyramid in outline, this is called ¹Ssaw-²ngaw-²wuà it is 6 li distant from the village of ³Lü-³khü; there is also a circular temple called ³Lü-³khü-³wuà-²wuà, ³wuà-²wuà meaning round. On ¹Ssaw-²ngaw-²wuà the Na-khi chiefs caused beacon fires to be lighted when they wished to call the people together. (See also p. 156, note 8, and p. 219.)

sometimes dizzy and fainted without uttering a word; day after day he lay in his bed in a dying condition. In the seventh moon of the 3rd year of Yung-cheng (1725), he was carried to his house in his native place, and died three days after he had reached home.

His tenure of office as native magistrate of the fu-magistracy of this district, and T'ung-p'an 通判 (Sub-prefect) lasted altogether for two years only. During that time he had trouble within and without, and suffered so much that he was in tears all day, and held his head with his hands till he went to his grave. But the trouble had not been caused by Mu Chung himself. Whether he was right or wrong in his conduct is left to the judgment of his posterity, in fair conscience. He was born on the 17th day of the seventh moon of the 26th year of K'ang-hsi (August 24th, 1687), and died on the 30th day of the seventh moon of the 3rd year of Yung-cheng (September 6th, 1725). On the 3rd day of the ninth moon of the 13th year of Yung-cheng (October 18th, 1735), by a special Imperial decree of grace, the Emperor conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of Ch'eng-te-lang 承德郎, and on his wife the posthumous honorary title of An-jen 安人. She was named Kao-shih-shou 高氏壽, and was the daughter of sub-magistrate Kao 高同知, of the chou-magistracy of Yao-an 姚安. She gave birth to one son, named officially Mu Te 木德. His second wife, A-shih 阿氏, gave birth to two sons, named Mu Ming 本明 and Mu Chia 本嘉.

* * *

This closes the detailed account of the First Chronicle.

It is followed by the entire family tree of the Mu family beginning with Mu Te 本得, who lived from 1311 to 1390, and ending with Mu Te 木德 who was the last of the native prefects of Li-chiang. This is followed by a colophon the translation of which is at the end of the following chapter, the family tree for lack of space being omitted here.

THE HISTORICAL GENEALOGIES

CONTINUED FROM THE SECOND CHRONICLE

In order that the records of the Mu family be as complete as possible, the data missing in the First Chronicle are here supplied from the Second, though already partly translated and published in French by Edouard Chavannes.

TWENTY-FIFTH TO THIRTY-THIRD GENERATION

TWENTY-FIFTH GENERATION. — Mu Te 木德 (PLATE 37): His literary name was Fang-sheng 芳盛 and his given name Nien-tsu 念祖. He was the son of Yün-lin 雲林 (Mu Chung 本鐘). When the latter assumed his position, there appeared Aw-dzhi-lér who lodged false accusations against him. This man succeeded in having the native magistracy abolished and Mu Chung's property confiscated by the government. All the property and gifts accumulated by their ancestors through many generations vanished completely. Mu Chung had no longer any home, and 40 days or so after having assumed the position of T'ung-p'an, in which he had been neither confirmed nor appointed, he died.

At that time Fang-sheng was nine years old. In his home many had died, and he mourned bitterly.

He became hereditary T'ung-p'an at the age of nine, but his existence was precarious, his house like an empty jar, and he was poor and desolate. Yet he prospered and was apt and clever. Heaven gave him courage and understanding. He met Wan Hsien-yen 萬咸燕,¹⁵⁶ a *Chin-shih* 進士 of the city of Shih-p'ing 石屏,¹⁵⁷ who became his tutor and instructor. He studied the classics and readily grasped their meaning. His mother, Kao-shih, showed him all the ancient documents, ancestral papers and books which she had secretly preserved. He borrowed money and bettered the condition of his home, secured clothing and sufficient food. He consecrated all his efforts to retrieve his family after the reverses which had stricken it. When he was grown up and had gained both in courage and in knowledge, he submitted official reports to the different high provincial authorities, petitioning them to help ameliorate his condition. He went several times to the provincial capital, and thus wearied himself and nearly exhausted his energy. But he was not afraid of difficulties and dangers, and tried his best to create a favorable impression at official headquarters.

The viceroy invited him to an audience and granted him the native official farm and rice rent, in the form of 150 Imperial piculs of rice, and ordered him to visit [call upon] the Bureau of granary [at the four seasons] four times a year to take delivery. After that he had enough food for his morning and evening meal. He then obtained taxes in grain from the farms of Yung-pei, Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, and La-pao 刺寶, and did not lose his office and influence. He trusted the profound grace of the viceroy, and obtained from the glorious Imperial court abundant help. Afterwards he subscribed towards the building of a Yü-yin lou 玉音樓,¹⁵⁸ where he prostrated himself to show his loyalty.

He repaired his residence and rebuilt the old ancestral hall to express his filial piety. He sold the copper utensils of his ancestors and gave the proceeds to the students, and defrayed their expenses to promote literature. All praised his moral qualities and profound instruction. After his death the Imperial Government bestowed on him the title of Hereditary assistant sub-prefect of Li-chiang 世襲麗江府通判. He lived to the age of 64. He was born in the 53rd year of K'ang-hsi, the 4th day of the fourth moon (May 17th, 1714), at the hour of noon. He died in the 42nd year of Ch'ien-lung, the 7th day of the sixth moon (July 11th, 1777) at the hour of *ch'en* 辰 (7-8 A.M.). His wife was Kao-

¹⁵⁶ Wan Hsien-yen was a native of Shih-p'ing who became a *chin-shih* in the 60th year of K'ang-hsi (1721). In the second year of Yung-cheng (1724) he came to Li-chiang. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), on account of his special excellence (*Cho-i* 卓異, i.e., deserving of special merit) he was appointed to the magistracy of Ching-yen 井研 in Ssu-ch'uan.

¹⁵⁷ Shih-p'ing is now a magistracy in the district of Chien-shui (Lin-an 臨安), south of K'un-ming.

¹⁵⁸ There is a Yü-yin lou (tower) in Li-chiang. It stands to the left of the T'ung-p'an yamen. This particular tower was built in the reign of Wan-li (1573-1619) by Mu Tseng (19th generation) of the Mu family. — *Li-chiang fu chih liieh*, Vol. 1, ch. 4, fol. 36a. Fang-sheng received from the throne an Imperial tablet on which were inscribed (carved) the 12 characters, *T'ien Yen Chih Ch'ih* 天顏咫尺, *Hsiung Wei Ch'i Li* 雄威奇麗, *Chia Yü Tien Hsi* 甲於滇西, which may be translated: Close to the Imperial face (an intimate adviser of the Emperor, as close as a foot of eight and a foot of ten inches); magnificent and beautiful; and the best known in the west of Tien (Yün-nan).

shih-shun-ying 高氏順英, and she was the niece of Kao Hou-te 高厚德, native sub-prefect of Yao-an.¹⁵⁹ She was given the posthumous title of An-jen. To him were born two sons, the second was called Mu Hsiu 木秀, and he inherited his father's position. His first-born was Mu K'un 木坤, who died of illness at the age of 20, while at school.

Of some of the remaining generations only their names are known, of others their names, dates of birth, and death.

TWENTY-SIXTH GENERATION. — Mu Hsiu 木秀 (PLATE 38): His literary name was Chen-yo 鎮岳. Neither his date of birth nor death is given.

TWENTY-SEVENTH GENERATION. — Mu Jui 木睿 (PLATE 39).

TWENTY-EIGHTH GENERATION. — Mu Han 木漢 (PLATE 40): His literary name was Ying-yün 映雲.

TWENTY-NINTH GENERATION. — Mu Ching 木景 (PLATE 41): His literary name was Ching-yang 景陽 and his given name Shu-tung 曙東.

THIRTIETH GENERATION. — Mu Yin 木蔭 (PLATE 42): His literary name was Ch'un-t'ing 椿庭. He was born in the year *jen-hsü* 壬戌 of T'ung-chih (1862). He died in the eighth year of the Republic (1919).

THIRTY-FIRST GENERATION. — Mu Piao 木標: His literary name was Chien-i 建儀, and his given name Po-fan 伯藩. He was born in the year *chia-shen* 甲申 of Kuang-hsü (1884), and died in the 17th year of the Republic (1928).

THIRTY-SECOND GENERATION. — Mu Ch'iuung 本瓊 (PLATE 43): His literary title is P'ei-ming 佩明 and his given name Shao-fan 紹藩. He was born in the year *mou-shen* 戊申 of Kuang-hsü, the second moon and 2nd day (March 4th, 1908), at the hour of *mao* 卯 (5-7 A.M.). He is the present T'u t'ung-p'an 土通判 (Native assistant sub-prefect), but without any power whatsoever.

THIRTY-THIRD GENERATION. — Mu Sung-k'uei 本松奎, also written 嵩錕: He was born in the 18th year of the Republic, tenth moon, 7th day (November 7th, 1929), at the hour of *shen* 申 (3-5 P.M.).

¹⁵⁹ His ancestor was a certain Kao Chin 高金 who during the Ming dynasty became native sub-prefect. Kao Hou-te was the son of Kao Ying-hou 高映厚 who held the same position during the K'ang-hsi period. Kao Hou-te because of certain affairs was banished to Chiang-nan and the hereditary office ceased to exist. — *Yao chou chih*, ed. 1885, ch. 5, fol. 47a.

CHAPTER VII

COLOPHON AND NOTES TO THE GENEALOGICAL RECORDS OF THE NA-KHI CHIEFS

COLOPHON TO THE FIRST CHRONICLE

In examining the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom) we learn that at the beginning, when Li-chiang first belonged to Pai Kuo 白國 (White Kingdom), it possessed no definite name.

The ancestors of the Mu family originally lived in Tso Kuo 柁國¹ (Tso Kingdom); in the Chou 周 (1122-255 B.C.) and Ch'in 秦 (255-206 B.C.) dynasties there are no records about this family. Beginning with the Han 漢 (206 B.C.-A.D. 221) and Chin 晉 (265-420) dynasties, down to the T'ang 唐 (618-907), the family existed for many generations.

The Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Yüeh-hsi Kingdom) was originally one of the Liu chao (Six Kingdoms).

At the close of the Sung dynasty, there lived in the Mu family a man by the name of Mai-tsung 麥宗,² who was very wise and lived to a ripe old age. He was endowed by Heaven with special intellect. There are narratives of him in the records. As to his ability and virtue, he was superior to the rest of the people and was therefore honored by them all. Unfortunately, at that time there was not much cultural development among these people, and although this man possessed a virtuous character and had accomplished much, nothing has been recorded about him. He begot Liang 良; Liang begot Wu 兀; Wu begot Liang 亮; Liang begot Chia 甲; Chia begot Te 得.

In the Yüan dynasty, this family enjoyed peace, and its deeds filled many shining pages in its history. When the Ming dynasty was founded (1368) and the first Emperor selected Chin-ling 金陵 (Nanking) as Imperial capital, Chia of the Mu family knew immediately that the divine order of the succession of the Imperial throne had been established. He therefore sent his son with a number of envoys to Nanking to offer a map of their native land.

¹ The Tso-tu Kuo was the ancient Hsi-i Tso-tu Kuo 西夷柁都國 (Tso-tu Kingdom of the western barbarians). Han Wu Ti incorporated that territory in his empire and established the district of Tso-tu (Tso-tu hsien 柁都縣). In the sixth year of the period Yüan-ting 元鼎 (111 B.C.) it became the Ch'en-li Chün 沉黎郡. During the Sui dynasty it was called Han-yüan 漢源, which is 30 li south of the present-day Ch'ing-ch'i 清溪, governed by Ya-an 雅安 (Ya chou 雅州) in Ssu-ch'uan. To-day it is again called Han-yüan hsien.

Ma Tuan-lin is more precise in his *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao*, ch. 329, fol. 5b, for he states that during the Han dynasty there were about 10 principalities north-east of Yüeh-sui 越巂, of which the Tso-tu was the most powerful. He amplifies this by saying "the Tso-tu of Hsi 徙." Hsi was east of T'ien-ch'üan chou 天全州, the present-day T'ien-ch'üan hsien, west of Ya-an. Although in other works he is quoted verbatim, the character *Hsi* 徙 is omitted. In a note it states that Hsi was made a hsien (district) during the Han dynasty, belonging to Shu Chün 蜀郡.

² The Li-chiang Records state that Mai-tsung was a man from west of the borders of China and that he came to Li-chiang at the end of the reign of Sung Li Tsung 理宗 (1225-1253). The natives elected him as their chief. His son met Kublai Khan's army in the first year of Pao-yu 寶祐 of Sung Li Tsung (1253).

In the 15th year of the Ming dynasty (1382), Te acknowledged his allegiance to the Imperial rule, and T'ai Tsu, the first Ming Emperor, admiring his action, conferred on his family the surname Mu 木, and, by separate letters patent, granted him the hereditary right of magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. Te then conquered the T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge), guarded the Shih-men 石門 (Stone-gate Pass), and was given by the Emperor an official robe, a *hu* 笏 (tablet),³ and a golden belt.

Te begot a son by the name of Ch'u 初. The latter joined the Meng-chien 蒙臉 (the present Meng-hua hsien) Southern expedition, and succeeded in capturing the city of Lu-ch'uan (in the south), and opened Yung-ning 永寧 (in the north). He conquered Yen-ching 鹽井,⁴ a salt-well in the east, and thus gained considerable military merit. The Emperor gave him a gold medal and a gold belt, and granted him the power to rule over the territory of the Jung 戎 tribe⁵ (on the frontier).

Ch'u begot T'u 土, to whom the Emperor in a special order, granted his family the title of hereditary prefect to rule its native land. He authorized it only to proclaim the Imperial will to the people, who could not be conscripted for other places.

T'u begot Shen 森, who gained great military merit by joining the punitive expedition of Secretary of State, Wang Chi 王驥,⁶ who attacked the city of Lu-ch'uan 麓川 and was then promoted by Imperial order to the honorary position of Ts'an-cheng 參政 (State adviser). On his ancestors, male and female, the Emperor conferred various posthumous honorary titles. The merit of this family was also made manifest by the Yün-nan governor Ting 丁.⁷

Shen begot Ch'in 欽; Ch'in begot T'ai 泰. They all bore the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu, conferred on them by the Emperor. T'ai was a man of wonderful ability and thoroughly understood the science of divination according to the diagrams (*I Ching*, the Book of Changes), and Chinese philosophy. He was both martial and keen on literature. Thus he brought great glory and prosperity to his family.

³ The *hu* was a tablet made either of bamboo, jade or ivory, and was held before the breast at audiences of the Emperor (GILES, *Chinese Dictionary* No. 4962).

⁴ The present-day Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 in Ssu-ch'uan.

⁵ The Jung are considered the wild tribes of the west. There are many different clans, or rather, tribes, of Jung, among which the Na-khi were reckoned. The Hsi-jung (Western Jung) dwelled in north-western Kan-su and extended into the State of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) where they inhabited the district of Yüeh-sui 越嵩 and the ancient Ch'en-li 沈黎 in Tso-tu Kuo (the present-day Han-yüan hsien 漢源縣 in Ssu-ch'uan).

The Hsi-i of the Tso-tu Kingdom are apparently identical with the Hsi-jung of Ch'en-li, for the territory is one and the same.

⁶ Wang Chi later became viceroy of Yün-nan. He was a native of Shu-lu 東廬 in Pao-ting fu, Ho-peí. His literary name was Shang-te 尙德. In the sixth year of Ming Cheng-t'ung (1441), the Hsüan-wei-shih 宣慰使 of Lu-ch'uan, by name Ssu-jen-fa 思任發, rebelled. Wang Chi was unable to suppress him at first. He attacked Lu-ch'uan three times, and only then routed the robbers and destroyed their stronghold — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 120, fol. 13a.

⁷ His name was Ting Hsüan 丁璿 and he was a native of Shang-yüan 上元 in Chiang-su (Kiangsu). He also fought Lu-ch'uan, after which he was promoted to a Senior vice-presidency of the censorate.

T'ai begot Ting 定, who helped his neighbouring districts by restoring peace; his merit was great, but he did not bring it to notice.

Ting begot Mu Kung 木公, whose old age was spent at the foot of the Hsüeh-shan 雪山⁸ (Snow mountain). There he buried himself among his books, in order to understand thoroughly the ancient literary allusions. He and a man named Chang 張, who lived on the Yü Shan 禺山 near the city of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, and a third man named Tso 左, living on the Huang Shan 黃山 of Meng-hua 蒙化, were known at that time as the Three famous mountain scholars. The T'ai-shih 太史 (Imperial historiographer), by the name of Yang Yung-hsiu 楊用修,⁹ and many other scholars were his most intimate literary friends.

His literary works were made known to the later generations, and his scholarly fame was respected throughout our kingdom. His military merit, achieved for the Imperial court, was so great that His Majesty the Emperor personally wrote for him [an inscription of] four Chinese characters, *Chi Ning Pien Ching* 輯寧邊境 (Peaceful defender of My frontier-land), and in addition the Emperor gave him many other rich gifts. He devoted much time to the compiling of two copies of his ancestral record, describing all the honorary titles and glorious deeds of his family, beginning from his first ancestor down to his son. He built an ancestral temple in honor and for the worship of his ancestors. These were two of the chief things he accomplished to express his filial piety. For his family record, Chang Chih-shun 張志淳, president of one of the six Imperial boards and native of Yung-ch'ang and Yang Shen 楊慎, Imperial historiographer and native of (Hsin-tu) Ch'eng-tu 成都, each wrote a preface.

Mu Kung begot Mu Kao 木高, who was also named Shou-kuei 守貴. From childhood, he was clever in strategy. At 31 years of age he extirpated the rebels and conquered the village of Hsiang-lo 香羅. Later, he gained a great victory over the village of Mao-ch'ü 毛佉, and completely defeated the T'u-fan 吐番. Then again he conquered Kan-t'ao 干陶, and established some villages at Wei-yüan 威遠. His father, Mu Kung, was so pleased with his heroic deeds that he took out the gold medals and gold belt, and many other objects given to his ancestors by the different Emperors of the successive dynasties, and handed them to him, saying: "Follow the examples of your ancestors, and be loyal to your nation."

When his father became a widower, Mu Kao selected a beautiful girl, and offered her to him as a concubine. His father was well pleased and on excellent terms with him. In this we find the cause of the good luck which attended him. On account of curing his father of his illness with flesh cut from his own

⁸ The Li-chiang snow mountain is meant. At the foot of the range on its eastern slopes, north of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö, is a large grove of spruce trees, the remains of a large forest which in the time of Mu Kung covered the region. There stood a residence, one of the 12 homes possessed by the Mu family. The place was and is still known as Kwuà-d'a. To-day a small temple with statues of Buddha stands beneath the spruces. The temple dates back to the Ming dynasty. The temple has lately been dismantled, the beautiful murals dating back to the Ming dynasty destroyed and the building converted into a forestry station.

⁹ He is better known as Yang Shen 楊慎. It was he who wrote an introduction to the Chronicle of the Mu family. He had been banished for life to Yung-ch'ang in south-west Yün-nan. (See page 162.)



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 81. -- NA-KHI WOODCUTTERS

廠些伐木夫

On these primitive, solid, wooden-wheeled vehicles Na-khi woodsmen transport timber from Nga-ba to Li-chiang.



PLATE 82. — WARRIOR DRESSED IN HLI-KHIN ARMOR

古 麼 些 戰 士 盔 甲

Dressed in armor made of pigskin blades, lacquered red, wearing a helmet of iron segments, Hli-khin and Hsi-fan warriors, danced at Nga-ba prior to their attacking Li-chiang in the 12th century.



PLATE 83. — THE WHITE WATER GLACIER STREAM

五龍山白水河

Looking up the Pai-shui stream, the Gyi-p'ěr of the Na-khi, from an ancient stone bridge, elevation 10,000 feet. Spruces, willows and rhododendrons line the stream-bed. The rocky mass on the left is Nga-ba nv-lv; the higher snow-covered peak, Gyi-nà nv-lv.



PLATE 84. — NDA-ZA GKO, THE LOVELIEST OF ALPINE MEADOWS

Situated on a spur overlooking Pai-shui, at an elevation of 10,700 feet. The mighty mountain mass Shan-tzu-tou with its glacier which feeds the Pai-shui, overshadows the meadow. Forests of tall spruces (*Picea likiangensis*) surround it. The author camped here for weeks translating Na-khi literature.

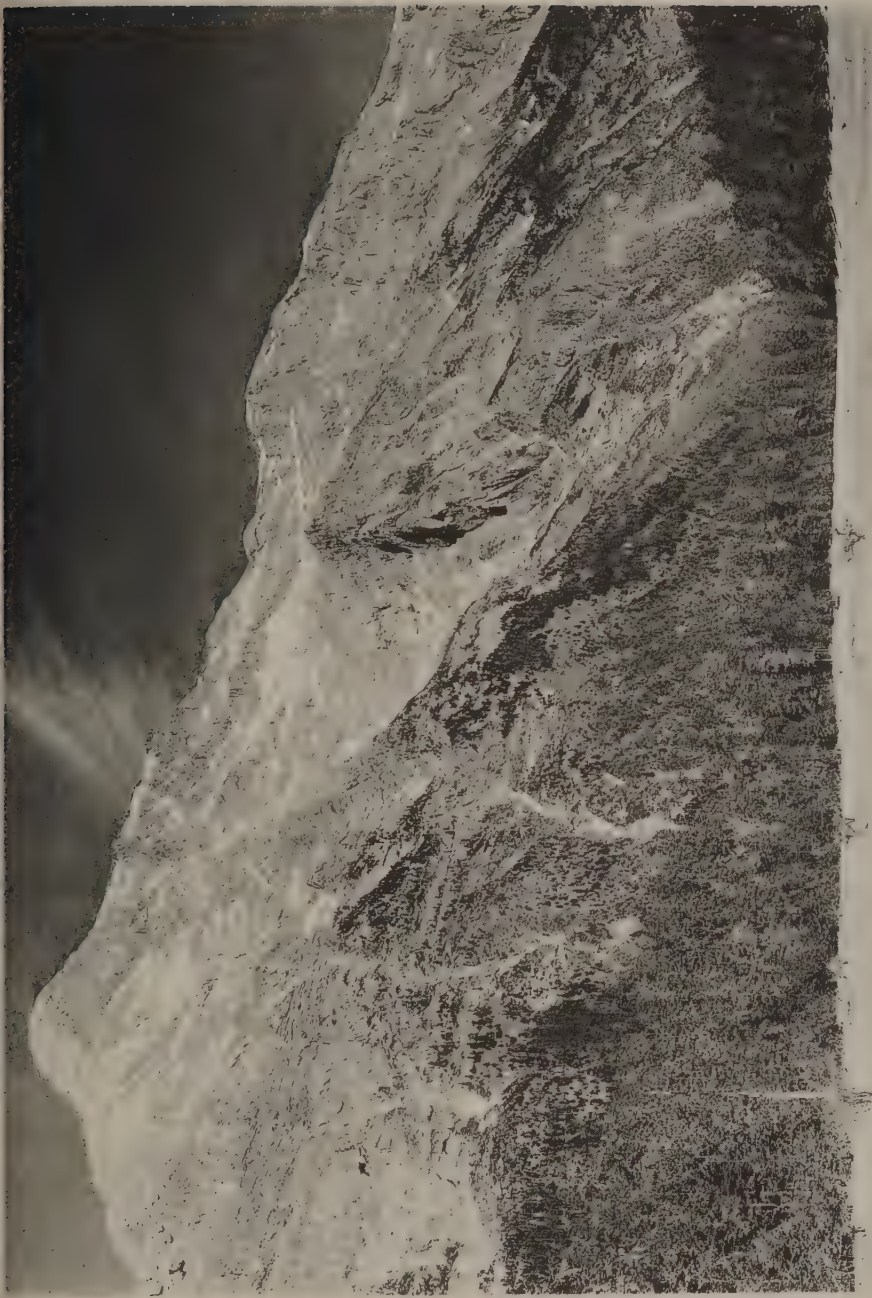


PLATE 85. — THE THIRD HIGHEST PEAK GVI-NÀ NV-LV

黑水雪山玉龍山第三峯

As seen from Nda-za gko, elevation 10,700 feet. Spruce forest near the base of the mountain, firs on the central slopes. In the summer numerous waterfalls descend over the limestone cliffs, while in the winter the snows are blown off the summit ridge.



PLATE 86. — LOOKING SOUTH ALONG THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

玉龍山

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

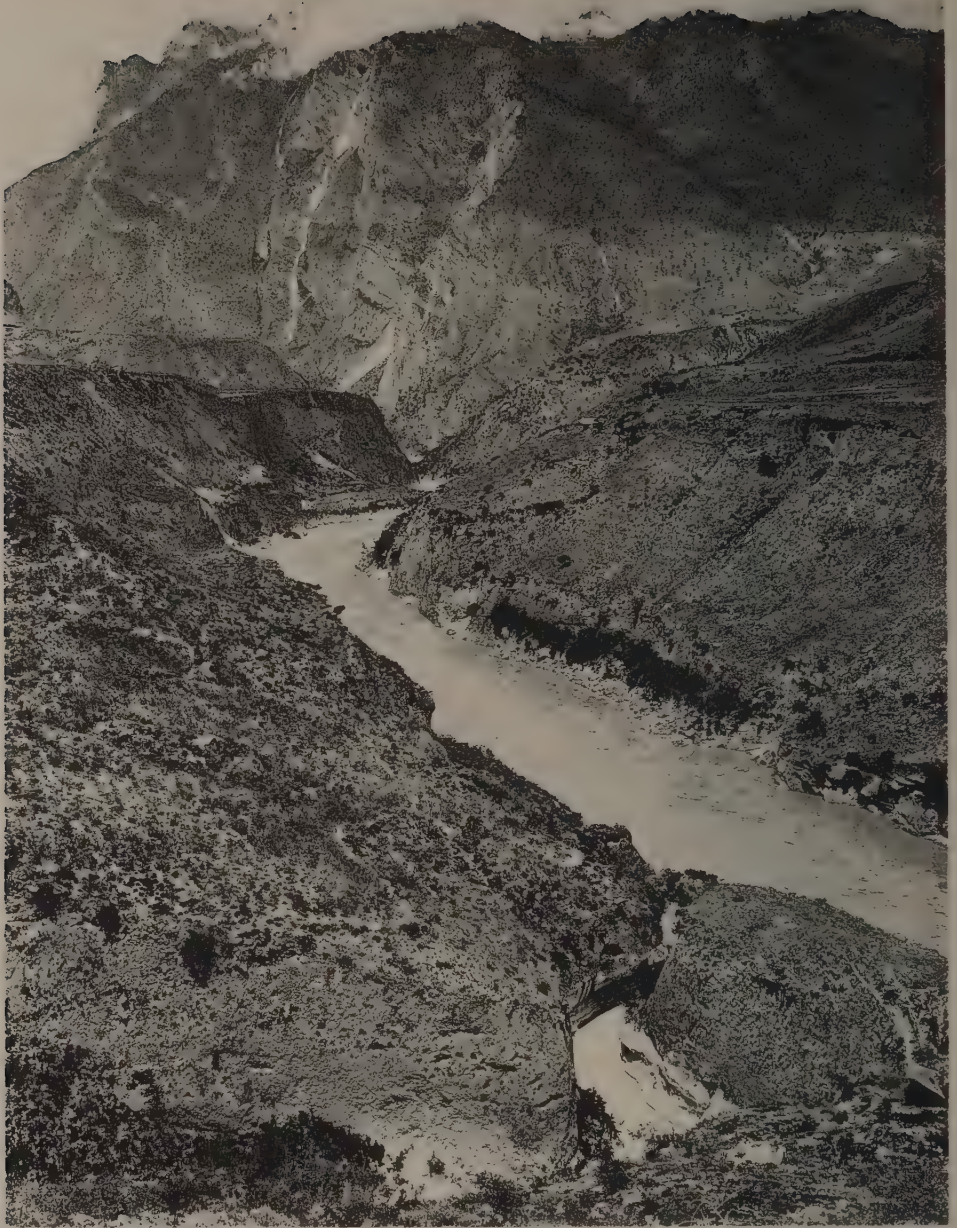
The grassy downs extend to Yu-k'o-lo, a gulch at the foot of Gyi-nà nv-lv. The trees are Abies, the only survivors of extensive forests which covered this region. Shan-tzu-tou in the distance (left). Gyi-nà nv-lv in immediate background.



PLATE 87. — ON THE SUMMIT SLOPES OF GVI-NÀ NV-IV

黑水山之冰峯雪嶺

The broad summit ridge is buried in its upper part by a glacier which extends north; many beautiful alpine plants live in the crevices of the limestone rocks. West of the mountain and parallel to it is the 'A-ts'an-gko range, see plate 89. Photographed looking south from an elevation of 16,000 feet.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 88. — THE CONFLUENCE OF THE CHIEN-T'AI HO AND THE YANGTZE NEAR
TA-KU

打鼓灘合河金沙江合流

The Chien-t'ai Ho has its source in the glaciers of Mt. Gyi-nà Nv-lv and the 'A-ts'an-gko Range; its greyish-white waters debouch into the Yangtze near Ta-ku.

limb, his glory became known to the world. The Emperor conferred on him the honorary title of Ya-chung ta-fu of the third rank, and the same posthumous honor was also conferred on his ancestors. Again, the Emperor sent him a message containing the following words of praise: "As to your fame and virtue, you have been both filial and loyal; with regard to your popularity and ability, you have been perfect, both in literary works and in military achievements." In the winter of *ting-mao* 丁卯 (1567), when he received the sad news of the death of the Emperor,¹⁰ he lamented so much that he was unable to rise from his bed. In the following year he resigned from official life.

Mu Kao begot Mu Tung 木東, who was also named Chen-yang 震陽. In the 38th, year of Chia-ching (1559), Tung was ordered by his father to attack the Fan brigands 番寇, whereupon he defeated them completely. In the years *ping-yin* 丙寅 (1566) and *mou-ch'en* 戊辰 (1568), he repeatedly gained great military merit. His father gave him also many Imperial gifts, bequeathed to them by their ancestors. In the third year of Wan-li (1575), Mu Tung crossed the river Ta-ch'ung 打冲¹¹ (in Tso-so 左所 territory) to attack the Fan brigands of Ta-tu 大渡. The Emperor then permitted him to build an arch in his native place with the following characters carved on it: *Hsi Pei Fan Li* 西北蕃離 (My Northwestern barrier). He usually tried to investigate the condition of the farmers, and helped their husbandry with money. In his leisure hours, his parlour was full of guests and friends. He would be deeply interested in writing poetry and would indulge in drinking wine with all of his guests. In the year *mou-yin* 戊寅 (1578) he lamented so much over the death of his mother that he died in the year *chi-mao* 己卯 (1579).

Mu Tung begot Mu Wang 木旺, who was also named Wan-ch'un 萬春 and Yü-lung 玉龍. In the fifth year of Wan-li (1577), Wang became the legal heir of his father. He was impetuous and terrible in his actions, and succeeded in completely defeating the Fan brigands. At the time when he assumed his official duties, the Wu-so 五所¹² secretly conspired against him. He quickly discovered their evil plans and destroyed them at once. After that, he became the more experienced and hardened in military service, wherefore he was able in his later life to conquer more territory. He was presented with an Imperial credential containing the following words of admiration: *Chung Kuo Heng Yüan* 忠國恆垣, "Your loyalty to your nation has been as strong as everlasting battlements."

Mu Wang begot Mu Ch'ing 木青, who was also named Ch'ang-sheng 長生 and Ch'iao-yo 喬岳. Ch'ing was well versed in the Six Chinese Classics, and was very skilful in calligraphy, which he wrote on paper with the strokes of each character resembling the shape of "old pine-trees and ancient cranes." Hence the poetic name given him was Sung-ho 松鶴 (Pine-tree and the crane).

¹⁰ The Emperor Shih Tsung (Chia-ching) died on January 23rd, 1567 (the 14th day of the twelfth moon of the 45th year of his reign) on returning from the Western Park to the Palace, in his 60th year.

¹¹ Ta-ch'ung Ho is the Wo-lo Ho in the Tso-so country of south-west Ssu-ch'uan; a branch of it is the outlet of the Yung-ning Lake. It flows into the Li-t'ang River which in turn flows into the Ya-lung. On the Chinese map of Yün-nan the Li-t'ang River does not exist and the Ta-ch'ung Ho flows into the Ya-lung.

¹² The Five So 所 (T'u-ssu), in south-west Ssu-ch'uan, *which see*.

Immediately after he had assumed his official duties, he contributed considerable funds for military purposes. He was, however, very pessimistic and, travelling on the white clouds, he became an immortal, and his spirit is still known to exist.¹³

Mu Ch'ing begot Mu Tseng 木增, who was also named Ch'ang-ch'ing 長卿, I-hsin 益新 and Hua-yo 華岳. At the age of 11, he lost his father, and became the legal heir. In Wan-li *chi-hai* 萬曆己亥 (1599), he supplied food to the cities of Yung T'eng 永騰.¹⁴ In the year *keng-tzu* 庚子 (1600), he helped the city of Po chou 播州¹⁵ in its difficulties.

In the year *jen-yin* 任寅 (1602), he submitted a report to the Emperor about the affairs of West China and was commended by His Majesty. In the year *ping-wu* 丙午 (1606), he received an Imperial patent by which the Emperor conferred on his ancestors various posthumous degrees of honor. In the year *i-mao* 乙卯 (1615), his capture of the Three Tartar leaders (San-ta-k'uei 三韃魁) and the Ssu-ma 司馬 (prefect), was recorded as worthy of merit. In the year *mou-wu* 戊午 (1618), he went to pay tribute to the Imperial court for the purpose of celebrating the peaceful and blessed 46th anniversary of the reign of His Majesty the Emperor Shen Tsung, who gave him many valuable gifts, and conferred on his wife the honorary title of Kung-jen. Again, he opened up new land, and contributed the products therefrom for soldiers' rations required in Liao (Feng-t'ien). For this reason he was especially promoted to the position of an official of the third rank. In the year *keng-yin* (this should read *keng-shen* 庚申) (1620) he offered money to the Emperor to buy horses, whereupon His Majesty praised him with the two characters, *Chung I* 忠義 (Loyalty and Righteousness). He then was ordered to exterminate Kao-lan 高蘭,¹⁶ the rebel of Pei-sheng 北勝. He was then presented with a gold belt. In the period T'ien-ch'i *jen-hsü* 天啓壬戌 (1622), the tribal chief She 奢 of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) revolted and Mu Tseng contributed funds towards his suppression. Hence he was given the additional honorary official title of the third rank, as well as a suit of official dress of the same rank.

He then applied to the Emperor for permission to retire from official life. He addressed to the Emperor a memorial containing ten suggestions in connection with awards; the memorial was composed in such a way that it might have been written by any great official of the Imperial court. Meanwhile, he requested the Emperor to allow him to offer sacrifice to the two great heroes,

¹³ Tradition relates that he went up the Li-chiang snow range to a peak called Ho-san yi-gkv, a prominent limestone crag covered with scree, whence he never returned. Apparently he committed suicide. It is very common for the Na-khi to commit suicide on the snow range, especially lovers. Such couples committing suicide together are said in the Na-khi language to have committed *Yu-wu*. (See my article, "The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi" in *BEFE-O* T. XXXIX: 1939, pp. 1-155.)

¹⁴ Yung-ch'ang and T'eng-yüeh in south-west Yün-nan.

¹⁵ Po chou is the present Tsun-i hsien 遵義縣 in Kuei-chou province.

¹⁶ Kao-lan refused to recognize the authority of Kao Shih-ch'ang 高世昌, the new chief of Pei-sheng, who had succeeded his half-brother Kao Shih-mou 高世懋, and rebelled; Mu Tseng took him prisoner and executed him. Kao-lan was a nephew of Kao Shih-mou who died in 1620.

Chang Ch'üan 張詮 and Ho T'ing-k'uei 何廷魁,¹⁷ and also contributed funds to relieve the families of the generals and soldiers who had been killed on the battlefields.

The Emperor praised him with the two characters of *Chung Chin* 忠藎 (Loyal and Patriotic), and promoted his official position to Ts'an-fan 參藩 (Administrator of the frontier lands). In the year 1624 he bequeathed his official position to his eldest son. In the year *i-ch'ou* 乙丑 (1625) he again contributed to the court additional funds for the pay of soldiers, and received then letters patent in honor of his grandparents. In 1627 he supplied many laborers to work on Imperial graves, and applied accordingly for an Imperial banner in honor of his mother's chastity. The Tu-yü 都御 (Imperial censor) Min 閔 also sent a recommendation to the Emperor on his behalf. In the year *keng-wu* 庚午 (1630) he remitted considerable funds to assist in the military expenditure of Kuei-chou, and transported money for the pay of soldiers to the Ta-ssu-nung 大司農 (Minister in charge of the Board of agriculture).

In the year *hsin-wei* 辛未 (1631) His Majesty promoted him to the honorary position of Yu-fang-po 右方伯 (Junior provincial treasurer), and the same honor was also conferred posthumously on his ancestors for three generations back. As the district school in the city of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶 was destroyed by fire, he contributed money to rebuild it. In the year *jen-shen* 壬申 (1632) the work of building this school was completed. In the year *ting-ch'ou* 丁丑 (1637) he supplied many laborers to work on Imperial graves, for which he was specially decorated by the Emperor. In the year *keng-ch'en* 庚辰 (1640) he was appointed as Tso-fang-po 左方伯 (Senior provincial treasurer). The Emperor issued an edict praising him with the following four characters: *I Tu Chung Cheng* 益篤忠貞 (Progressive, Faithful, Loyal and Upright), and gave him permission to build an arch in the capital city of this province, in memory of his deeds. But instead he saved the expenses required in building this arch and, in the year 1644, contributed the money to the court for soldiers' rations. When the Emperor Hung-kuang (1644)¹⁸ ascended the throne in Nanking, he conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-p'u-ch'ing 太僕卿 (Imperial grand steward). In the year *i-yu* 乙酉 (1645) both father and son, as well as other members of the Mu family, contributed funds for the pay of soldiers. Ch'en 陳, the Imperial messenger, sent a report to the Emperor on his behalf, whereupon the latter bestowed on both father and son various pieces of satin

¹⁷ Chang Ch'üan 張銓 (this is the way the name is written in the *Ming Shih*) and Ho T'ing-k'uei are listed in that history under the characters *Chung I* 忠義. Mu Tseng also received these two characters, but he is not listed, probably because he was considered a barbarian.

Chang Ch'üan received the degree of doctor in 1604. He fought in Yün-nan under Fu Yu-te, especially at Yung-ning 永寧, Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, and P'u-ting 普定 in Kuei-chou, to suppress the aborigines. He was given the title of Marquis of Yung-ting 永定. Ho T'ing-k'uei was a native of the military station of Wei-yüan 威遠 in Shan-hsi (Shansi). He received the degree of doctor in 1601. He became a fu-magistrate in Ho-nan. He and another official, by name Yüan Ying-t'ai 袁應泰, who would not obey him, lost the city of Liao-yang 遼陽 (Feng-t'ien) to the Manchu army who attacked it. He took his seal and with his two wives jumped into a well; with him died six male and female servants (*Ming Shih*, ch. 291, fols. 4a and b).

¹⁸ Hung-kuang 弘光 was a descendant of the last of the Ming Emperors who, when the Manchus established themselves in Peking, fled to Nanking where he set up his court.

embroidered with Mahoraga and golden flowers (for ceremonial robes worn by mandarins).

Mu Tseng was born to be loyal, filial, benevolent and righteous. He honored his mother, named Lo 羅, and his wife's relatives, and respected worthy people. In his leisure hours, he was always seen with a book in his hand, reading. He was the author of various books, which were made known by the commendations of many scholars. Again, he applied to the Imperial court for the Fa-pao 法寶 (Treasures of the Law [Dharmaratna]) to pray for peace for the frontier. He printed many Tibetan Buddhist books and used them to teach the tribes-people. He built a temple on Chi-tsu Shan 鷄足山,¹⁹ and a bridge at Lu-feng 祿豐.²⁰

Mu Tseng was both liberal and magnanimous and helped to build the road which led to Ssu-ch'uan. All his deeds of benevolence may be read in detail from the Family Record, whose preface has been written by Yang Yung-hsiu 楊用修, the Imperial historiographer. The legal heirs of the Mu family have succeeded one another as the rulers of this district for 27 generations, and their family has descended for 32 generations to the present Mu Yao. Mu Tseng had no brothers. His mother selected a virtuous wife for him, who gave birth to four sons.

Mu I 木懿, his eldest son, succeeded to his father's official position and was also named T'ai-mei 台美 and K'un-lun 琨瑜. In the beginning of the period

¹⁹ This is the famous sacred Buddhist Chi-tsu Shan 鷄足山 (Chicken-foot Mountain), which is also called Chiu-ch'ü Shan 九曲山 and is 40 li west of Pin-ch'uan hsien 賓川縣, adjoining the borders of T'ai-ho hsien and Teng-ch'uan hsien. Its summit resembles a lotus flower. Its name was derived from a sacred Buddhist mountain of India, the "Chicken-foot Mountain" (Kukkūṭa-pāda-giri), which is seven miles south-east of Gaya and known as the abode of Mahākāśyapa 摩訶迦葉波, a disciple of Buddha and a native of Magadha. He is said to come at various intervals to dwell on Chi-tsu Shan, and in 1931 it was proclaimed he had taken up his residence on that mountain. Consequently, all the Tibetans of the neighbourhood, and the Na-khi from Yung-ning, flocked there on pilgrimage. At the foot of Ch'a-p'ing Shan 插屏山 (a part of Chi-tsu Shan) is a temple dedicated to Kāśyapa and containing his image, which was placed therein during the reign of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶 (742-755). The temple is called Chia-yeh Tien 迦葉殿 (Kāśyapa Hall) and also Chia-sha Tien, 袈裟殿 (Temple of the Buddhist priest's garment). Kāśyapa was one of the main disciples of Buddha, but according to another conception a forerunner of Gautama; he is said to lie undecayed in Mt. Kukkūṭa-pāda near Gaya. When Maitreya the coming Buddha will leave his palace he will betake himself to that mountain, will open it in a mysterious manner, and will there receive from Kāśyapa Buddha's robe. Thereupon miraculous fire will consume the undecayed body of Kāśyapa so that neither bones nor ashes will remain. (Grünwedel.)

Mu Tseng also built the Hsi-t'an Ssu 悉檀寺, which stands on the Man-yüeh Shan 滿月山 (Mountain of the full moon), in the year *ting-ssu* 丁巳 of Wan-li (1617). In 1624 the Emperor gave him the Tibetan Classics and bestowed on his temple the name of Hsi-t'an shan Ssu 悉檀禪寺. In 1629 he built the Fa-yün Ko 法雲閣, and in it placed the Classics. In 1631 his son Mu I added to it and embellished the temple so much that it was looked upon as the finest on the mountain. (The gate to the temple and the *ko* 閣 or pavilion were rebuilt by Mu Yao 木堯.)

Again during the reign of Wan-li (1573-1619), Mu Tseng built the Hua-yen Ko 華嚴閣, in a temple of the same name, and placed the Tibetan Classics in the pavilion. In 1597 the pavilion was destroyed by fire — *Chi-tsu Shan chih*, K'ang-hsi edition, 31st year, eighth moon (September 11th-October 9th, 1692), ch. 4, fols. 4b-5b.

²⁰ This bridge is called Ch'i-ming ch'iao 啓明橋 and is situated 15 li south of Lu-feng; it was built by Mu Tseng in the period of T'ien-ch'ü (1621-1627).

of T'ien-ch'i 天啓, in the year *chia-tzu* 甲子 (1624) he assumed his official duties. Whenever he had to deal with political questions, he did not venture to settle them alone without going to his father for advice. After the year *i-ch'ou* 乙丑 (1625), when his father was getting on in years, he did his best to serve him according to the principle of filial piety. He carefully compiled the genealogy of his family, to manifest to its members the glory of their ancestors. This record is indeed the fruit of loyalty and filial piety and is the crystallization of the thought of its distinguished members. Its accomplishment is due to a long-sustained effort. I am now requested to write a postscript in continuation of the main record written by the Imperial historiographer Yang. As I am quite an ignorant man, I feel unworthy to accept this honor. Nevertheless, as I am now in the service of this family, and know very well that its members have been loyal and obedient subjects of the Imperial throne of the Great Ming dynasty, and because their heroic deeds of glory can easily be described in detail from what I have seen and heard, I should do my best to further this work, and dare not refuse to perform this duty. Although Li-chiang is a small, barren, and desolate land, yet its sovereignty has been kept in the hands of the Mu family without interruption from the Sung (960-1278) to the present Ming dynasty (1308-1644). Is it not because the ancestors of this family have been under the protection of Heaven?

* * *

"To the above record a colophon was written by Chu Kuei-lin 朱桂林,²¹ Shang-tung provincial treasurer, descendant of the Prince of Lu (Shan-tung) and defender of the frontier, on an auspicious day of the third moon of the spring season of the year *mou-tzu* 戊子 of T'ien Wang 天王 (March 24th-April 23rd, 1648).

"Corrected by Liang Chih-chieh 梁之杰,²² native of the city of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶 and a scholar of the second degree in retirement, in the winter of the year *keng-yin* 庚寅 (1650)."

NOTE ON MU TSENG

The most outstanding and most progressive of the native prefects of Li-chiang was undoubtedly Mu Tseng 本增, who was and is best known in Na-khi as Muan-ssä-bä (Mu Sheng-pai 本生白). He was always spoken of, however, as Mu T'ien-wang 木天王 (Celestial king Mu). He was born in 1587, took office in 1598, and died in 1646. He was a devout Buddhist, and welcomed the Karma-pa lamas, a branch of the Kar-gyu-pa sect, who later established lamaseries in the Li-chiang district. He himself was initiated in the Buddhist monkhood, as a painting of him as a monk with rosary testifies; it is now in the

²¹ Owing to the remoteness of Li-chiang and the lack of communication, the people of that distant region were not aware of the change of dynasty which had taken place four years previously to the date of the colophon.

Believing that the Ming dynasty, of which they had been loyal subjects, was still in power, but not knowing what Emperor had ascended the Imperial throne, the writer dated his colophon *Ta Ming T'ien Wang sui mou-tzu* (In the year *mou-tzu* [1648] of the Celestial King of the Great Ming dynasty).

²² He became a *K'o* 科 (scholar of the second degree) in 1633.

possession of his descendants, the present Mu family of Li-chiang. It is a large scroll, beautifully painted in somber tones, and his figure is crowned by an image in gold of Amitabha (PLATE 44). A biography of him, written on scrolls, tells that although the Mu family had long been converted to Buddhism, it was Mu Sheng-pai who had acquired the highest spiritual achievement in the Mahāyāna doctrine.

On Chi-tsu Shan 雞足山, situated north-east of the Ta-li Lake in a range of mountains, he erected in 1615 a pavilion called the Ts'ang-ching Ko 藏經閣 in the temple Hua-yen Ssu 華嚴寺, in which he deposited a set of the Buddhist Tripitaka. In 1617 he built a copper temple called Hsi-t'an Ssu 悉檀寺, and erected in its interior a hall called Wan-shou Tien 萬壽殿 (Hall of Ten thousand ages). In 1628 he solicited the Chinese court for a set of the Tripitaka for the purpose of depositing it in that hall. In recognition of this service the monks of the Hsi-t'an Ssu consecrated a chapel to Mu Sheng-pai, which is known as the Chapel of Prefect Mu 本太守祠.

In the lamasery of Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺 (Chieh-t'o-lin 解脫林; in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü) situated on Chih Shan 芝山, on the southern spur of the Yü-lung Shan, and west of the village of Boa-shi, the Chinese Pai-sha-kai 白沙街, is a small shrine with a statue of Mu Sheng-pai in a sitting posture.

He was a poet and an author, and was considered an excellent calligraphist. Unfortunately the printing blocks of his books, with many other objects of value, were destroyed during the Mohammedan rebellion. The Mu family was able to save by hiding in caves only the most precious and valued objects, such as certain books written by him, and a few scrolls which testify to his ability as a calligraphist. Two of these scrolls are reproduced here (PLATES 45-46). They are signed Tseng 增 and Sheng-pai Tao-jen 生白道人 (Sheng-pai the Buddhist, seeking after *bodhi*, or enlightenment respectively). The two scrolls are not complimentary but represent two individual couplets. The scrolls read:

T'an K'ung K'o Hsi Hua Han Hsiao 談空客喜花含笑
Shuo Fa Seng Wen Niao Luan T'i 說法僧聞鳥亂啼

Seng Tsai Chu Fang Pan Lien Yüeh 僧在竹房半簾月
Ho Ch'i Sung Ching Man Lou T'ai 鶴棲松徑滿樓臺

THE SHRINE OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHER YANG SHEN 楊慎

Yang Yung-hsiu 楊用修, better known as Yang Shen and Sheng-an 升菴, was a great friend of the Mu family. He helped them with their family records and wrote an introduction to the Second Illustrated Chronicle.

Yang Shen was born in 1488 and was the son of Yang T'ing-ho 楊廷和, a minister of State. His native place was Hsin-tu 新都 in the prefecture of Cheng-tu 成都, capital of Ssu-ch'uan. At the age of 24 he was already a Chü-jen 舉人 (Provincial graduate Bachelor of Arts), the second literary degree. In the 6th year of Cheng-te 正德 (1511) he was first in the palace examination, and became historiographer in the Han-lin. He died at the age of 72, in the seventh moon of the 38th year of Chia-ching (August, 1559) after he had lived

the last few years of his life dissipating and drinking. He had written over one hundred different collections of essays, and was considered the first poet of his time. During the reign of Hsi Tsung, period of T'ien-ch'i (1621-1627), he was canonized as Wen Hsien 文憲. Mu Kung and Mu Kao, the 14th and 15th generations of Na-khi chiefs, were his contemporaries and literary friends, and at the request of Mu Kao, the compiler of the Mu Chronicles, he wrote an introduction to the Second Chronicle.

* * *

Beautifully situated at the foot of the western hills which hem in the plain and lake of K'un-ming, is the Temple of P'u-hsien (Ssu) 普賢寺.²³ Adjoining it to the south, with a separate entrance, facing east over the lovely lake is the shrine of Mao Yü 毛玉 and Yang Shen (PLATE 47). The shrine is in good repair and on the altar between ancestral tablets there sits enthroned a figure with a very human and jovial expression, representing Yang Shen (PLATE 48), so different from the stiff and severe-looking deified emperors one encounters in Chinese temples. Walled-in in the enclosure of the court are several memorial stones giving the history of the shrine and also something of the life of Yang Shen himself, as well as of his father Yang T'ing-ho, and of his friend Mao Yü,²⁴ a native of K'un-ming and high official of Nan-ching (Nanking).

Over the entrance to the shrine is the following inscription: *Mao Yang erh kung tz'u* 毛楊二公祠 (Shrine of the two Lords Mao and Yang). In the center of the court is a very old Cycad (*Cycas revoluta*), and to the right and somewhat below it is a stone bearing the two characters *Hai-chuang* 海莊 (Villa by the sea).²⁵ The shrine has been built apparently at the same spot where Yang Shen

²³ The Temple of P'u-hsien is situated west of the city of K'un-ming in the li 里 of Kao-yao 高嶠 (pronounced *ch'iao* in Yün-nan). The actual date of its first construction seems to be unknown, as the records state it was rebuilt during the Ming dynasty, the 1st year of Cheng-hua (1465), and completed in the winter of 1466. It is located at the foot of Pi-chi Shan 碧鷄山 (Jade-fowl Mountain), a northern spur of Lo-han Shan 羅漢山, more commonly known as Hsi Shan 西山. The Pi-chi Shan faces the Chin-ma Shan 金馬山 (Golden horse Mountain) in the east. It is the Temple of P'u-hsien or Samanta Bhadra, who rides an elephant, and whose seat of worship is on Mt. O-mei in Ssu-ch'uan.

²⁴ Mao Yü received the degree of doctor in 1505. He was chosen to be Chi-shih-hung 給事中 (Junior metropolitan censor) of the Li-k'o 吏科 (Section of personnel) of Nanking. He had a villa at the foot of Pi-chi Shan. He was among those who remonstrated with the Emperor at the east gate of the palace, whereupon he was imprisoned together with Yang Shen and unfortunately bamboozed to death. His ancestral tablet reposes with that of Yang Shen (PLATE 49) on the altar of the shrine. He left ten volumes of memorials addressed to the Emperor.

²⁵ At the base of the small stone bearing the two large characters *Hai-chuang* a brief note is engraved which reads as follows:

"Records state that *Hai-chuang* is below Kao-yao Shan. Yang Shen sojourned there. He built the Pi-yao, a beautiful dwelling where he used to rest. Time has flown quickly and many generations have passed, and nothing has remained [of the villa]. The natives of the land themselves had practically no knowledge of the name *Hai-chuang*. Therefore this stone-tablet has been erected so that the same may not be forgotten.

"Written by hou-hsüeh (your pupil) Lin Sung 林松, also Ch'ien Mu-ling 錢懋齡, in the year *chi-mao* 己卯 of the period Chia-ch'ing, in the autumn in the seventh moon (August 21st to September 19th, 1819).

Lin Sung, whose literary name was Yü-t'ien 玉田, was a native of K'un-ming; during

had built himself a villa and where he carried on his literary activities whenever he resided in Yün-nan fu. Yün-nan became enriched by Yang Shen's involuntary residence, for he wrote many essays on this province, one of the best known being his *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom). The preface to the latter work is dated: "The autumn, the eighth moon, of the 29th year of Chia-ching" (September 11th–October 10th, 1550). We let the records found engraved on the memorial stones within the court, and here translated for the first time, speak for themselves:

Historical Record of the Shrine of Yang Shen

"Emperor Shih Tsung, in the first year of his reign [the first year of the period Chia-ching 嘉靖, 1522] wanted to confer an honorary title on Prince Hsing Hsien 興獻 [father of Shih Tsung], but the ministers at the court were of the opinion that this should not be done. More than 100 officials remonstrated tearfully with the Emperor at the Tso-shun men 左順門, of the palace. As a result of this demonstration which angered the Emperor, more than 90 of the remonstrators were bamboosed, among whom was Lord Fan 范, a native of Shen-yang 瀋陽 (Mukden). [This was Fan Tsung 范鏞, the great-grandfather of Fan Ch'eng-hsün who became viceroy of Yün-nan in 1686, and who rebuilt the Yang Shen shrine; his interest and feeling for Yang Shen were heightened because his great-grandfather was bamboosed to death at the same time as Yang Shen received his bamboosing, from which he, however, recovered]. Lord Mao 毛 of Tien-nan 瀋南 (Yün-nan) and Lord Yang Chieh-fu 楊界夫 and his son Yang Shen-an, natives of Hsin-tu, were also bamboosed. At that time Yang Shen-an, being the first successful Chin-shih 進士 [graduate of the doctors' degree] served as historiographer, while his father occupied an important position at the court. All died under the bamboo except father and son natives of Hsin-tu. It was because Heaven wanted to preserve loyal and reproving persons.

"First Yang Shen was charged with the duty of guarding the Chinese frontier at Yen-men 雁門, and Wen-chung Kung 文忠公 (the posthumous title of Yang Chieh-fu, his father) was dismissed from office. Yen-men [in Shansi] was at that time a barren and desolate land and would have made Lord Yang exceedingly poor. The Emperor, however, still bore a grudge against him and exiled him to Yung-ch'ang 永昌 instead of to Yen-men. Oh, how severe the punishment was!

"As Lord Yang, a son of good family, was thoroughly versed in the books of Cheng Shu 正叔 and K'ao-t'ing 考亭,²⁶ it is clear to us that he could not be

the reign of Tao-kuang he became a Sui-kung 歲貢 (3rd rank certificate from middle school). Ch'ien Mu-ling was also a native of K'un-ming, and became a Chü-jen (Provincial graduate) in *mou-wu* 戊午 of the period Chia-ch'ing (1798); he died at 54 years of age.

²⁶ Cheng Shu or Ch'eng I 程顥 (1033–1107) was a native of Lo-yang in Ho-nan. He was tutor of the Emperor Che Tsung 哲宗. He had many enemies at the court; in 1097 he was sent to take up a post in Ssu-ch'uan and was later recalled to be reinstated in the Imperial academy. In 1103 he was again in trouble and finally retired. In 1241 his tablet was admitted to the Confucian temple. — From GILES, *B. D.*, No. 280.

K'ao-t'ing or Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130–1200) was a native of Fukien and received the doctor's degree at the age of 19. He was accused of sedition, of magic, breaches of loyalty and filial

honored with high official rank. Moreover, the previously mentioned incident was a matter which concerned the conventions of the State. Hence there would be nothing of importance for the historiographer to examine in a thousand autumns [years] to come. At the risk of his life he fought for right, even disregarding the relationship of father and son.

"He then entered the barbarian world like a vagrant and homeless man. He improved the savage customs and taught those wearing mallet-shaped hair-knots and dressed in colored clothes, to understand the respect due the Emperor and elders. The reason why Heaven decreed he should not die under the bamboo was in order that the people on the deserted and remote border might express their gratitude for his kindness.

"When Lord Yang was first exiled to Yung-ch'ang many people felt concern for him. Yet he peacefully discussed Chinese philosophy with barbarian boys of the Mien 緬 (Burma) and the P'o tribes 爨. He discussed with them the peculiarities of the various mountains and the seas in every corner. Sometimes, while wearing a double hair-lock and flowers, arrayed in a crimson gown and with a powdered face, he would talk about *Tao* 道 (the Way) and poetry with his pupils. This simply means that he gave thought to the 'orchid of the Hsiang 湘蘭' and the 'iris of the Li 離花.'²⁷ He wanted to follow the example of Ch'ü Yüan;²⁸ until now people have spoken of this as an interesting story.

"At the death of Wen-chung Kung (his father) Yang Shen received the Emperor's permission to return home to attend to his duties connected with the burial of his father. Later on, because he had earned the displeasure of a certain high official, he was ordered to return to Yün-nan. As a result he died a sad death.

"Alas! When literary men are in trouble, it is very difficult for them to pay

piety, of seducing nuns, etc. At first these attacks were unsuccessful, but at length he was deprived of all honors and of his official posts. He was later partly reinstated, but was too old to re-enter official life. He revised Ssu-ma Kuang's history, which under the title of *T'ung-chien kan-mu* 通鑑綱目 became the standard history of China. He was called K'ao-t'ing after the place where he resided. K'ao-t'ing was south-west of Chien-yang hsien 建陽縣 in Fu-chien (Fukien).

²⁷ The Hsiang is a large tributary of the Yangtze; it flows through Hu-nan. The Li is also a river of Hu-nan, being an affluent of the Tung-t'ing Lake. The allusion is to be found in the poem *Li-sao* 離騷 (Falling into trouble) written by Ch'ü Yüan 屈原, or Ch'ü P'ing 屈平.

²⁸ Ch'ü Yüan was a native of Ying 郢 in the ancient State of Ch'u (Hu-pei). He was born in 332 B.C. and died in 295. He is famous throughout China as the type of a loyal minister. He enjoyed the full confidence of his sovereign until impeached through the intrigues of rivals. It was then he composed the famous poem *Li-sao*, which is an allegorical description of his search after a prince who will listen to good counsels in government. After he had sunk still deeper in disfavor, and being tired of life, he went to the bank of the Mi-lo River. There he met a fisherman who accosted him saying: "Are you not his Excellency the Minister? What has brought you to this pass?" "The world," replied Ch'ü Yüan, "is foul, and I alone am clean. There they are all drunk, while I alone am sober. So I am dismissed." "Ah!" said the fisherman, "the true sage does not quarrel with his environment, but adapts himself to it. If, as you say, the world is foul, why not leap into the tide and make it clean? If all men are drunk, why not drink with them and teach them to avoid excess?" The fisherman rowed away and Ch'ü Yüan clasped a big rock and plunged into the waters of the Mi-lo 汨羅. — From GILES, *B. D.*, No. 503.

heed to their own fame and fidelity. Although Yang Shen was both clever and wise, he was unable to hold his position as historiographer.

"Confucianism was poorly developed in the barbarian and deserted borderland. As soon as Yang Shen took upon himself the responsibility of educating the people, the literary men of Yün-nan began to esteem politeness and righteousness. They offered sacrifice to Lord Yang at Pi-yao 碧峯²⁹ and established a Shu-yüan 書院 (College) there in his memory, in order that the spirit of Lord Yang may roam at the foot of Pi-chi Shan 碧鷄山 (Jade-fowl Mountain)³⁰ and not vanish into the void in the Liu chao 六詔 [the six kingdoms which comprised Nan-chao 南詔], like vapor or creepers in the wild fields.

"Is it not true that Heaven spared him and decreed for him to lay the foundation of Confucianism [in Yün-nan] for hundreds and thousands of years to come?

"From the year *chia-yin* 甲寅 (1674) onward the rebellious Fan [Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 rebelled that year against the Ch'ing dynasty] savages had recklessly outraged all rules of propriety. The borderland was ravaged by wolves [troops or savages] and fire. Mountains, rivers, grass and trees, temples and pagodas in Yün-nan were destroyed. Even the place where the spirit of Yang Shen lived was overgrown with filbert trees, weeds, thorn-bushes, and ravaged by wild fire and will-o'-the-wisp.

"Long after the suppression of the rebellion the Chih-fu 制府, Lord Fan 范³¹ of Shen-yang 瀋陽 (Mukden) was ordered to take charge of the South-west. He visited all the mountains, rivers, famous places, mysterious regions and relics of Yün-nan. While passing by the ruins of Pi-yao and making inquiries at the gravestone of the Mao family 毛氏, he saw the grave of Yang Shen³² among the ruined and fallen walls. As he stood there meditating sorrowfully on Lord Yang's loyalty, simplicity, intelligence and fidelity, he could not help recalling the time when Lord Yang knelt on the ground at the Tso-shun palace gate.

"Thereupon Lord Fan engaged workmen and collected material for the construction of a hall. He bought a portrait of Yang Shen on which he inscribed

²⁹ The word *Pi* refers to Pi-chi Shan, the Jade-fowl Mountain famous in Yün-nan history, and the word *Yao*, pronounced *ch'iao* in Yün-nan, refers to the village Kao ch'iao 高峯, near which the temple and ancestral hall is situated at the foot of Pi-chi Shan.

³⁰ The Pi-chi Shan and its counterpart, the Chin-ma Shan (Gold horse Mountain), are famous in Yün-nan. The range from the village of Kao-yao (ch'iao) to the Lo-han Shan 羅漢山, commonly called Hsi Shan 西山 (Western hills), is known as Pi-chi Ta-shan 碧鷄大山 (Great Pi-chi Mountain). There is also a Kao-yao Shan 高峯山 which is to the right of Pi-chi Shan and actually a part of it. The shrine of Yang Shen, according to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 12, fol. 10a, is at the foot of Kao-yao Shan.

³¹ Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳 was a Chinese Yellow-bordered bannerman. In the 25th year of K'ang-hsi (1686) he became viceroy of Yün-nan — Kuei-chou. He left Yün-nan in 1704 to take up a higher post at the court. He died in 1714.

³² Yang Shen is, however, not buried in Yün-nan. His body was taken back to his native place Hsin-tu in Ssu-ch'uan. According to the *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 385, fol. 18b, his grave is to the right of that of his grandfather Yang Ch'un 楊春, one li west of the city of Hsin-tu, outside the Hsi Kuan 西關 (West Pass), where his father is also buried. The burial-ground is several li in circumference. See also the *Hsin-tu hsien chih*, ed. 1926, ch. 1, fol. 9b.

a eulogy, and to which he offered sacrifices in the hall. Because of this, the people as well as retired scholars again revered Lord Yang's influence and reputation; they also appreciated Lord Fan's filial piety, loyalty to the State and the encouragement he gave to scholars. The people dwelling in the far-off and deserted border region thus learned to know the meaning of paying respect to former worthies.

"They particularly rejoiced that on account of Lord Yang's exertions the defense of the State became as strong as a wall of metal and moats filled with scalding liquid. How admirably Lord Fan had acted!

"I have been in charge of the Salt Tax for three years without being properly qualified, and have often followed Lord Fan's advice. Having perceived that the filial heart of Lord Fan was worthy of imitation, how could I not rejoicingly take the responsibility of writing on his behalf the biography of Lord Yang?

"Thereupon I, Lords Hsü 許, Yüan 元 and Nieh chang 臬長 [chiefs of the court], bought a property of 300 acres, the produce of which is to be devoted to sacrifices to Lord Yang.

"Written by Wang Chao 王照,³³ native of Wan-p'ing 宛平 [a district in Ho-peil], in the period K'ang-hsi, the year *keng-wu* 庚午, Chung-tung 仲冬, the 2nd day (December 2nd, 1690)."

The T'ai-shih Tz'u 太史祠, Shrine of the Historiographer
(According to the *Old Yün-nan T'ung-chih*)

"The shrine is situated at Kao-yao-ts'un 高嶠村, west of the city of Yün-nan fu, and is dedicated to Yang Shen, Historiographer of the Ming dynasty. It was built by Liu Chih-lung 劉之龍, Pu-cheng-shih 布政使 (Provincial Governor),³⁴ during the Wan li period (1573-1619). Later on it was rebuilt and then fell again into disrepair. In the 28th year of K'ang hsi (1689) it was rebuilt by the viceroy Fan Ch'eng-hsün, who also bought some fields the produce of which was to be devoted to sacrifices to Yang Shen.

Selections from "A Historical Account of the Pi-yao College by Viceroy
Fan Ch'eng-hsün"

"During Lord Yang's exile in Yün-nan he had lived here and there: in Po-nan 博南, Lan-chin 蘭津, Ts'ang-erh 蒼洱 and Chin-pi 金碧.³⁵ He had many

³³ He took charge of the Yün-nan Salt Tax in the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (1681). He was a Yin-sheng 蔭生 (Honorary Licentiate).

³⁴ Liu Chih-lung was a native of Fu-shun 富順, a district city in Hsü-chou fu 叙州府 in Ssu-ch'uan. He held the degree of doctor.

³⁵ Po-nan must refer to Po-nan Shan, a mountain between Yung-p'ing 永平 and the Mekong, on the highway to Yung-ch'ang to which place Yang Shen had been exiled. The pass over this mountain is 8,150 feet above sea level. From there the trail leads to the village of Sha-yang 沙陽 and down to the Mekong where an iron chain-bridge spans it. This is apparently the place called Lan-chin, the ancient ford on the Mekong. On the slopes of Po-nan Shan at an elevation of 7,500 feet, 18 li from Sha-yang, there stands a temple called Yung-kuo

different lodgings. Wherever he stayed he led and encouraged young people. Thus the scholars of Yün-nan all tried to follow his example. Even after his death they continued to admire him and offered sacrifices to him at the foot of Pi-chi Shan, where Yang Shen had built a house for himself to carry on his literary activities. As time went on, the hall fell into neglect, although it had been repaired many times.

"After I took up my residence in this land, I inquired about the remains of Chai-hsien 謫仙³⁶ and mourned the ruins of Hai-chuang 海莊, the villa by the sea. Seeing that they had almost vanished, I became quite sad. Thus I ordered Lord Yang's shrine to be rebuilt on the right side of P'u-hsien Ssu. . . . After it had been completed I wrote of it as follows:

Ssu 永國寺. In that temple, situated in a large grove of wild chestnuts (*Castanopsis*), on the lonely slopes, far away from any human habitation, I spent a very peaceful night from October 2nd to the morning of October 3rd, 1922. Here in the court of the temple grew a large magnoliaceous tree which proved to be a new species: *Michelia lanceolata* Wilson.

The temple dates from the Ming dynasty, as an old bell cast during that dynasty, and hanging in the vestibule of the temple, testifies. Two large stone-tablets stand to the left of it. On the main tablet is inscribed the same story which occurs in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 下, fol. 69a, about the song "Singing while crossing the Mekong" (*Tu Lan-ts'ang ko 渡蘭滄歌*). In the *Shui-ching chu* 水經注 it is said that in the time of Han Ming Ti (58-75) a road was opened over the Po-nan Shan to where the Mekong could be forded. Travellers thought it difficult and thus sang the following: "The virtue of the Han dynasty was so far-reaching that for the benefit of others a road was opened to the wild regions over the Po-nan Shan via Lan-chin to where the Mekong could be forded."

The memorial stone further states that the mountain is also called Chin-lang 金浪, and that another but wrongly applied name is Ting-tang Shan 叮嚮山. This name also appears in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, edit. 1894, ch. 98, fol. 9a. There it relates that the temple used to be situated on the summit of that mountain, and that it was built by the Buddhist priest Shu Ch'ang 書常. In the 36th year of K'ang-hsi (1697) the magistrate Ch'eng I 程奕 removed the temple to a terrace on the slopes of the same mountain. Yang Shen himself according to the memorial stone, confirms that the name Ting-tang Shan is incorrect. At the end of the Ming dynasty, we learn from the same stone, that Prince Chin 晉王 (Sun K'o-wang 孫可望) and Li Ting-kuo 李定國 (an adopted son of the robber Chang Hsien-chung 張獻忠) fought Manchu troops on this mountain. In the reign of Ming Yung-li 明永曆 (1647) Chin Wang inscribed four characters on a wooden tablet: *Ning Hsi Ch'an Ssu* 寧西禪寺, "Buddhist temple of the peaceful West."

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 24, fol. 25a, states: "According to the old *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* the mountain is situated 45 li west of Yung-p'ing hsien 永平縣. It is also called Chin-lang tien 金浪巔, and is commonly misnamed Ting-tang Shan 叮嚮山. It is 20 li high and has many steep slopes and cliffs. It serves as an important passage to the Western Frontier. The hsien of Po-nan was named after it during the Han dynasty. It is the present Yung-p'ing hsien. The *Ming I-p'ung chih* 明一統志 says: "It is the mountain over which Han Wu Ti [140-87 B.C.] opened a road. The P'u man 蒲蠻 (P'u savages) go in and out of their land by way of this mountain. In ancient days the Nan-chao Kingdom sent a general on a punitive expedition against Burma. His soldiers sent back gold and other treasures over this mountain where they were met by robbers. After the death of the general a temple was built called the Chin-lang-tien shan-shen Tz'u 金浪巔山神祠. At the foot of its northern slope is a spring which is the source of the Hua-ch'iao Ho 花橋河 (Flower bridge River)."

The *Tien-lüeh* 滇略 says: "On the mountain is an iron column." Lan-chin refers to the ford on the Mekong previously mentioned, while Ts'ang-erh refers to the Ts'ang Shan west of Ta-li, and the Erh Hai or Ta-li Lake. *Chin* is the first word in the name of the Golden Horse Mountain, Chin-ma Shan, to the east of K'un-ming, and *Pi* is the first word in the Pi-chi Shan (Jade-fowl Mountain) at the foot of which Yang Shen had built himself a house.

³⁶ *Chai-hsien* means to be banished to earth from heaven; this has reference to Yang Shen's banishment from the Imperial court to the savage regions of south-western Yün-nan.

“‘Pi-yao College was originally the name given by Lord Yang to the villa of the Mao family. The villa exists no more. But as the mountain has not changed its color, and the place has not changed its name, I give the name of the former villa to the shrine, thereby commemorating the fidelity of Lord Mao.’”

Quoted from the inscription on a large memorial stone walled-in in the south enclosure of the court of the shrine. The beginning of the text is somewhat hidden by the wall, and the stone is cracked in three places. The same text can, however, be found in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 88, fols. 27b-28b.

PART III

THE GEOGRAPHY OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

THE BOUNDARIES AND SUB-DISTRICTS OF LI-CHIANG

The ancient boundaries. — According to the *Tien-hsi*, ch. 1, fols. 25b-26a (of 1808), Li-chiang is north-west of the capital of Yün-nan (PLATE 50). In the east it borders on the district of Yung-peï (the present Yung-sheng), a distance of 400 li; in the west, on the territory of the Nu-i 怒夷 (Lu-tzu), a tribe inhabiting the valley of the Salween or Nu Chiang 怒江 (潞江), a distance of 670 li; south, to the border of Ta-li fu and Lang-k'ung hsien 浪穹縣, 240 li; north, to Chung-tien, a distance of 45 li; south-west to Yün-lung 雲龍, 619 li; north-west to Wei-hsi 維西, 450 li.

From Li-chiang to the capital of Yün-nan is a distance of 1,240 li. The width of the Li-chiang district from east to west is 670 li, and from south to north 310 li.

According to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 8a, the ancient boundaries of the Li-chiang district were as follows: "In the east it bordered on the territory of Yung-peï fu, a distance of 130 li; in the west on the land of the Nu-i, a distance of 640 li; in the south on the prefecture of Ho-ch'ing (fu), 45 li distant; in the north on the district of Chung-tien, 55 li distant. In the south-east also, on Ho-ch'ing fu, but 135 li distant; south west on the prefecture of Ta-li (fu) and Yün-lung chou, a distance of 630 li; north-east on the territory of Yung-ning, governed by Yung-peï, a distance of 450 li; in the north-west on Wei-hsi, governed by Ho-ch'ing, a distance of 457 li. The width of the Li-chiang district from east to west was 770 li, and its length from south to north 100 li."

This was the extent of the Li-chiang territory in the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung (1743). The present extent of the district is considerably less. In the east the Yangtze is the border to the iron chain-bridge at Ching-li 井里¹ (Dsi-li in Na-khi). The present border extends south to Ch'i-ho 七河, south-west to Chiu-ho 九河, west and north-west again to the Yangtze and including Lu-tien 魯甸; north to Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, and north-east to Shang (Upper) Feng-k'o 上捧可, on the Yangtze, which forms here the border between Li-chiang and Yung-ning.

The ancient city of Li-chiang. — "In ancient days, Li-chiang was known as the native prefectural city and possessed no wall.

"In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723) a tamped earth wall was erected at the request of the Yün-nan viceroy. The foundation was constructed of rock and the top was covered with tiles. It was four li in circumference, ten Chinese feet high, and had four gates with gate-towers. A small west gate was also built. In the 16th year of Ch'ien-lung (1751) there was an earthquake which

¹ Also written Tzu-li 梓里.

caused the wall to collapse, whereupon magistrate Fan Hao-jen 樊好仁 repaired or rebuilt it. In the 58th year (1793) it fell again, but this time an order was received not to rebuild it. In the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873) the Provincial Governor, Ch'en Yü-ying 岑毓英, petitioned for permission to construct a brick wall. The east gate was called Hsiang-jih 向日 (Facing the sun), the south gate, Ying-en 迎恩; the west gate, Fu-yüan 服遠; the north gate, Kung-chi 拱極 (Saluting the polar star). The small west gate was called Yin-yü 飲玉 [Swallowing the Jade (dragon mountain) gate]."

To-day no wall remains save a small section east and north of the yamen, in the north-east corner of the town, and even that is in ruins.

THE PRESENT PREFECTURE AND TOWN OF LI-CHIANG

The present boundaries. — The prefecture of Li-chiang lies between two large rivers, the Yangtze (Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江) and the Mekong. (Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江, also written Lang-ts'ang Chiang 浪滄江; this latter name is more commonly used in Li-chiang). The prefecture is divided into six ch'ü 區 (sub-districts) and 23½ li 里 (now called hsiang 鄉). (A li 里 is a group of villages situated usually around a larger central one after which the li is named. It might be termed a commune or a borough.) The first ch'ü comprises the li Ta-yen 大研, Pai-ma 白馬 and Tung-yüan 東元里; the second, Pai-sha 白沙, Shu-ho (pronounced Ssu in Li-chiang) 束河, La-sha 刺沙, La-shih 刺是 and Mu-pao 木保; the third, La-p'iao 刺縹 with its two divisions of Shang 上 and Hsia 下, Nan-shan 南山, Ch'i-ho 七河, Wu-lieh 吳烈 and Tung-ni-lo 東你羅; the fourth, Shih-ku 石鼓, A-hsi 阿喜, Hsiang-ko 香閣 and Chiu-ho 九河; the fifth, Chü-tien 巨甸, Lu-tien 魯甸 and Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭; the sixth, Ta-chü 大具, La-pao 刺寶, Tung-shan 東山里; and the half-li Tung-hsiang-ko 東香閣.

The present Li-chiang prefecture is bordered on the east by the prefecture of Yung-sheng (Yung-pei); north-east by the Mu-li T'u-ssu 本裏土司 of Hsi-k'ang and the adjoining Yung-ning; south by the prefecture of Ho-ch'ing; south-west by the prefecture of Chien-ch'uan; west by the two prefectures of Lan-p'ing and Wei-hsi; north by the prefecture of Chung-tien.

The distances of the present prefecture to its borders, reckoned from the prefectural city of Li-chiang, are as follows: to the Yung-sheng border at Ching-li or Tzu-li-chiang 梓里江, where exists the only bridge over the Yangtze 130 li; south to Ho-ch'ing 80 li; west to Lan-p'ing 250 li; to the border of Wei-hsi 450 li; north to the border of Chung-tien 60 li.

The distance from Li-chiang to K'un-ming, capital of the province, is 1,240 li, in 18 stages. Since the construction of a motor road to Ta-li, Li-chiang can be reached in eight days (1938). A motor road to Li-chiang is also under construction (1939). It was not completed in 1944 when I last left Li-chiang.

The town of Li-chiang. — Li-chiang (beautiful river) (PLATE 50) is known as Yi-gv to the Na-khi of outlying districts such as La-bpu and the villages on the banks of the Yangtze. The Na-khi of the Li-chiang plain, however, always speak of the town as Ngu-bä. One meaning of the word *ngu* is a very large box, and *bä* means to do, to make. The size of the town is thus compared to a very large box, and *bä* means that everything is obtainable therein. Another mean-



PLATE 80. — THE SOUTHERN PEAKS OF 'A-TS'AN-GKO

木 村 山, 木 公 山, 木 高 山

The first is A-ssu ny-ly or Mu tseng Shan, it is the second highest peak of the Yü-lung Shan; the second is A ku ny-ly or Mu-kung Shan; the third A mbu ny-ly or Mu-kao Shan. In foreground the summit slopes of Gyi-na ny-ly. The Yangtze flows more than 10,000 feet below the peaks.



PLATE 90. — THE NORTHERN CRAGS OF 'A-TS'AN-GKO

玉龍山北末巖

The Yangtze flows several thousand feet below these crags, a continuation of the peaks shown on Plate 89. The last broad peak (extreme right), the fourth highest of the Yü-lung Shan is Ha-ba ndsher nv-iv (Ha-pa Shan 哈巴山); it is separated from the crags by the Yangtze, which here cuts through the snow range and forms the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge.

The trees on the slopes are Abies.

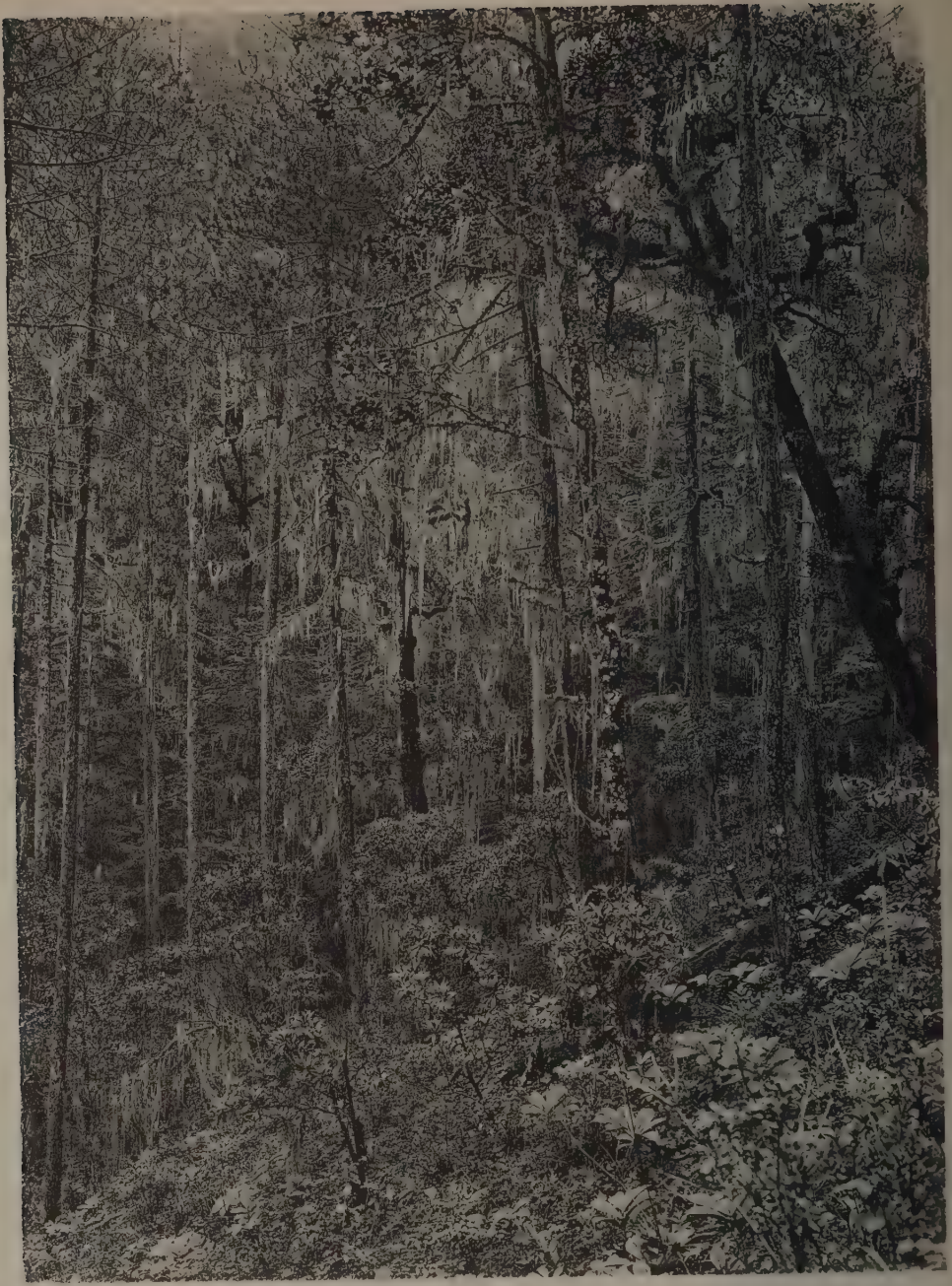


(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 91. — THE ALPINE REGION GY-SSU-GKO DÜ-MAN

玉龍高山牧場

The author's camp in a sea of Anemones, Primulas, ground orchids and other alpine flowers. The region was formerly covered with dense fir forest, a few trees have still survived. The peak in center is Shan-tzu-tou; the one in extreme upper right, Gyi-nà nv-iv. Photographed after a midday storm. Elevation 12,500 feet.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 92. — VIRGIN, MIXED FOREST ON THE EASTERN SLOPES OF YÜ-LUNG SHAN

玉龍山東斜面混雜原生林

Forest of evergreen and deciduous trees covers the mountain slope between Hei-shui and Ta-ku at an elevation of 10,000 to 10,700 feet. The trees are mainly *Pinus yunnanensis*, *Pinus Armandi*, *Quercus semicarpifolia*, *Tsuga yunnanensis*, *Acer*, *Sorbus*, etc. The undergrowth is formed by *Rhododendron decorum* and *Rhod. rubiginosum*, *Lonicera* and *Rodgersia pinnata* (lower left). The lichen *Usnea longissima* festoons the trees.

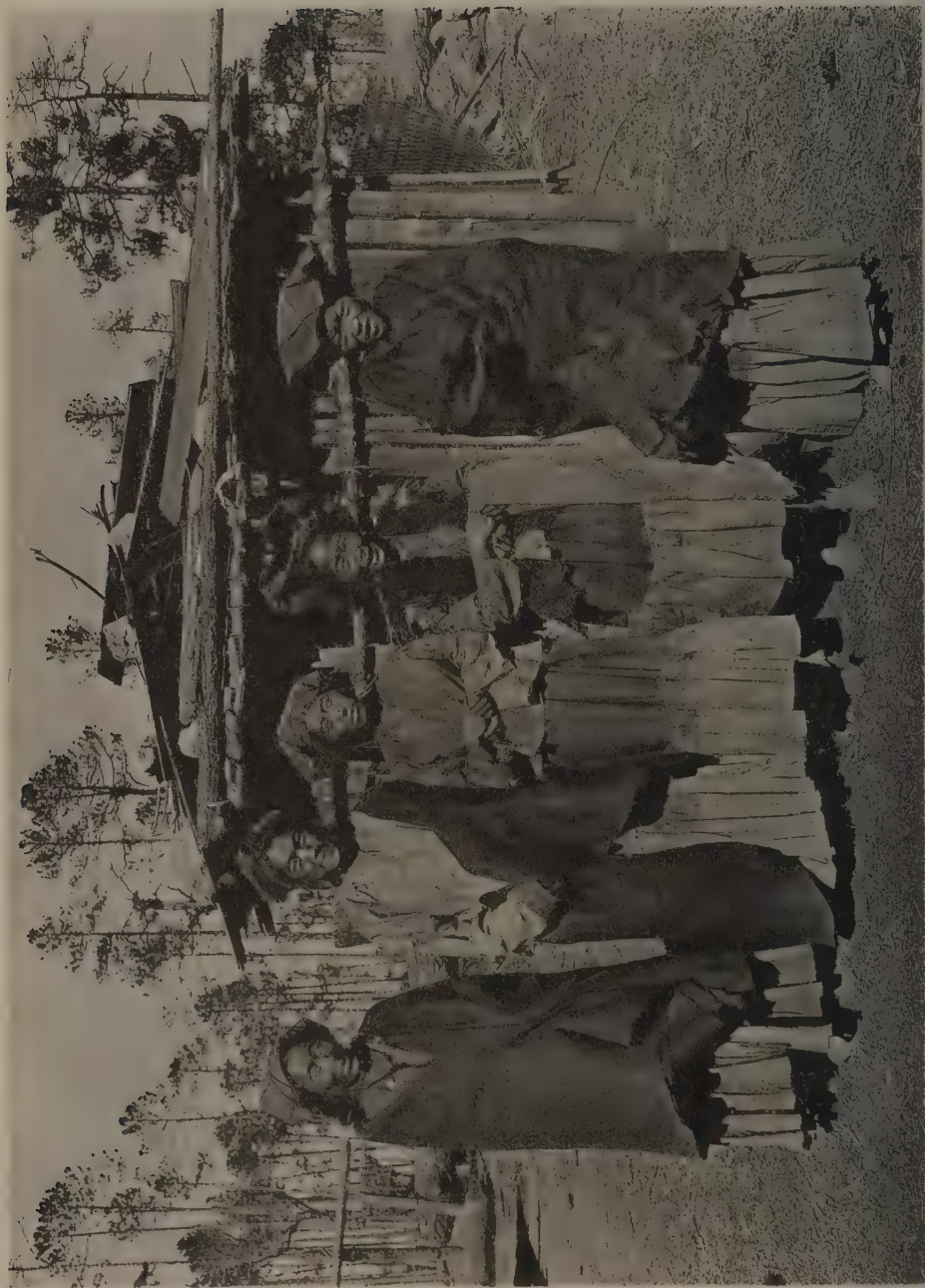


(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 93. — THE PINE FOREST OF GHÜGH-T'O WANTONLY DESTROYED BY LO-LO TRIBESPEOPLE

羅 架 火 燬 松 林

Lo-lo squatters set fire to this forest which burned for weeks, enshrouding the land in clouds of smoke. The Lo-lo are the enemy of every tree, and wherever they settle they cause wanton destruction. Since the Lo-lo have been driven out some ten years ago, the forest is gradually coming back again.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 94. — LO-LO WOMEN AT GHÜGH-T'Ö

羅 渠 種 婦 女

Women as well as men wear the black felt cloak. They live in the most primitive fashion; their houses made of pine boards, tied together with vines, are not much better than pigsties.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 95. — LO-LO TRIBAL MEN FROM GHÜGH-T'O

羅 猓 種 男 子

When not occupied cultivating their land, they held up lonely travellers and robbed their Na-khi and Chinese neighbors.



PLATE 96. — NA-KHI PEASANTS OF MBA-YI-WÜA

鳴音腰些農夫

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

Na-khi farmers from the Yangtze loop still live a primitive existence untouched by Chinese civilization. The men are tall and sturdy and wear large dark blue turbans.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 97.—A NA-KHI WOMAN FROM MBA-YI-WUA

鳴 昔 吾 麼 些 農 婦

She still wears the ancient, Na-khi pleated skirt of homespun with blue border.
Note the huge earrings.



PLATE 98. — MOUNT GYI-NÀ NV-IV AND THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO RANGE

黑水雪山

As seen from near Mba-yi-wua. The broad mountain mass (left) is Gyi-nà nv-iv; the peaks and crags behind form the 'A-ts'an-gko range back of which the Yangtze flows in a gorge more than 10,000 feet deep. Pine forest in foreground. See also Plates 89 and 90.

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 99. — THE NA-KHI VILLAGE OF LA-ZÄ

刺 賣 麼 些 村

La-zä which consists of about 40 houses is situated at 8,000 feet elevation. A terrific rock-gate (center) opens out into the Yangtze gorge, through it a trail leads to La-bpu 'A-k'o; see Plate 100.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 100. — THE YANGTZE AT LA-PAO LOOKING DOWNSTREAM

刺 寶 金 沙 江 陝 陸

The river which flows in a magnificent gorge separates La-pao (right) from Yung-ning (left). The village of La-bpu 'A-k'o with its terraced fields is visible in lower center of picture. Photographed from summit of La-bpu mbu 10,200 feet elevation, looking south.

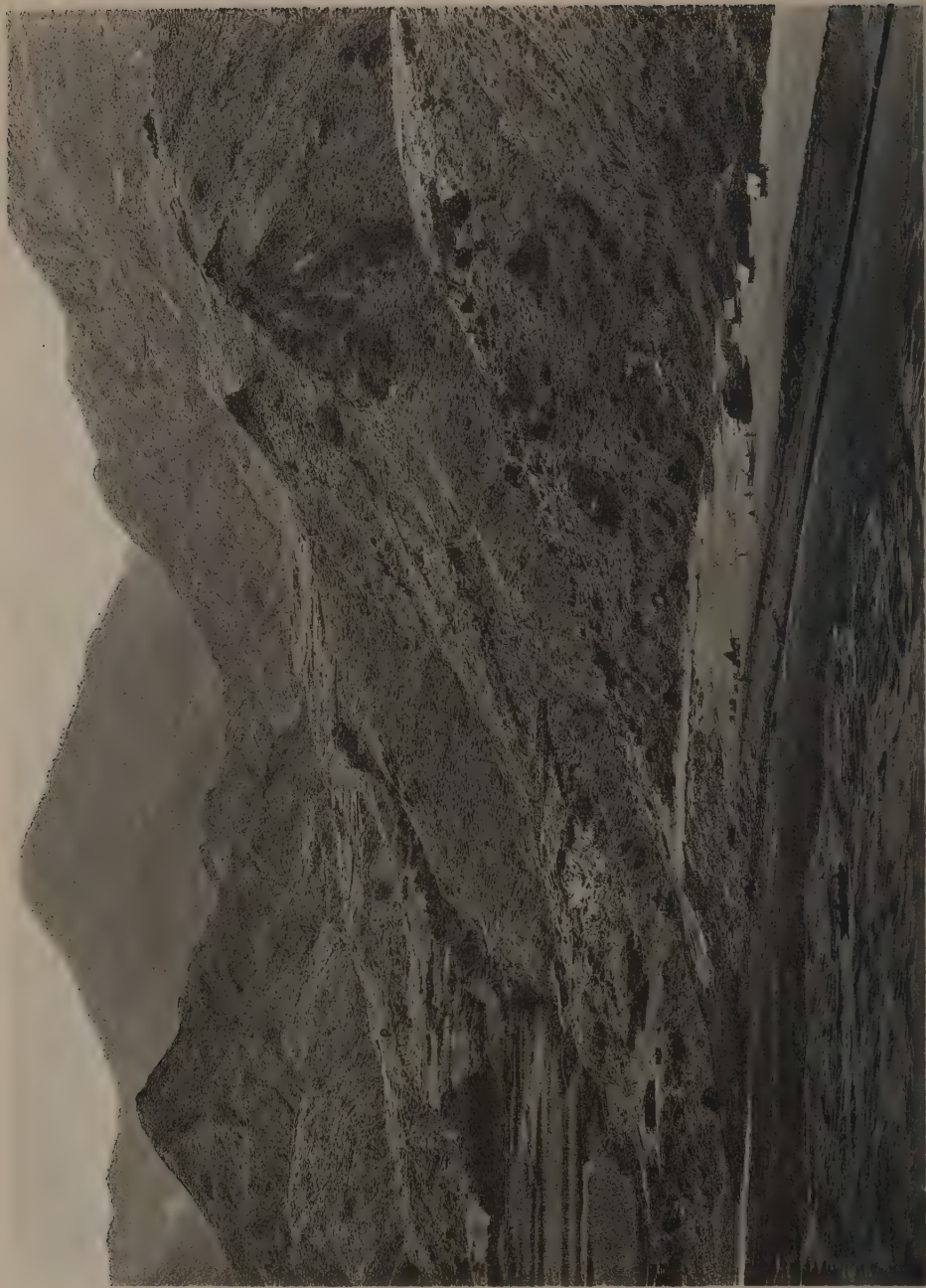


(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 101. — NA-KHI (ZHĒR-KHIN) FERRYMEN AT FENG-K'Ō

俸 可 麼 些 渡 水 手

Na-khi who live in the hot river valleys of the Li-chiang — Yung-ning districts are known as Zhĕr-khin. They are all excellent swimmers. See Plate 238.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 102. — THE YANGTZE AND FERRY AT FENG-K'Ö

停可金沙江渡口

The author's camp on the Li-chiang side (Feng-k'ö) of the Yangtze. A ferry plies here to the Yung-ning side at Law-k'a-khi-llü. It was here that Kublai Khan and his army crossed the Yangtze to Mo-so (Na-khi) territory coming from Yung-ning.



PLATE 103. — THE YANGTZE — GV-HO-GU GORGE

鹿子樓金沙江石門

Beyond the gorge is the district of La-pao where Kublai Khan first fought the Mo-so (Na-khi). December, 1253. He was opposed by them at a pass called Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan, west (right) of the Gv-ho-gu gorge. The triangular peak beyond the gorge (center) is La-bpu mbu.



PLATE 104. — IN THE GV-HO-GU YANGTZE GORGE

刺 資 金 沙 江 陝 隘 內

Pines and oaks cling to the vertical walls forming the Gv-ho-gu gorge in which the Yangtze roars several thousand feet below the summit crags. Photographed from a bluff in the Gko-mä ravine, elevation 8,000 feet. The gorge separates the Feng-k'o from the La-pao district.

ing of *ngu*² is to carry, as a load on the back, and *bä* would refer to business, thus *ngu-bä* would mean to carry a load to be sold, as on the Li-chiang market (PLATE 51), and this seems to be the better explanation of the two.

The actual Yi-gv, however, the name which is applied to-day to Li-chiang, is a very small village situated in a little valley back of the larger village called Gyi-wüa, the Chinese Ch'ing-ch'i-ts'un 清溪村. Here water-springs issue over quite an area and these flow south, but not through the town of Li-chiang. These springs are called in Na-khi, Ssi or Ssä-mi gyi (Pomegranate water). The spring which issues at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), and which forms the pond in the temple grounds of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟, is called Ngu-lu gyi by the Na-khi.

It is possible that the very first Na-khi settlement in this region was where the tiny hamlet of Yi-gv is now situated, for the Na-khi are also called Yi-gv khi (People of Yi-gv). The name Yi-gv was probably only later applied to their capital, the Chinese Li-chiang. The name Li-shui 麗水 (Beautiful waters) was first given to the district during the T'ang dynasty when it had been conquered by the Meng shih 蒙氏 (Meng family) in 794. Li Shui was also the name of the Yangtze, which further bore the name of Shen Ch'uan 神川. The name of Li-chiang does not appear until the Mongol dynasty in 1271. This name has been retained to the present day for the district, as well as for the town. The Li-chiang district numbers 28,375 families or a total of 132,582 inhabitants. Of these 68,216 are male and 64,366 female, and, according to the census of 1931, of the total population only 5,340 men and 170 women were literate.

The town is situated in latitude 27° 10', according to Major Davies; in latitude 26° 52', and longitude 100° 27', according to Playfair. The Army Map Service *Gazetteer of Chinese Place Names based on V. K. Ting Atlas* gives longitude 100° 15', latitude 26° 51'. Its altitude is 8,200 feet. It is situated at the foot, that is, at the southernmost point, of the long limestone range of Hsiang Shan. The range extends north and divides the Li-chiang plain in half, the western part extending towards Nga-ba, an ancient lake bottom from which it is separated by a spur called Dza-dza mbu.

THE COMMUNES OF LI-CHIANG

Pai-sha li. — The villages situated on the western part of the plain belong to Pai-sha li, that is, south of and including the village to the west, Hsi-wen-ts'un 西文村, and Tung-wen-ts'un 東文村 on the east. They are called in Na-khi, Mbe-man nyi-mä-gv and Mbe-man nyi-mä-t'u respectively. Pai-sha, the Na-khi Boa-shi, is the largest village of Pai-sha li.³ (PLATE 52.)

Shu-ho li. — The villages south of Pai-sha li, as far as the road which leads over Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain) — the Gkaw-gku of the Na-khi — belong to Shu-ho li 束河里, of which Shu-ho, the Shwua-wüa of the Na-khi, is the largest village. The lamasery of P'u-chi Ssu 普濟寺 belongs to this li;

² When the word is used by itself, it is read *gu*, but in conjunction with other words in a sentence, or in a name as here, Ngu-bä, it is pronounced *ngu* instead of *gu*.

³ Since this was written the Communes are called Hsiang 鄉.

the place is called in Na-khi, P'u-ts'ü-wüa, after the village known in Chinese as P'u-ch'i-wa-ts'un 普七瓦村.

Ta-yen li. — The town of Li-chiang itself is in the li of Ta-yen 大研里. The villages to the east of Hsiang Shan belong to the same li, but not further north than the village of A-fu 阿夫.

Tung-shan li. — To the north of A-fu the villages belong to Tung-shan li (Eastern mountain li), the last village of that li being Lv-na-wüa (Black rock hamlet), the Chinese Lu-nan-wa 魯南瓦. Other villages of the same li are Hung-shui-t'ang 紅水塘, Wu-t'u 吳土 in the east where there are hot springs, Pen-ch'i-ch'eng 本其城 (the Mbue-tkhi-dza of the Na-khi; *mbue-tkhi* is the name of an evergreen oak, *Quercus semicarpifolia* var. *glabra*, with dark-green, glabrous leaves, and *dza* is a walled town hence the Chinese *ch'eng* 城, city), and Lu-tsui-lo 魯嘴落. La-ting 拉丁 is on the west bank of the Yangtze and the farthest east in Tung-shan li. North-west of it, situated on the slopes of a spur, is the hamlet of Jo-shui-t'ang 熱水塘, in the valley of the stream formed by the Pai Shui 白水 and Hei Shui 黑水. West, in a small valley among mountain spurs, is the village of Wu-t'u-t'ieh-ch'ang 吳土鐵廠.

Wu-lieh li. — South of Tung shan li is the Wu lieh li 吳烈里, the Na-khi Ghügh-lä. This joins Ta-yen li on the west, Tung-hsiang-ko li on the east, and Tung-yüan li 東元里 on the south. One of its principal villages is Nda-zaw, the Chinese Ta-jan 打然, which is situated in a valley or ravine in the mountains. The climate is very cold and the village is poor. Nda-zaw is renowned for the many cases of suicide among its inhabitants, due mostly to illicit sexual intercourse, which usually ends in the suicide of both parties. The village is quite a distance from the town of Li-chiang and it takes a good part of the day for the peasants to reach the market. They return, men and women, during the night to their village, arriving usually at dawn. Bbue-na-k'o, the Tui-nao k'o 對腦壳 of the Chinese, another large village in this li, is situated on a terrace high above the Yangtze gorge. In the western part of the li are situated the hamlets of K'ai-wen-ts'un 開文村 and Yang-chia-teng 楊家登; these two villages are inhabited by Lă-bbu (Min-chia) tribespeople, the original inhabitants of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

Tung-hsiang-ko li. — East of Wu-lieh li is the Tung-hsiang-ko li. This extends south to the iron chain-bridge of Tzu-li-chiang, to the middle of the Yangtze on its eastern border. Its two largest villages, situated in the Yangtze valley, are Yü-mai-ti 玉麥地 and Tseng-ming 增明.

Tung-yüan li. — This li lies south of Wu-lieh li and forms a long wedge, the narrowest part being in the east where it comes to a point at the Tzu-li-chiang bridge. The broad part of the wedge adjoins Pai-ma li 白馬里 on the west. The important villages of that li are, in the extreme east, Yang-chien-shui 羊見水 and, in the central part, En (Ngai)-lieh-ts'un 恩烈村. In the western part, on a hill, is a Buddhist temple called Chin-shan Ssu 金山寺; also the villages Te-wei-ts'un 德爲村 and Hsi-lin-wa 西林瓦, the Na-khi Ssi-li-wüa. In the center of the latter village is the ancestral temple of the Mu family. A stream which has its source in the snow mountain and gathers all the various

streams which flow south over the Li-chiang plain, flows through Tung-yüan li and is there called the Ch'ing-ch'i-yü Ho 清溪玉河. A stone bridge crosses it on the extreme west border of the li, where it adjoins Pai-ma li. The bridge is called the Tung-yüan ch'iao 東元橋 and was built by the Mu family during the Ming dynasty. A mountain extends from north to south along the western part of the li, from which the above-mentioned stream flows; it is called She Shan 蛇山 (Snake Mountain).

Pai-ma li. — To the west of Tung-yüan li and immediately south of Li-chiang, is the li of Pai-ma. This is called in Na-khi, Wua-gkan-ts'an. The most important village is Chung-i-ts'un 忠義村 (Na-khi, Muan-k'u, or the Lower or Southern gate). Other villages are San-chia-ts'un 三家村, the Na-khi Zhër-här-ndz(ër)-dzu (Where the green willow is born, or grows — on account of a large old willow tree which once grew there); the hamlet Chi-hsiang-ts'un 吉祥村, is divided into an upper 上 and a lower 下, the upper being called Ggö-bo-ts'an and the lower Mbe-lü (actually central one); then Ch'ing-yün-ts'un 慶雲村, called Wua-gkan-ts'an, whence the li derives its Na-khi name.

Tung-ni-lo li. — On the extreme east of Tung-yüan li, extending south along the Yangtze, is the li of Tung-ni-lo 東你羅里, of which the largest village is Tung-ni-lo. The southern border of this li adjoins that of the Ho-ch'ing district 鶴慶縣. Wu-lich li 吳烈里 adjoins Tung-ni-lo li on the east and extends south of Tung-yüan li; it is a continuation of the Wu-lich li to the north of Tung-yüan li. It does not extend, however, to the Ho-ch'ing border but comes to a sharp point half the length of the eastern border of the li of Tung-ni-lo. The villages which belong here are Wu-lich, in the north-western corner, and Ta-wa-ts'un 達瓦村 (the Da-wà of the Na-khi), in the west central part.

Hsia La-p'iao li. — East of the southern Wu-lich li is the li of Hsia La-p'iao 下刺漂里. It extends from north to south to the Ho-ch'ing border. Its important villages are, in the west central part, T'ao-li-ts'un 陶禮村, and in the central part the village of Chung-chi 中青, called in Na-khi Chu-gyi. In the east central part is the village of Mei-tzu-tseng 美自增, the Na-khi Muan-dsu-dzä; to the south of the latter are the villages of Ta-le 打勒 (the Na-khi Nda-lä), San-yüan-ts'un 三元村, and Ssu-na-ku 四納故. The southernmost village is Mu-chien 木堅.

Ch'i-ho li. — The li of Ch'i-ho 七河里 (Seven rivers) is south of Tung-yüan li and extends east to Hsia La-p'iao. It is divided by the stream called Yang-kung Chiang 漾共江, which flows into the Yangtze south-east of Ho-ch'ing, the Lă-bbu dü of the Na-khi, encircling the Sung-kuei 松桂 mountains to the south.

One of the streams which form the Yang-kung River is the Yü Ho or Jade Stream, the Ngu-lu gyi of the Na-khi, which has its source in the springs at the foot of the Hsiang Shan where the Lung-wang Miao stands. At Shuang-shih ch'iao 雙石橋⁴ the stream divides into three branches. One flows from Pai-ma li to La-p'iao, one through Pa-ho 八河 (a village south of Li-chiang),

⁴ Shuang-shih ch'iao [Double (arch) stone bridge] is two li north-west of Li-chiang.

and one through the center of Li-chiang (PLATE 53); all unite in Tung-yüan and join the Ch'ing-ch'i-yü Ho. Flowing south, the latter river enters the Ho-ch'ing district and forms the Yang-kung Chiang. (The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* writes 漾工江 and 東員里 instead of 東元里.) A bridge called the Lo-ma ch'iao 勒馬橋 (the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* writes Lan-ma ch'iao 爛馬橋) spans it in the central part of the li on the main road between Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing. In the western half of Ch'i-ho li are the hamlets of Shang Ch'i-ho 上七河 (Upper Ch'i-ho) and Hsia Ch'i-ho 下七河 (Lower Ch'i-ho), the Na-khi Mbu-kv. In the southern part is the hamlet of Li-shou 麗首. In the eastern part of Ch'i-ho li, that is, the region east of the Yang-kung Chiang, are the following important villages: in the northern part, A-shih-ts'un 阿失村, south-west of it Wa-k'uan-tu 瓦寬獨, the Na-khi Wua-k'o-ndu (Tile kiln). South-west of the latter are the hamlets of T'ai-p'ing-ts'un 太平村 and Mei-ch'i-chia 梅溪甲, and to the east of it is the village of Mu-kuan-ts'un 木官村; south-west of the last named is the village of Mien-ch'ang-chia 面場甲, and south of the latter again is the village of Mei-so-chia 梅所甲, while east lies the large village of Ch'i-ku-ts'un 溪谷村, almost on the border of Ho-ch'ing.

Shang La-p'iao li. — To the west of Ch'i-ho li is the li of Shang La-p'iao 上刺縹 (Upper La-p'iao), which is south of Pai-ma li. The most important villages are Ch'ieh-k'o-tu 且可都, in Nakhi Ts'ä-k'o-ndu (Salt-hole there), in the southernmost part of the li, with the hamlet of Chung-ho-ts'un 中和村 to the east or south-east of it. In the northern part of the li, south of the borders of Pai-ma li, are the villages of Hsia-tien-wa 下甸瓦 and Shang-chi-ts'un 上吉村.

Mu-pao li. — To the west of Shang La-p'iao li is the li of Mu-pao (Mu-pao li 木保里). The north-westernmost village is Wen-feng-ts'un 文峯村, in Na-khi Muan-bbu; more centrally located are Mu-pao 木保 and, south of it, Chung-ts'un 中村 (Central village). Ta-ts'un 大村 (Large village) is on the eastern border and south of it the hamlet of Ta-lu 達魯, the Na-khi Nda-lv.

La-sha-li. — To the north of Mu-pao li is the li of La-sha 刺沙里, of which the important villages are Ch'ang-shui 長水, the Na-khi Ghügh-k'o, in the south, and to the north-east of it the village of Shang-i-ts'un 尙義村; the lamasery of Wen-feng Ssu 文峯寺, called Muan bbu-nä in Na-khi, belongs to this li, so do the villages Mei-tzu-ts'un 梅子村 and Tz'u-man 茨滿, the Na-khi Tsi-man. On the western border, on the mountain slopes, is the hamlet of Lao-ch'eng-ts'un 老城村. At the extreme south-western end on the Li-chiang plain is situated the lake Sä-bpi Khü the Chinese Hsi-pi Hai 西碧海 or Sheng-pi Hai 生碧海; the mountain to the south of it is called Wan-sung Shan 萬松山, on its lower slope is situated the temple of Cheng-chüeh Ssu 正覺寺.

Nan-shan li. — The longest of all the li is Nan-shan li 南山里 (Southern mountain li). It extends south of and encircles La-sha li, Mu-pao li, and Shang La-p'iao in part, and reaches also to the borders of Ch'i-ho. It is a very mountainous li with little level ground. A road leads over these mountains from Ho-ch'ing to Shih-ku 石鼓 on the Yangtze. The villages are mostly situated along this highway. From north to south they are: T'ieh-kan-shu 鐵甘書, which is,

however, on the plain and in the north central part of the li and east of the road; along the road are Hua-i 花衣, Chi-tzu 戟子, Shan-shen-p'o 山神坡, Pen-shu 本書 and the southernmost, Kuo-mei-ku 果美古.

Hsiang-ko li. — To the north of this li is Hsiang-ko li 香閣里. There are two li of this name. This is the western one, the eastern being along the banks of the Yangtze where the iron chain-bridge at Tzu-li-chiang forms the border. This western Hsiang-ko li extends north to the banks of the Yangtze, and joins the li of A-hsi 阿喜. The latter extends north, and comprises the Yangtze valley west of the Li-chiang snow range. The northernmost village situated along the highway to Shih-ku is Sha-pa 沙壩, and to the east of it is Leng-shui-kou 冷水溝, which is on the border of A-hsi and Hsiang-ko li. To the west of it is Ching-k'ou-t'ang 箐口塘. Others to the south and not in the Yangtze valley are Hsiung-ku 雄古 (the Na-khi Khyü-gkv), Lu-wa 廬瓦 and Chu-pi 竹彼. The region to the north of the cross roads (one running from Ho-ch'ing to Shih-ku, and the other from Chien-ch'uan to Li-chiang) on the top of the plateau, commonly called Lo-shui-tung 落水洞, is still the li of Hsiang-ko, which also extends south of these cross-roads to the borders of Chien-ch'uan. The southernmost village is T'ang-lang-pa 螳螂壩 (Praying mantis meadow). Other villages in the southern part are Lü-pi-shan 律比山, T'ien-hung 天紅, Mu-hai-p'ing 沐海坪, and Tien-wei 甸尾 (not to be confused with the Tien-wei of the prefecture of Chien-ch'uan).

La-shih li. — To the east of the northern part of Hsiang-ko li is the li of La-shih 刺是里, comprising a small area adjoining the Huang Shan in the east, which mountain separates it from the Li-chiang plain.

West of the pass over the Huang Shan, beyond Huang shan shao 黃山哨, is the village An-lo-ts'un 安樂村. To the north of An-lo-ts'un is the hamlet of Chi-hsiang (ch'iang)-ts'un 吉祥村, and to the north of the latter is the lamasery of Chi-yün Ssu 指雲寺. To the east of the lamasery, on the western foot-hills of the limestone range which forms the southernmost spur of the snow range, and which separates La-shih li from Shu-ho li, is the hamlet of Ta-yü-ts'un 打魚村. In the western part of the li is the hamlet of Chi-lo-ts'un 吉樂村 and north-east of it Yü-lo-ts'un 餘樂村.

A-hsi li. — The villages in the Yangtze valley which form the li of A-hsi have already been described in the journey from the snow range west to the Yangtze gorges and Bbër-ddër. This comprises all the li from the bend of the Yangtze eastwards, to Tzu-li-chiang where the iron chain-bridge spans the river. (See page 253.)

There remain now only the two northernmost li within the loop, which are separated by the highway which leads to Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

La-pao li 刺寶里. — This is the eastern one. It extends south as far as Hung-men-tu 紅門渡, thence north to Chiang-wa-tu 江間渡 (also called Chiang-wai 江外), and Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

Ta-chü li 大具里. — This, the western li is large, exceedingly mountainous and densely forested; the most important village is Ta-ku 打鼓 (Na-khi, Nda-gv), on the terrace above the Yangtze and within the loop.

The snow range does not apparently belong to any separate li. The A-hsi li eastern border line extends along the summit peaks of the range to the village of Jo-shui-t'ang 熱水塘, at the mouth (entrance) of the Yangtze gorge, where it cuts through the snow range. Beyond the last mentioned village on the right bank of the river, the territory belongs to the li of Ta-chü. Although on the right bank of the river there are only cliffs thousands of feet high, where it is impossible to obtain a foothold, still less room for a hut, house, or village, the prefectural map of Li-chiang gives several names which designate certain rocks or parts of the cliff. They are located in Ta-chü li and read from south to north as follows: Ch'ing-lung-shui 青龍水 (Azure dragon water), Ta-ngai-fang 大岩房 (Great cliff dwelling), Hei-feng-t'ang 黑風塘 (Black wind embankment), Chin-kuei-tzu 金櫃子 (Golden cupboard), and Chi-kuan-liang 雞冠梁 (Cock's-comb ridge). This last is at the exit of the gorge. From Ta-chü, which is identical with Ta-ku, a trail leads along the Yangtze, but quite a distance from the actual river bank, on the western slopes of the main range which fills the loop.

North-east of Ta ku (Nda-gv), is the village of Lao-pen-ts'un 老本村 (Lambe). further north Sheng-se-lo 生色落 (Sä-sä-lo), and finally Chu-ku 住古 (Tsu-gkv). From the main central trail which leads to Mba-yi-wüa (Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾), a trail leads to Nda-gv, and here we encounter the villages of Pu-ku-tsu 布固足 (Bbu-gkv-dsu) and P'ei-tan 培單 (P'ä-da).

Chiu-ho li. — To the west of Hsiang-ko li is Chiu-ho li (Nine stream li) of which the principal village is Chiu-ho-kai 九河街. The southernmost is Hui-lung-chia 迴龍甲, directly north of Chien-ch'uan. At the foot of the mountains which hem in the Chiu-ho valley on the west, are many villages of which the most important are, omitting the southernmost hamlet already mentioned: Ch'ing-chiang-chia 青江甲, Lung-ying-chia 龍應甲, Chi-lai-chia 吉來甲, A-ch'a-chia 阿差甲, Tien-t'ou-chia 甸頭甲 and Li-tzu-yüan 李子園. The border of Chiu-ho li passes through the top of the mountain range of which Lao-chün Shan 老君山, some distance to the west, is the highest peak. The villages situated to the west of that range, and still belonging to Chiu-ho li, are, from south to north, Sung-p'ing-pa 松平壩 in the south-western corner of the li, Wei-nan-hsiang 味南鄉, Ta-ngai-ts'un 打岩村, Jo-shui-t'ang, Shih-hung-shan 石紅山, Ma-p'ing-pa 馬平壩, Ta-p'iao-ts'un 大票村 and Leng-shui-kou. On the main highway coming from Chien-ch'uan, to the south of Chiu-ho-kai, is the hamlet of Kao-meng-ho 高猛河. To the north is Kuan-shang-ts'un 關上村, and the last hamlet is Chiu-ho-kuan 九河關 (Chiu-ho pass).

Shih-ku li. — To the west of Chiu-ho li is Shih-ku li 石鼓里, of which Shih-ku, the Na-khi La-ba or La-ba wüa-gkv, south of the bend of the Yangtze, is the most important village. The south-western part of the li terminates at the border of Ch'iao-t'ou li 橋頭里, which adjoins the high mountain known as Lao-chün Shan 老君山 in the west, the Li-chiang — Lan-p'ing hsien 蘭坪縣 border passing through its summit.

The Shih-ku li consists of a long valley watered by the La-ba gyi, (Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河), with the Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 forming its south-eastern border. An affluent actually has its source in Lao-chün Shan and flows along the western slopes of Wang-chiang Shan, while the main stream has its

source in La-ba Ngyu (Mt. La-ba) to the west of Shih-ku, and forms the main valley of Shih-ku li. The villages on the south bank of the stream are, from west to east, T'ao-hua-ts'un 桃花村, Shih-t'ou-ts'un 石頭村, A-na-wa 阿那瓦, Chu-wu-ts'un 竹武村, Ch'ou-chung-ts'un 丑中村, and Chu-yüan-ts'un 竹園村 a little west of Shih-ku. On the northern bank of the stream, from east to west, are the hamlets of Kao-ku-ts'un 高古村 and Ta-chu-kou 打朱溝; among the mountains is the hamlet of Shih-chih 時支; thence again on the valley floor and the foot of the hills, Cheng-hsiung-ku 正雄古, Pai-ting-ts'un 白丁村, Pan-p'iao-ts'un 板票村, Lo-lo-chai 猓猓寨 and Lo-kuo-ching 鑼鍋箐.

Ch'iao-t'ou li and Lu-tien. — Ch'iao-t'ou li consists also of a valley watered by a stream called the Ch'iao-t'ou Ho 橋頭河, but it is much more sparsely populated. The south-western corner of this li converges with Lao-chün Shan, and is bordered on the west by Lu-tien li 魯甸里.

In this li Lu-tien (Na-khi Lu-dü) is the largest village. Directly south of Lu-tien, near the Ch'iao-t'ou li border, is the hamlet of Ta-mi-ch'u 打米杵 (Pounding rice pestle). It was also called the Ta-mi-ch'u 打米處 (Place of the pounding of the rice), for all the peasants of the region used to come to pound their rice there. In Na-khi it is called Nda-muan-ch'u. (See p. 300).

Chü-tien li. — To the north and east of Lu-tien li and Ch'iao-t'ou li is Chü-tien li 巨甸里, the largest village of which is Chü-tien on the Yangtze. The northernmost hamlet is T'a-dza, (T'a-ch'eng 塔城), and the northern border of the li is T'a-ch'eng Kuan 塔城關 (T'a-ch'eng Pass) (PLATE 155). Opposite T'a-ch'eng is a small ferry which plies east to the Chung-tien territory east of the Yangtze, and is known as T'a-ch'eng tu 塔城渡. To the west of Chü-tien li is the territory of the prefectural city of Wei-hsi.

Most of the villages, as may be surmised, owing to the very mountainous nature of the country, are in the Yangtze valley, and these villages have already been mentioned in their proper place.

THE ANCIENT DISTRICT OF T'UNG-AN 通安州

In the twenty-second year of the period Chih-yüan (1285), the Chün min Tsung-kuan fu, or the Yamen of the military and civil Governor of the Circuit of Li-chiang was abolished, and in its stead there was established the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu, or Pacification Commissioner. The latter according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 34b, resided at La-pa-ts'un 喇巴村 this is the present Shih-ku, then under the control of Chü-chin chou 巨津州. Afterwards it was transferred to the east of the ancient T'ung-an chou in the territory called San-tien 三甸. The Hsüan-fu-ssu controlled the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng 北勝; also seven chou, viz., Lang-ch'ü 浪渠, Yung-ning 永寧, Shun chou 順州, T'ung-an 通安, Pao-shan 寶山, Lan chou 蘭州 and Chü-chin 巨津; the hsien of Lin-hsi 臨西, the present Wei-hsi, was also in his dominion.

At the time of Kublai Khan's arrival (in 1253 or the beginning of 1254), in the territory known as Li-chiang, the town of Li-chiang did probably not exist, but the Circuit of Li-chiang 麗江路 was established in the 13th year of Kublai Khan's reign as Emperor of China (1276). Apparently the nearest place of

any size to what is now Li-chiang was T'ung-an, for the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* says that in ancient days there stood only the native yamen or palace, without a wall. In 1659 T'ung-an chou was abolished and absorbed by Li-chiang.

Li-chiang still meant only the magistracy of Li-chiang, for it says in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* that the Circuit of Li-chiang was changed to a magistracy in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382). However a district is always named after its largest town. As to when the actual town of Li-chiang came into being, the records keep strangely silent.

The first wall began to be built in 1723. Li-chiang has now no wall and a remnant of it only exists to-day around the ruined yamen.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fols. 34b-35a, states that T'ung-an chou, now no longer existing, was three li east of Li-chiang fu.⁵ Its ancient name was San-t'an. The P'u hsieh man 濮潯蠻 (P'u-hsieh savages) dwelled there. They were followed by the Mo-so-man, Ye-ku-nien, who conquered it by force. In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 24) it was the land of Ting-tso hsien 定柁縣, subordinate to Yüeh-sui Chün 越嶲郡. In the T'ang dynasty (618-906) the name Ting-tso was changed to K'un-ming 昆明, subordinate to Sui chou 嵩州. It was raised later to K'un-ming Chün 昆明軍 (military district of K'un-ming). After the reign of T'ien-pao 天寶 (about 756) it became the Yüeh-hsi Mo-so chao 越析麼些詔 (Mo-so Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi). In the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253) of the Yüan dynasty, it submitted to the Empire. In the fourth year of Chung-t'ung 中統 (1263), Mai-liang (a Na-khi chief called A-liang 阿良 in the Mu Chronicle) was made civil governor of San-t'an 三賧管民官. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) T'ung-an chou was established under the Circuit of Li-chiang. During the Ming dynasty there were no changes. In the Ch'ing dynasty it was reduced and merged with Li-chiang fu.

The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 19b, has the following to say about T'ung-an chou:

"It is now to the east and near the suburb of the governing fu-city [Li-chiang]. In ancient days it was in the land of Tso Kuo 柁國 and its name was San-t'an. The Man (Savages) called it Yang-ch'ü-t'ou 漾渠頭 [this name I have found in no other work relating to this district]. In the Han dynasty it became the land of Ting-tso hsien 定柁縣, subordinate to the commandery of Yüeh-sui. In the T'ang dynasty Ting-tso was altered to K'un-ming, belonging to Sui chou. It was raised to K'un-ming Chün and became the land of K'un-ming. After the reign of T'ien-pao, about 756, it was conquered by the Yüeh-hsi Mo-so chao. Afterwards it was absorbed by Nan-chao. In the Sung dynasty (960-1252) the P'u-hsieh man⁶ dwelled there. [Apparently in

⁵ E. Chavannes in his "Documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à Li-kiang" in *T'oung Pao* and in Bacot "*Les Mo-so*" p. 164 states that according to the *Yüan Shih* the administrative seat of T'ung-an chou is east of (the) Li-chiang at the foot of the snow mountain. This is correct as far as the statement goes; I believe however that the river Li Chiang (Yangtze) is not meant but the town of Li-chiang. As T'ung-an chou was within the loop of the Yangtze, it could be called either west or east of the Yangtze. The Li-chiang records are quite explicit and state that T'ung-an chou was three li east of the town (Li-chiang), and the map accompanying these records shows it there. Therefore the river Li Chiang could not have been meant. The Yangtze, either west or east, is more than seventy li from Li-chiang.

These were two tribes, the P'u and Hsieh. All the different works I have consulted mention

ancient days it was the land of the P'u-hsieh tribes, who were defeated by the Mo-so Ye-ku-nien during the reign of T'ang Wu-te 武德 618-626.] They were ruled by the Mo-so chiefs until the Sung dynasty when the P'u-hsieh again gained the upper hand."

[This will explain the gap in the Chronicle of the Na-khi kings who during the period between 1101-1125, start again with the stranger from Mon-

the various P'u tribes, but there is no P'u-hsieh tribe. The Hsieh supposedly were a different clan, who dwelt together with the P'u in the land which now comprises Li-chiang and were the original inhabitants of the country. Chinese records speak of two tribes as residing in the Li-chiang district, viz., the Mo-so (hsieh) erh-chung man 麼些二種蠻. Are we to understand that the Mo are the Mo-so and the Hsieh the tribe formerly associated with the P'u? Both are spoken of in Chinese works as the Mo-man 麼蠻 and Hsieh-man 滯蠻.

I propose here a conjecture which may serve as a basis for further investigation.

I have held the opinion that the Mo-so (Mo-hsieh) and the Na-khi are identical, that the former is their Chinese name and the latter their own tribal name. After much thought and research on my part this assertion I have come to doubt for the following reasons:

First the Chinese chronicles never mention the name Na or Na-hsieh, but they state that there were two tribes, the Mo and the Hsieh, the character used is pronounced "so" when it refers to the tribe, according to the *K'ang-hsi Dictionary*. They also mention the P'u and Hsieh who were the aborigines of the district of Li-chiang. However, nowhere are the Hsieh separately mentioned and I have come to believe that the Chinese word *hsieh* is merely a transcription of the Mo-so word "*Khi*" which sounds like *hsi*, but the initial is actually a palatal German "*ch*." *Khi* in Mo-so (or Na-khi) means "*man*" (not *man* = male). Therefore they would have been spoken of as the P'u-khi and the Mo-khi, the people of the P'u and the Mo (tribes).

As to the Na-khi the people of the Na tribe, they were a branch of the Ch'iang and migrated south from their home in northeastern Tibet. They settled among the P'u and Mo. The P'u were driven into the hills and the Mo and Na occupied or kept to the plains and valleys.

The Na were apparently not numerous but they had a religious literature and the name Na = black was perhaps given them by the Mo-so because they were darker skinned than the aborigines of the Li-chiang territory. They adopted the Mo-so language and were gradually absorbed by the Mo-so. Yet the religious cult of the immigrants, the Bön Shamanism plus their own demonolatry, was adopted as the religion of the people of the Mo-so (hsieh) tribe by their chiefs. It is difficult to trace the original culture of the Mo-so, it was probably the same as that of the Lo-lo their neighbors, who with them are classed as *Wu-man* = Black barbarians by the Chinese.

There are two types of writing in vogue in Li-chiang, a syllabic phonetic type, very similar to that of the Lo-lo script, and a pictographic. The former, of which little is known nowadays, may have been the script of the Mo-so, while the pictographic script was that invented by the Na-khi, both being read in Mo-so with an admixture of Na-khi. The language now spoken in Yung-ning may be the aboriginal Mo-so tongue, yet they have no written language. It is also possible that the syllabic type of writing was brought by the Na-khi and was discarded later in favor of the pictographic much easier to remember than the syllabic.

Certain primitive ceremonies as the propitiation of Heaven or Muan-bpö, at the performance of which neither books or priests are needed, show that there is more than one tribe involved. Yet there exist ancient Na-khi manuscripts pertaining to the Muan-bpö cult; the texts reveal that the ceremony is akin to that performed by the Ch'iang and therefore is of Na-khi and not Mo so origin. A modified Muan bpö was later adopted by all the different tribes or clans and this would explain the discontinuance of the use of priests and books, for the former on y can read. All the people bearing the family name Ho, which is considered a genuine Na-khi name, perform their Muan-bpö at a different time than the families bearing the Chinese-sounding family names of Chao, Yang, Wang, etc. It is here that we may learn who is Mo-so and who is Na-khi. However all the non Chinese people of the Li-chiang district, irrespective of family name, call themselves Na-khi, while the name Mo-so is resented.

golia called Yeh-yeh as the first generation of their line (*see* Chapter VI, pp. 71, 73). The kings were called Ta-ch'iu-chang 大酋長 (Great chiefs of the tribe).]

"Afterwards the Mo-so conquered that territory. In the beginning of the Mongol dynasty (1253) a civil official was established to govern San-t'an. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) that name was changed to T'ung-an chou. It remained unaltered during the Ming dynasty. The native sub-magistracy (T'u-chou), controlling the families of 13 li, was in charge of a sub-prefect of the Kao family." The family were originally natives of Ho-ch'ing. Kao Ch'ing 高淸, who was the son of Kao Ssu 高賜, a native of Ho-ch'ing, was sub-magistrate of T'ung-an chou during the reign of the Na-khi chief Mu Shen 木森 (1434-1441). He had married the daughter of Mu Shen, who survived him by 54 years. His son, Kao Lu 高祿, became hereditary T'ung-an sub-prefect. Thus it appears that the first place in the Li-chiang district was San-t'an, which during the reign of Kublai Khan became the T'ung-an chou. The latter place must have been near the suburbs of what is to-day Li-chiang. Apparently Li-chiang grew up slowly, and was an unimportant place until it absorbed T'ung-an.

CHAPTER II

I. THE MOUNTAINS OF LI-CHIANG

ACCORDING TO THE *LI-CHIANG FU CHIH LUEH*

(上 CH. 4, FOLS. 23A-24B)

Wu-lieh Shan 吳烈山 (the Na-khi Ghügh-lä Ngyu) is 15 li east of the city. On this mountain is a temple called Niang-niang Miao 孃娘廟, where barren women come to pray for children. A large figure of Niang-niang sung-tzu 送子 (Matron who brings children) is exhibited there, on which the women throw stones. The goddess Niang-niang is then usually dressed with new clothes by the worshippers. The place is only frequented by Na-khi women still able to bear children.

Tung Shan 東山¹ (East Mountain) bounds the district of Li-chiang on the east, 20 li from the city. The two mountains (Tung and Wu-lieh Shan) stand side by side, with a saddle between them, and appear as if bowing to the city.

San-t'ai Shan 三台山,² also known as Li-chiang An Shan 案山 (Table Mountain) and Nan Shan 南山 (South Mountain), is situated 15 li south of the city. Near it is the hamlet of La-ts'ü-wüa. It is very beautiful and has three prominent peaks of different heights.

Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山 (Lion Mountain) also has the name Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain), and in Na-khi it is called Wua-gkv-mbu. It lies one li west of Li-chiang and is the property of the Mu family. Ancient cypresses grow scattered over the hill which is about 100 feet in height and 8,300 feet above sea level. From its summit a beautiful view can be had over Li-chiang and the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain and snow range (PLATES 50 and 54). A road passing over it leads to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi. The former yamen of the Na-khi chiefs lies at its foot, facing east.

Near the top of Shih-tzu Shan, but on the western slope, there is a temple called P'u-te t'an 普得壇,³ built during the reign of Chao Tsung 昭宗 of the

¹ To this range belongs also an isolated, very sharp, triangular peak, known to the Na-khi as Dto-ma Ngyu; it is thus named on account of its resemblance to a *dto-ma*, (Tibetan, *glor-ma*). This is an offering to the gods by the Dto-mbas as well as Lamas, in the shape of a pyramid of barley-flour dough mixed with butter. This mountain stands to the north-east of Li-chiang and is a conspicuous landmark. Near it is the village of Gv-dtu and therefore the mountain is often spoken of as Gv-dtu Dto-ma Ngyu, but is also known as Tung-shan Dto-ma Ngyu.

² San-t'ai (Three terraces) is the name for the three pairs of stars of the Great Bear, and it is possible that the peaks are called after these stars, though *t'ai* also means eminent, exalted.

³ The word *t'an* (altar) is equivalent to the Na-khi *d'a*, as in *Muan-bpö d'a* (altar or place in which Heaven is propitiated). The words P'u-te are undoubtedly the same as the Na-khi P'u-dtu, the name of a clan which performs the propitiation of Heaven at a different time from that of the other Na-khi clans, namely, on the 5th day of the first moon. The Chinese P'u-te t'an is thus the same as the Na-khi P'u-dtu d'a (altar of the P'u-dtu). The above mentioned

T'ang dynasty (889-904). Annually in the first moon the peasants of the sub-districts of Ta-yen li, Pai-ma li, La-sha li and La-p'iao li repaired to that temple to worship the spirits of the mountains, rivers, earth and grain.

Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), called in Na-khi, Gyi-wùa Ngyu, named after the village of Gyi-wùa situated to the north of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟 (Dragon king Temple), is three li north of the city, and resembles a reclining elephant. It is therefore also called the Hsiang-mien Shan 象眠山 (Sleeping elephant Mountain); the city is situated at its southern point. There are several springs called Hsiang ch'üan 象泉 (Elephant springs) at its foot which are the source of the Yü Ho 玉河 (Jade Stream) The Ngu-lu gyi of the Na-khi; these springs are five li north-west of Li-chiang and are also the source of the Yang-kung Chiang 漾工江 of Ho-ch'ing.

Chih Shan 芝山 is called in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü Ngyu, from the monastery Khyu-t'o-llü which is situated on its slope (PLATE 64). Its ancient name was Chieh-t'o-lin 解脫林. This mountain is to the south of the snow range and is part of its southern spur. One of its summits is called Tzu-kai-feng 紫蓋峯, and another Chao-yang-kang 朝陽岡, while a certain cliff has the name of Shih-tzu ngai 獅子巖 (Lion cliff). The easiest approach to the mountain is from Pai-sha (Boa-shi), south-west of which it is situated. It lies between the village of Shu-ho 東河 and Pai-sha and adjoins the mountain on which Huang-shan shao 黃山哨 is located. At its foot nestles the hamlet of A-chung-wùa. In the possession of the Mu family is a work on this mountain called *Chih-shan yün-kuo-chi* 芝山雲過集, written in 1628 by the most famous of all the Na-khi chiefs, Mu Sheng-pai 木生白. A copy of this work is in my library.

Among the maze of hills which compose Chih Shan is the lamasery Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺,⁴ which possesses an abbot's reception hall. To the left of the lamasery is a spring called Pai-lu ch'üan 白鹿泉 (White deer spring) and a pond called Han-yüeh Hu 涵月湖 (Submerged moon pond), also a cliff called Pei-tou ngai 北斗崖 (Dipper cliff) and a hill called Tan-feng-luan 丹鳳巒 (Phoenix peak). To the right there is a mountain rim called Tan-hsia-wu 丹霞塢 (Red cloud embankment), a hill called Yü-yin-feng 玉印峯 (Jade seal hill), and a pond called Lao-t'an 老潭 (Old pool). In front of the lamasery there is a mountain called Ts'ui-po Shan 翠柏山 (Green cypress Mountain). All this is engraved on a memorial stone, written by the Ho-ch'ing magistrate, Chang Hsüeh-mou 張學懋.⁵

Ma-tso-shu Shan 馬左墅山 is 30 li south of Li-chiang. The Na-khi pasture their cattle on this mountain.

San-pi-wai-lung Shan 珊碧外龍山 is the famous Wen-pi Shan 文筆山, a triangular peak 15 li west of Li-chiang. It is the Sä-bpi zhër nv-lv of the Na-

P'u-te t'an has been abandoned as a place of worship, as each village has its own *d'a*. It is possible that the members of the P'u-dtu clan are the descendants of the original inhabitants of the region, namely the P'u tribe, who adopted the Na-khi custom of propitiating Heaven.

⁴ The name was given to the lamasery by the Ming Emperor Hsi Tsung (1621-1627).

⁵ This memorial stone is built into the wall immediately beyond the main entrance to the temple. It is dated the seventh year of Ming T'ien-ch'i (1627) and gives the name of every hill, cliff and grotto.

khi. The mountain is well known to the Tibetans, who call it Zhi-dag mug po written gzhi-bdag-smug-po [in Na-khi Shi-zhi muan-bbu]; (in the Tibetan classic of the mountain god Dgra-lha [dgra-lha] the mountain is called Jang-ri-mug-po [Jang-ri-smug-po རྒྱུ་རྩེ་ལྷུག་པོ་], i.e., the purple mountain of Jang =

Mo-so); another Na-khi name for it is Sā bpi a-na Ngyu. On this mountain grows a bamboo from which the Na-khi (used to) cut their arrows. On its slopes there was once a temple called Ling shou Ssu 靈壽寺, built by the Mu family during the Ming dynasty. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1730), a lama, known as the Ssu-pao la-ma 四寶喇嘛, came with a retinue to pay his respects to the prefect of Li-chiang, called Kuan Hsiieh-hsüan 管學官. He induced him to subscribe funds and to have the priest, Ming Chü 明氏, and others solicit funds for the building of the Wen-feng Yüan 文峯院 lamasery, or Wen-feng Wan as it is called in Yün-nan, situated on the slopes of the mountain.

Meng-hsi Shan 蒙喜山 is 50 li north-west of Li-chiang; at its foot was the A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜) guard-house at the A-khi ferry across the Yangtze. The mountain is terraced and is several ten li long, resembling a screen.

A-na Shan 阿那山 ⁶ is 270 li north of Li-chiang, on the southern border of the ancient Pao-shan chou 寶山州. This is the still more ancient Hsieh-lung 邪龍, so known during the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 24), and in the present district of La-pao 剌寶 (La-bpu). On this mountain was an ancient stockaded village called A-na-ho 阿那和.

Lao-chün Shan 老君山 ⁷ is 250 li south-west of Li-chiang and rises high into the clouds; its height is 14,100 feet. It is north-west of the town of Chien-ch'uan, and is reckoned as the father of all the mountains of Yün-nan. A powerful spring issues from it. It is believed that Lao-tzu 老子 once prepared the magic drug of immortality on this mountain — hence the name.

Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 is 80 li south-west of Li-chiang. The Shih-ku 石鼓 Ch'ung-chiang Ho 桐江河 ⁸ flows between Lao-chün Shan and Wang-chiang Shan, the latter being south of Shih-ku.

⁶ There is also a mountain, or rather spur, west of the village of Dū-gkv (at the head of the Li-chiang plain), which is called 'A-na-gkv.

⁷ This mountain is also called Lo-chün Shan 羅均山 and La-chün Shan 刺均山. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 22, fol. 5b, quotes these as synonyms for Lao-chün Shan. It also states that Lo-chün Shan 羅均山 is 20 li north west of the old Lan chou district. Its ancient name is La-kou Shan 刺鈎山. The second character is apparently a misprint and should be *chün* 鈎. Five deep ponds are on its summit, and the natives pasture their yak on the mountain, hence it is also called Mu niu Shan 牧牛山. It lies 250 li south-west of Li-chiang. On Lao-chün Shan is a *ling ch'üan* 靈泉 (mysterious spring); as the water flows down the mountain it is called Lao-chün Ho 老君河, another name for it being Shih-lai Chiang 石梁江. From the eastern slopes issues the source of the Chien Hu 劍湖 (Chien-ch'uan Lake) — this being merely a tributary of the Yang-pi Chiang. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that both waters flow into the Chien-ch'uan Lake. This is, of course, not so for they flow into the Yang-pi, and the Chien-ch'uan Lake has an outlet into the Yang-pi south of Chien-ch'uan.

⁸ It is also written Ch'ung Chiang 冲江. The stretch from where it flows west to east is called La-pa Ho 拉巴河 (La-ba gyi in Na-khi), as one branch of it has its source in the La-ba Ngyu (La-ba-gko Mountains), called in Chinese La-pa Shan 拉巴山, west of Shih-ku. In Na-khi the mountain is called La-ba Ngyu after the village of La-ba, the Chinese Shih-ku.

Hsüeh-p'an Shan 雪盤山 (Snow basin Mountain) is situated 200 li south-west of Li-chiang, and 10 li west from the ancient Lan chou. It has 12 separate peaks, and snow remains throughout the four seasons [there are, however, no glaciers on the mountain, which is 14,000 feet in height].

The Hsüeh-p'an Shan is now better known as the Yen-lu Shan 鹽路山 (Salt road Mountain), as all the salt from the La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴 wells is brought over this mountain to Chien-ch'uan, etc. On the latest Yün-nan military map, published in 1928, the Hsüeh-p'an Shan extends east of Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 for about 120 li, about 50 li north of Lan-p'ing and 70 li south, making a curve. In the same range is a mountain marked Fu-yüan Shan 福原山, extending somewhat north-east. I believe that this mountain is identical with the peaks known as Yen-lu Shan, and is the central part of the Hsüeh-p'an Shan.

How accurate Chinese geographical accounts are as to distances can be judged from the following statement found in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 24b: "The Hsüeh-p'an Shan is 200 li south-west of the city of Li-chiang, and 10 li west of the ancient Lan chou [present Lan-p'ing]"; On p. 35a, it states that "the ancient Lan chou is 360 li south-west of the city of Li-chiang." We have here a difference of 160 li; furthermore the Hsüeh-p'an Shan is not west, but east of Lan-p'ing. By stating it is 10 li distant from Lan chou, one would expect a definite mountain and not a range about 120 li long. There is a high mountain mass just about 20 li east of Lan-p'ing, and that is the Yen-lu Shan (Handel-Mazzetti's Ye-lu-schan). I crossed that mountain three times and know whereof I speak.

About the Fu-yüan Shan the same source states that it is 250 li west of Li-chiang, yet this mountain is in the center of the Hsüeh-p'an Shan. Again, the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* says that the Yen-lu Shan is south of the Hsüeh-p'an Shan and reaches to the border of Yün-lung. On its southern slopes rises the Ta-lang Ho 大郎河, which flows south-west into the Pi Chiang 沘江. [This is the river which flows past Yün-lung and is marked as the Lo-ma Ho on Major Davies' map.]

Fu-yüan Shan 福源山 (Lucky spring Mountain) is 250 li west of Li-chiang and at the north border of Lan-p'ing. The mountain extends south-east over 50 li.

Hua-ma Shan 花馬山 (Piebald horse Mountain) is 350 li north-west of Li-chiang and near the south-east border of the ancient Chü-chin chou 巨津州, the present Chü-tien. On one of the cliffs is a rock resembling a piebald horse, whence the name. In ancient days the people of the Mo-so chao called their country the Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國 after that mountain. (See History of Li-chiang, p. 95.)

Han-sou Shan 漢藪山 is 500 li west of Li-chiang and close to the Shu-miao 樹苗汛 guard-house, north-west of the ancient Chü-chin chou. It is a spur or branch of the Lao-chün Shan. On its summit are three lakes, each five *mou* wide, or a little less than an English acre, and of unknown depth. [This mountain is south of present-day Lu-tien 魯甸.]

Feng-lo Ta-shan 風羅大山 is over 700 li west of Li-chiang; it forms the western valley wall of the Mekong or Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江, and extends to

Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌), forming the divide between the Nu-tzu 怒子⁹ and the Mekong.

Ko-lo Shan 革落山 is 420 li west of Li-chiang and forms the eastern valley wall of the Mekong, west of the present Lan-p'ing. It is composed of two parallel mountains, each with three distinct peaks overlooking the Mekong.

Nu-kuan Shan 怒關山 is 190 li west of the Li-chiang district. From its slopes rises the T'ung-tien Ho 通甸河. [The T'ung-tien Ho is the southernmost branch of the Yang-kung Chiang 漾江.] It flows past T'ung-tien, and debouches into the Mekong at Sha-tien 少甸. [This place is south of Shu-miao 樹苗, which is the Li-chiang — Wei-hsi border.]

Shih-ho Shan 十和山 is 20 li north-west of Li-chiang. At its foot is a village called Shih-ho-ts'un 十和邨. [This is in the sub-district of Shu-ho; Na-khi: Shwua-wùa.]

La-pa Shan (Na-khi: La-ba Ngyu) is 160 li west-north-west of Li-chiang. It is also called Feng-shui-ling 分水嶺. The Shih-ku Stream (Na-khi: Pa-tzu gyi, or La-ba pa-tzu gyi) has its source on the eastern slopes and flows at Shih-ku into the Yangtze. Handel-Mazzetti calls this mountain "Lo-tue schan." This is a mistake and his informer evidently had Lao-chün Shan in mind, which is also called Lo-chün Shan.

2. JADE DRAGON MOUNTAIN, OR YÜ-LUNG SHAN 玉龍山 THE LI-CHIANG SNOW RANGE (PLATE 54)

This beautiful mountain range, consisting of three main peaks, extends from north to south; in its northern part it is cut through by the Yangtze, which separates the third peak (Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv) from the two southern peaks. The gorge which divides the range is known as 'A-ts'an gko and is described elsewhere (pp. 256-282).¹⁰

The southernmost is the highest peak and dominates the Li-chiang plain. It is known as Shan-tzu-tou 扇子陡, for its fluted face, the outspread snow ridges below the summit resemble an opened fan held upright. Shan-tzu-tou is 19,800 feet high.

The second peak, but not the second highest of the mountain mass of which it is a part, is commonly called Gyi-nà lo-gkv (H.-M., Dyinaloko) which really means "Inside the black water valley." It may be better described as Gyi-nà nv-lv (Black water snow peak); [the literal translation of *nv-lv* is silver rocks, by which the Na-khi denote a snow peak.] This peak differs greatly from the highest one of the range, and is somewhat further east than Shan-tzu-tou, and not west as on Handel-Mazzetti's map.

West, and parallel to the broad mountain mass of Gyi-nà nv-lv, but connected at the very top by a spur from which a deep valley extends north, is a

⁹ The Nu-tzu (Lu-tzu 潞子), are a tribe inhabiting the upper Salween in Yün-nan territory, hence the Salween — Mekong divide is meant.

¹⁰ The Yü-lung Shan is also called Sung Hsüeh-shan 聳雪山 (Lofty Snow mountain), and Fa Hsüeh-ling 乏雪嶺 (Peerless Snow peak).

range of ice-crowned peaks exactly like those of Shan-tzu-tou. The last of these peaks at the head of the valley is higher than Gyi-nà nv-lv, hitherto considered the second highest peak of the Jade-dragon mountain. It is of about the same height as Shan-tzu-tou. This parallel range is often spoken of by the Na-khi as 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv (Snow peaks of 'A-ts'an-gko), and I have adopted the name for the ice-crowned peaks, the southernmost of which is the second highest, with Gyi-nà nv-lv third, and Ha-ba ndshêr nv-lv fourth of the Li-chiang snow range.

There are many snow peaks in the extreme north-west of Yün-nan, some of which are higher than the Li-chiang range and like the latter they also extend from north to south. Directly north of Li-chiang, in the new province of Hsi-k'ang 西康, is a large snow range called Gangs-dkar Rigs-gsum-mgon-po (pronounced Gangkar risum gampo), (PLATE 55), also known as the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) snow range (Kung-ka-ling Hsüeh-Shan 貢噶嶺雪山 in Chinese). (PLATES 55, 56, 57, 58, 59). It is composed of three isolated peaks which rise from a high plateau and form a triangle,¹¹ but they extend from west to east, and are directly north of the Yangtze loop. The river Zho Chhu (Iron River; Wu-liang Ho 無量河 of the Chinese) flows at the foot of the range and debouches into the Yangtze at the apex of the loop (PLATE 105). The entire Gangkar-ling range and the Zho Chhu were once under the rule of the Na-khi chiefs, in particular during the Wan-li period of the Ming dynasty (1573-1619). There are extensive Na-khi villages, collectively called O-yü, the inhabitants of which are descendants of the Na-khi soldiers who once guarded the region.

There is one other range not marked on any map, and that is Mu-ti Gangkar (Mu-ti Gangs-dkar)¹² which lies east of the Ya-lung 鴨龍 in Hsi-k'ang. It is about 19,000 feet in height and glacier-crowned; the western face of the mountain is in Mu-li 木裏 (Mi-li in Hsi-fan, Mä-li in Na-khi) territory; it also extends from north to south, with the Ya-lung flowing at its foot, in a gorge 11,500 feet deep, and 1,300 feet higher than the Yangtze.

Still farther north is the Mi-nyag Gangs-dkar¹³ (Minya Konka as I baptized it) (PLATE 60). It is north-east of the Mu-ti Gangkar range and south-west of Ta-chien-lu 打箭爐, in Hsi-k'ang. Although Na-khi are supposed to live near Ta-chien-lu, in all my travels in that region I have not come across any of their villages. The farthest north are those on the Tibetan side north of Yar-kha-lo and in Mu-li territory near the Yün-nan border. These will be described in their respective places.

The Li-chiang Records state that besides being called the Yü-lung Shan, the Li-chiang snow range is also called Hsüeh-ling 雪嶺 and is covered with eternal snow, visible for a hundred li or more. Half-way up the mountain is said to be a pond, but the only pond known to me on this snow range is at the foot of the last and southernmost crag, called Hua-lä-bpu (H-M., Ünlupe).

¹¹ The three peaks are named after the Lamaist trimurti Rigs-gsum mgon-po རིགས་གསུམ་མགོན་པོ་ (The Three Lords), defenders of Lamaism, *i.e.*, Chenrezig (Spyan-ras-gzigs), Jambyang (Hjam-dbyangs) and Chhana-dorje (Phyag-na-rdo-rje).

¹² མུ་ཏི་གངས་དྲུག་

¹³ མི་ཉག་གངས་དྲུག་



PLATE 105. — THE CONFLUENCE OF THE YANGTZE AND THE ZHO CHHU

金沙江與無量河合流

The Zho Chhu or Wu-liang Ho enters the Yangtze at the apex of the loop. Li-chiang, Yung-ning and Chung-tien territories meet here.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 106. — THE WESTERN ARM OF THE YANGTZE LOOP

金沙江西支彎曲

The Yangtze makes two sharp bends ere reaching the apex near Shang Feng-k'o. Photographed from the central spur elevation 9,400 feet. Pines cover the hillsides.

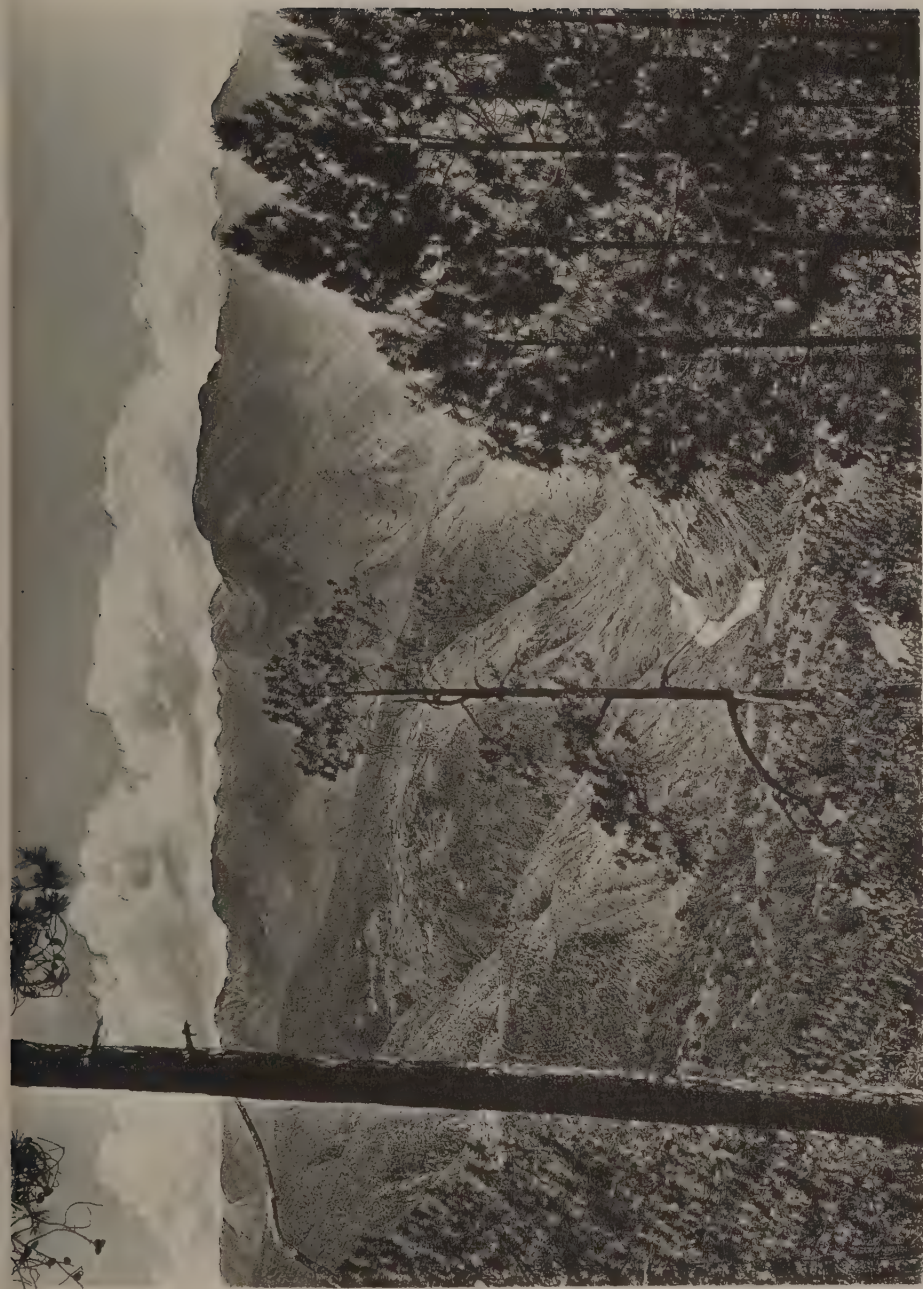


PLATE 107. — THE EASTERN ARM OF THE YANGTZE LOOP

金沙江東支彎曲

The river flows here in a deep gorge which separates Li-chiang from Yung-ning territory. The bend seen in the picture is north of Feng-k'o. The high mountain in the distance is Wua-ha over 15,000 feet in height. Photographed from an elevation 10,100 feet. Pines in foreground.

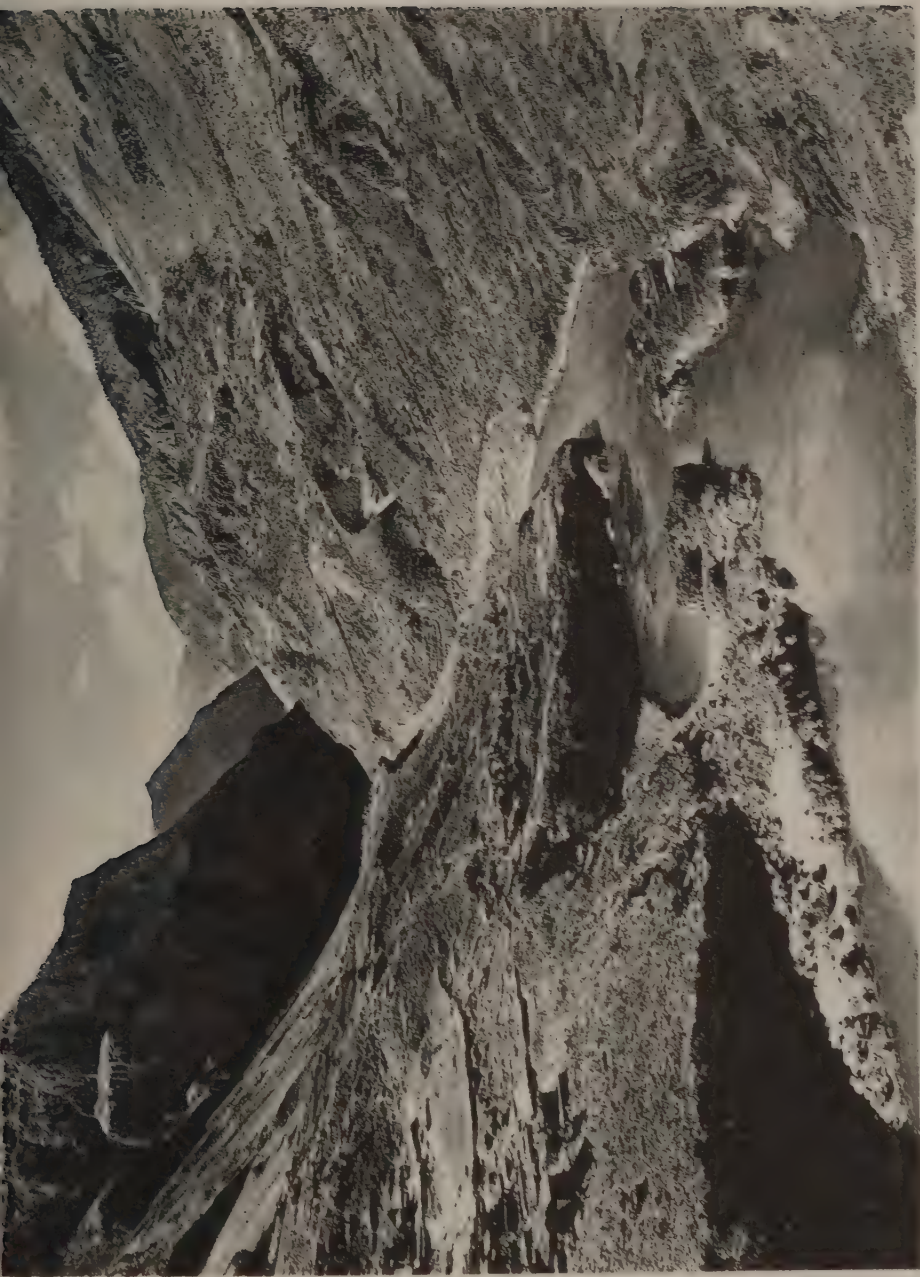
(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)



PLATE 108. -- THE YANGTZE NEAR P'A-LO

金沙江近巴羅

The river (looking upstream) flows here in an arid gorge; the Li-su hamlet of P'a-lo (Chinese Pa-lo), also called Tse-mi, can be seen on the steep slopes above the alluvial fan, about center of picture. Left is Li-chiang, right, Yung-ning territory. Photographed from a bluff elevation 6,800 feet.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 109. — THE YANGTZE AT CHIANG-WAI

江 外 渡 口

The arid gorge is dreary and a waste of rock and grass. A ferry plies here between Bu-yi-gkv in Yang-ning and Chiang-wai (Da-dü-gku) in Li-chiang territory (left). The latter village can be seen on the slopes (left margin of picture).

La-bpu mbu whence Plate 100 was taken is beyond the gorge, about center (left) of picture.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 110. — THE ONLY BRIDGE ACROSS THE YANGTZE

梓里江鐵橋

The Chin-lung ch'iao (Golden dragon bridge) spans the Yangtze at Tzu-li-chiang. The village above the bridge is called Chin-lung-ch'iao-ts'un or Gku-k'u-ndu in Na-khi. The mountains on the other side of the river are in Yung-sheng (Yung-pei) territory.



PLATE III.—THE CHIN-LUNG CH'IAO CHAIN SUSPENSION BRIDGE

金龍橋或梓里鐵索橋

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

The bridge called Dsi-li shu-er ndso in Na-khi, rests on 18 iron chains anchored to boulders buried in the ground. It sways considerably when traversed by pedestrian or mule. The Yangtze flows here at 4,600 feet.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 112. — GKAW-NGAW LAKE

乾海子

The lake, situated at the southwestern end of the Yü-lung Shan, has a subterranean outlet. In the summer the meadows surrounding it are a blaze of color. It is the home of *Primula Vialii* and many other lovely flowers. Pines in foreground. Elevation of lake 10,300 feet.



PLATE 113. — THE YANGTZE WEST OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

阿喜里金沙江

Photographed from near 'A-gko-gyi-k'o looking west to the Chung-tien side of the river, with the village of La-zhër-lo in center of picture. Pines cover the valley slopes. Elevation 6,600 feet.



PLATE 114. — THE FERRY ACROSS THE YANGTZE AT YU-LO

營盤村金沙江渡口

Photographed from near the hamlet of Ggō-lo elevation 6,070 feet, looking east towards Yu-lo (upper extreme left). The Yü-lung Shan with Shan-tzu-tou in the distance.



PLATE 115. — THE YANGTZE AT GCÖ-LO

The river is here considerably broad; at the foot of the mountain mass, overshadowed by the snowpeak Ha-ba ndshêr
nv-lv, the Yangtze makes a sharp bend to the right and cuts through the Yü-lung Shan.

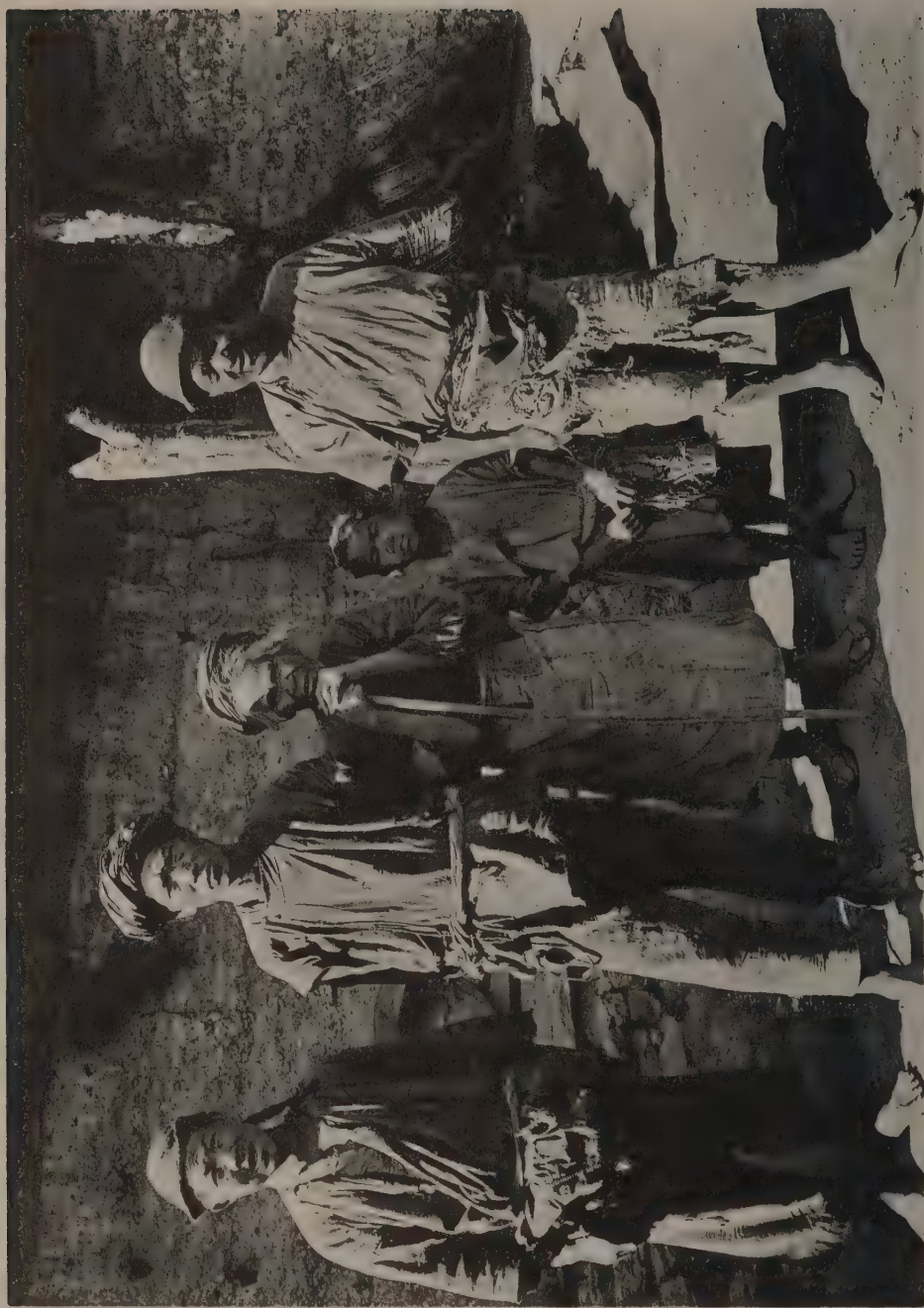


PLATE 116. — CHUNG-CHIA TRIBESPEOPLE FROM LA-MUAN-DZE

大 火 山 獅 家

The Chung-chia are natives of Kuei-chou; the village of La-muan-dze is in the crater bowl of Ta-huo Shan, a detached extinct volcano back of Yu-lo.



PLATE II7. — THE ENTRANCE TO 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

金沙江入玉龍山峽陸

The Yangtze entering the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge which it has carved for itself through the Yü-lung Shan. Left, Chung-tien; right, Li-chiang territory. In the winter, the dry season, sand islands appear in the riverbed. Photographed from a terrace south of La-tsa-ku, Chung-tien district.

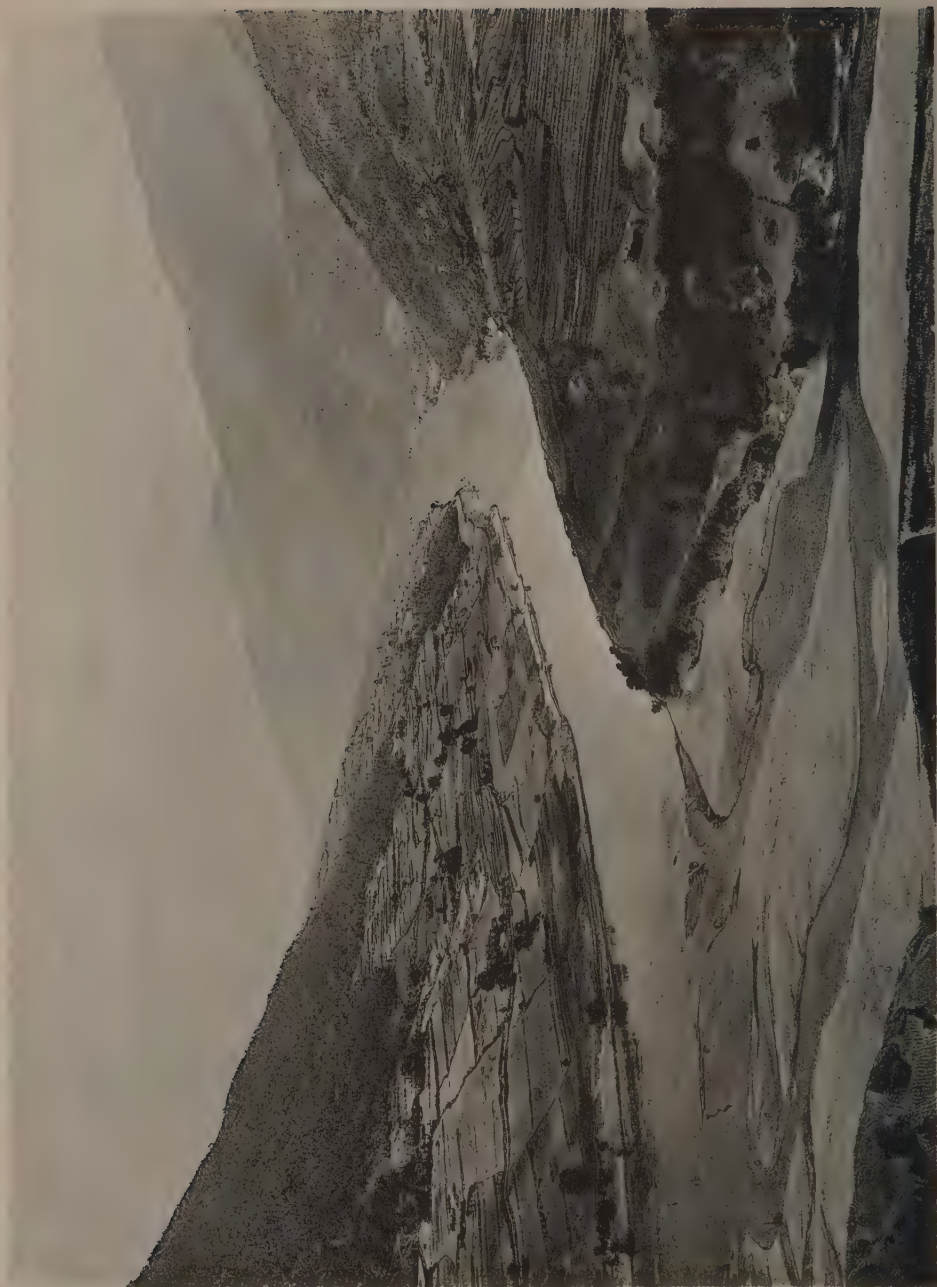


PLATE 118. — CONFLUENCE OF THE CHUNG-CHIANG HO AND YANGTZE

金沙江與中江河合流

The Chung-chiang Ho or Yü-ndo gyi descends from the highlands of Chung-tien and debouches into the Yangtze where the latter enters the great 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Looking south, upstream; Li-chiang territory left, Chung-tien territory right.



PLATE 119. — THE YANGTZE IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE NEAR NO-YÜ

金沙江玉龍山陝隘內

The river flows placidly at the foot of stupendous limestone cliffs opposite No-yü. In the deep lateral ravine called Muan-gko-hsi a few Li-su families eke out a precarious existence.



PLATE 120. — THE YANGTZE IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

雅昌角陝隘

Looking south-west, back towards the entrance of the gorge from a lateral spur or bluff, 8,000 feet elevation. Pines in foreground.

This pond, which only exists in the summer, is called Tsu-k'aw-khü; when it is full it descends as a waterfall over a vertical cliff several hundred feet high, the water having cut a terrific, narrow channel in the rock. This waterfall is called 'A-nggü-t'an (Floor of the split cliff).

The name Yü-lung Shan was first mentioned by Pauthier in *L'Univers (Chine)* in 1837,¹⁴ and appears on the Chinese maps and in Chinese geographies as well as in the Li-chiang Records. The following appears in the *Tu-shih Fang-yü chih-yao*, ch. 113, fols. 15a-16b.

"The Yü-lung Shan is situated 20 li north-west of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang. It is also known as Sung hsüeh-shan 聳雪山 (Lofty snow mountain) and commonly as Hsüeh-shan. The entire range extends for about 100 li, and about ten high peaks rise to the skies. It looks down on the Li Shui 麗水 (Beautiful River) [Yangtze]. The snow which accumulates during the summer never melts. Its cliffs rise to the height of 10,000 jen 仞 [one jen = 8 feet]. If one looks at it from beyond 1,000 li, it seems as near as the distance between a foot of eight and a foot of ten inches. It is connected with the mountains of Sung chou 松州 of Ssu-ch'uan."¹⁵

The Meng family 蒙氏 (of the Nan-chao Kingdom) bestowed the name of Pei-yo 北嶽 (North sacred Mountain) upon it, and also called it Hsüeh-ling 雪嶺.

During the reign of T'ang Te Tsung, period Cheng-yüan (785-804) Wei Kao agreed with Yün-nan to attack jointly the T'u-fan (Tibetans) and drove them beyond Yün-ling 雲嶺, that is beyond the Hsüeh-ling (Li-chiang snow range).

In the beginning of the Yüan Chih-shun 元至順 (1330) period, one of the rulers of Yün-nan, T'u-chien 禿堅,¹⁶ and others rebelled against the Mongol

¹⁴ On p. 7 of his work a list is given of all the snow mountains of China, which is headed by Yün-nan. The fifth mountain mentioned is the Li-chiang snow range, and he states: "Siuë chan (montagne de neige) ou Yu-loung-chan, 26° 33'-97°. Cette montagne colossale est visible à une distance très-considérable; elle est couronnée par plusieurs glaciers élevés."

¹⁵ This is the present day Sung-pan hsien 松潘縣 in the extreme north-west of Ssu-ch'uan. It is, of course, not connected with the mountains of that district, unless one considers all mountains to be so connected.

¹⁶ The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 5, fols. 55a-57a, states: "History relates that T'u-chien and the Wan-hu 萬戶 (Rulers of 10,000 families) Po-hu 伯忽 and A-ho 阿禾 rebelled and attacked Chung-ch'ing Lu 中慶路, (the circuit of Chung-ch'ing = Yün-nan fu), and killed the secretary of the judicial commissioner, whereupon he called himself King of Yün-nan. This happened in the third moon of the 1st year of the period Chih-shun of Yüan Wen Tsung 元文宗." The *Hsin Yüan Shih* 新元史, ch. 22, fol. 1a, says that T'u-chien rebelled in the first moon of the spring *ting-ssu* 丁巳 of the 1st year of the period Chih-shun (January 24th, 1330); he made himself King of Yün-nan in the second moon *chia-wu* 甲午 (March 2nd, 1330). Po-hu became the Ch'eng-hsiang 丞相 (Assistant minister) and A-ho became the P'ing-chang 平章 (Minister of State). In the fifth moon the Yün-nan Hsüan-wei-shih 宣慰使, Lu-yü 祿余 [he was the native official of Wu-meng 烏蒙, the present Chao-t'ung hsien 昭通縣 in north-east Yün-nan], rebelled and joined T'u-chien.

"History further relates that Lu-yü acquired merit by killing T'u-chien. He thereupon was made Hsing-sheng ts'an-chih-cheng ssu 行省參知政事.

"The Lo-lo and all the savages who had joined T'u-chien started rebellions everywhere and the P'ing-chang T'ieh-mu-erh Pu-hua 帖木兒不花 [grandson of Kublai] met his death.

dynasty, and the Ssu-ch'uan army was ordered to punish them. In the defiles of the Hsieh-shan they defeated the army of the Lo-lo-ssu 羅羅斯.¹⁷ According to the *T'ien-chih* 滇志, I-mou-hsün proclaimed himself Jih-tung Wang 日東王 (King of the Orient) in the fourth year of T'ang Cheng-yüan (788) and under pretext bestowed titles on five mountains, and four rivers. The eastern one, or Tung-yo, is called Chiang-yün-lu Sung-wai Lung Shan 江雲露松外龍山 and is situated 280 li north-east of the chou (department) of Lu-ch'üan 祿勸州 in the prefecture of Wu-ting 武定府, adjoining the border of Tung-ch'uan fu 東川府, Ssu-ch'uan (now Hui-tse 惠澤 in Yün-nan); it is also called Wu-meng Shan 烏蒙山, Yün-lung Shan 雲龍山 and Chiang-yün-lu Shan 絳雲露山.¹⁸ The northern part of this range overlooks the Yangtze. Its twelve great steep peaks, extend for more than 70 li. In the twentieth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan (546) the military governor of Sui chou 嵩州, Liu Poying 劉伯英, said that the various Man beyond Sung, i.e., Sung-wai, only temporarily submitted and later revolted again. He petitioned the government to attack them in order to open the road to Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河 (Ta-li Lake) and India. This he was permitted to do. The following year the government sent Liang Chien-fang 梁建方 to mobilize the army of the 12 chou of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) and punish the various Man of Sung-wai. Over 100,000 barbarians were killed and captured. Thereupon the various Man, severely frightened, dispersed to live in the valleys of the mountains. An envoy was then sent to Hsi-erh Ho, who, by proclamation, ordered the native leaders to submit. The chief Meng-yü 蒙羽 of Sung-wai was also ordered to pay tribute to the T'ang dynasty.

Afterwards T'u-chien's younger brother Pi-la-tu-mi-shih 必刺都迷失 and his whole family drowned themselves in the Lake (Yün-nan fu Lake). Two more of his younger brothers and his three sons were captured and executed while Lu-yü fled and all the rest were pacified."

¹⁷ The Lo-lo-ssu were the aborigines ruled by a native chief who lived one li east of Chien-ch'ang 建昌, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 in Ssu-ch'uan. The *T'u-i k'ao* 土壘考 says that during the period Yüan Chih-cheng (1341-1367) there was established the Hsüan-wei-ssu Tu-yüan-shuai-fu 宣慰司都元帥府 of the Lo-lo, the Meng-ch'ing 蒙慶 and of other places. They and their chief dispersed and lived to the west of the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河. The grandson of the Lo-lo-ssu Hsüan-wei-ssu, An-p'u-pu 安普卜 by name, submitted with all his people in the fourth year of Hung-wu (1371). He was given the title of T'u-chi-hui-shih 土指揮使 and ordered to administer the affairs of the military station of Chien-ch'ang (wei). He was, however, given neither letters patent nor a seal. He controlled territory 15 horse-stages in extent and ruled nine tribes, viz.: P'o-jen 爨人, Lo-lo 爨羅, Pai-i 白彝, Hsi-fan 西番, Mo-so 麼些, Lu-lu 牂羊, Mongols, Mohammedans and Yü-jen 漁人. The Lo-lo were the most refractory and all these tribes scattered to the mountain valleys. The territory extended for more than 1,000 li each way; north to the Ta-tu Ho, south to the Yangtze, east to Wu-meng (Chao-t'ung), and west to Yen-ching 鹽井, the present Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣. The grandson six generations after him died without issue and the tribes all rebelled. The stronger lorded it over the weaker, and feuds caused constant murder, until all was quiet again after a long lapse of time.

¹⁸ The *Tung-ch'uan fu chih*, ch. 4, fol. 5a, states that the mountain is 200 li south-west of the city of Tung-ch'uan, and is also called Yün-lung Shan 雲弄山. From Hsün-tien 尋甸 and Ch'e-hu 車湖 a branch extends 300 li as far as San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. Much snow remains on the mountain, hence it is called snow mountain. It is also called Wu-lung Shan 烏龍山. This name appeared first in the western Han dynasty. In the T'ang dynasty it was called Chiang-yün-lu Shan. Now it is known as Wu-lung-hsüeh-shan 五竜雪山. It is very steep and imposing, its 12 peaks extending through the clouds. On its summit is a lake called Hui-niao Hu 惠溺湖.

The South mountain, or Nan-*yo* 南嶽, is called Meng-lo Shan 蒙樂山 and is situated 80 li north of the prefectural city of Ching-tung 景東府. It is also known as Wu-liang Shan 無量山. The West mountain, or Hsi-*yo*, is the Kao-li-kung Shan 高黎共山, and the North mountain, or Pei-*yo*, is the Yü-lung Shan. The Central mountain, or Chung-*yo*, is the Tien-ts'ang Shan 點蒼山 west of Ta-li. Although the east and south mountains are not very important, yet they are quite the largest in their respective districts.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lich* confirms that in the middle of the reign of Cheng-yüan (794) Wei Kao made an agreement with the Nan-chao Kingdom to attack the T'u-fan and drove them from the Hsüeh ling, *i.e.*, snow mountain. The army of the Lo-lo-ssu was defeated at the snow mountain by the troops of Ssu-ch'uan at the beginning of the period Chih-shun (1330) of the Yüan dynasty. This snow mountain is none other than that of Li-chiang. A branch of it extends south, and this is the Ts'ui wei Shan 翠微山. Still further lies the Sleeping elephant Mountain or Hsiang mien Shan 象眠山 at the foot of which the Lung-wang Miao is situated. This branch ends at Yü-ho-ts'un 玉河村.

3. THE MOUNTAIN GOD AND THE TEMPLE OF SA-DDO

Nearly every snow peak in Tibet has a name, it is usually that of a spirit or deity belonging to the protective type which deity is often believed to dwell within the peak. The Li-chiang snow range does not seem to have any other but Chinese names, which would indicate and confirm the belief that the Na-khi were immigrants in that region. The many Na-khi names which the various alpine meadows, forests, etc., on the slopes of the snow range bear, were given by Na-khi shepherds who were obliged to move their flocks of sheep from one little meadow to another. The shepherds are mostly children, directed by their parents as where to pasture their flocks, and this necessitates names for these places. But proper Na-khi names in the true sense of the word for the range or individual peaks do not exist.

The name of the highest peak is a Chinese one, though it is true that it is also called in Na-khi, Boa-shi *nv-lv*. *Nv-lv* means silver rock, hence snow mountain, and Boa-shi is the Na-khi name for the market-place Pai-sha-kai situated between Li-chiang and the last village, *Nv-lv-k'ö*, on the north-western branch of the plain, at the foot of the range. But the name is only a few hundred years old and relates to an episode when the Boa (Hsi-fan 西番), from the north, invaded Na-khi territory and were killed (*shi* = dead) there by the Na-khi.

However, the Li-chiang snow range does represent a spirit or deity, and the deity in this case is not a local one, but one which had its origin in the far north, the grass-lands of Eastern Tibet whence the Na-khi migrated south during the latter part of the Han dynasty. Thus the name of Sa-ddo, the Tibetan Sa-tham, was brought by the Na-khi to Li-chiang and applied in all probability first to the Li-chiang snow range, or rather the spirit of Sa-ddo was made the mountain god and protector of the Na-khi settlers. Only later as the town of Li-chiang came into being was the name Sa-tham extended to it.¹⁹ We see

¹⁹ It must be stated, however, that according to SIR CHARLES BELL and his Lhasa informant, Ge-sar is said to have lived during the reign of the Tibetan King To-to-ri nyen-tsen in the

thus that the spirit of Sa-ddo (Sa-tham) is a stranger in Li-chiang, a co-immigrant, of the Na-khi.

The famous Ge-sar epic tells of the battles fought by Ge-sar against Sa-tham. The latter was the King of Jang. The word Jang is written in Tibetan in two ways, viz: ljang and hjang. The first stands for Mo-so and appears in a Tibetan manuscript of the Ge-sar legend (ms. in the possession of Roerich [Rolf Stein]), while the words ljang-mo, according to S. C. Das, *Tibetan — English Dictionary*, p. 470a, represent a district in Li-t'ang beyond Kham. The second, hjang or hjangs appear in *Dictionnaire Thibétain — Latin — Français*, p. 351b, "*Tribus et regionis nom. in N.W. provinciae Sinar. Yun-nan. cuj. urbs principalis est Sa-tham seu Ly-Kiang-fou. Tribus vocatur Mosso a Sinensibus et Nashi ab ipsismet incolis, nom de tribu et de pays au N.-O. du Yun-nan.*" Now S. C. Das, *l.c.* p. 452b, gives hjang as a place in N. W. Tibet which once formed the Kingdom of Hjang. He further gives hjangs-shabs as a name of a place in Kham, and Hjangs-sa-tham also as the name of a place in Kham. This latter is, however, our Sa-tham or Li-chiang.

The popular legends about Ge-sar do not mention armies against which Ge-sar fought. The war he fought with the Jang (ljang) has its counterpart in the popular legend in which Ge-sar is fighting the giant demon of Byang. (See J. F. Rock, "The Birth and Origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo," etc., in *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. VII, pp. 35, 48-49: also "Studies in Na-khi Literature I," in *BEFE-O*, T. XXXVII, pp. 26 and 37.) The word byang denotes the North: Byang-thang are the grassy or undulating plains of North Tibet. A. H. Francke, in *Der Wintermythus der Kesarssage* (1902), p. II, states that, strange to say, the word byang = north is pronounced jang in lower Ladakh. The celebrated legend of Ge-sar's war with the Jang, Francke, believes to be identical with Ge-sar's popular combat with the demon (giant) of Byang. This combat has its counterpart in the Dto-mba Shi-lo legend where he encounters the giant demon Dtu-ndër-tkhyu-bpa-la-llü, the Tibetan bDud-khyab-pa-lag-ring. Rolf Stein a student of Ge-sar legends informed me that he found the word *byang* for the *Jang* (Mo-so) only in one passage, *i.e.* in the Ge-sar Ms. of Roerich.

The Na-khi, as has been proved by their voluminous literature which I have translated, have much in common with the people of N. W. Tibet. It

fourth century of our era. Sa-tham must have lived at the same time. This particular Tibetan period is, however, not reckoned as a trustworthy historic one. Real Tibetan history does not begin until about the eleventh century A.D. The dates of the birth of the above king vary with various authors. SARAT CHANDRA DAS gives 441 and his name as Lha Tho-tho-ri nyen-tsen (gnyan-btsan); SCHLAGINTWEIT in his "*Die Könige von Tibet*", p. 806, gives the name as Lha-tho-tho-ri-snyen-bshal and the year 463 as the first of his reign. WADDELL, in his *Buddhism of Tibet (Lamaism)*, p. 18, states: "Tibet emerges from barbaric darkness only with the dawn of its Buddhism, in the seventh century of our era." Ge-sar, after all, seems to be a mythical character and so perhaps is Sa-tham, and it is very likely that their legends date much farther back than the third or fourth century of our era. It is thus very probable that the Ch'iang 羌, of which the Na-khi are a branch, brought the Sa-tham legend with them south during their great migration. The name Sa-tham (written in Chinese, San-t'an 三談), according to the *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, was applied to Li-chiang during the Sung dynasty (960-1126). In the *Yüan Shih* (Mongol History) it is stated that the Na-khi chief Mai-liang 麥良, also called A-liang 阿良, was made the San-t'an Kuan-ming-kuan 三談管民官. In the same work it also states that San-t'an was the ancient name for Li-chiang and that the P'u-hsieh tribe dwelled there.

may also be possible that the Chinese Ch'iang 羌, a formerly large tribe of which the Na-khi are a branch, are identical with the Jang of the Tibetans. That Sa-tham is looked upon as a warrior spirit by the Na-khi can be gained from the texts found engraved on stones in his temple at the foot of the Li-chiang snow range, of which translations are here given.

I do not agree with Madam Alexandra David Neel²⁰ that Sa-tham once ruled over the place which to-day bears his name, but that, as already remarked, the story of Sa-tham was brought by the Na-khi to Li-chiang and his name given to the town afterwards. The legend relates that his *spirit* descended from the land of Gya-aw-dü (the Gya-de of the Tibetans). That is as much as to say that the Na-khi brought the name of Sa-ddo, of their legends, with them to their new home.

North of the village of Dü-gkv (Yü-lung-ts'un 玉龍村) there is situated at the foot of the snow range a temple dedicated to the god or spirit of the range, Sa-ddo (PLATE 61). The temple, which was constructed during the T'ang dynasty (618-913), actually by the Nan-chao King I-mou-hsün between 784 and 785, is known as the Pei-yo Miao 北嶽廟 (Temple of the North sacred Mountain). Tradition relates that there were three brothers, who came originally from the region of Gyi-aw-dü, the Chinese Chia-k'uan-ti 加寬地.²¹ The spirit of Sa-ddo, the youngest, called Sa-tham by the Tibetans who know Li-chiang only by that name, was said to have lived on the western slopes of the range, among the cliffs and crags of Gko-zo-lo. His eldest brother, Aw-wüa-wüa (A-wu-wüa) dwelled in a cave also on the western slope, now known as T'ai-tzu tung 太子洞. His second brother was called La-gkyi-la-khü and dwelled on a black mountain called Na-ngyu-wüa in La-shih-pa 刺是壩, to the west of Li-chiang (see Chapter VI, 7, on T'ai-tzu tung). Of the history or legends of his two brothers nothing is apparently known, for I could find no mention of them in Chinese records, and what has been related of them above I have received from old Na-khi peasants by word of mouth.

The Na-khi Sa-ddo is a national hero on whom emperors have conferred titles.

The Pei-yo Temple manuscript. — In the Pei-yo Temple is preserved a manuscript which tells of the legends of Sa-ddo, which I translate here in full. The legends are followed by numerous prayers to the spirit of Sa-ddo and laudatory expressions. He is called the creator of the universe, the defender of peace, protector against calamities such as fires, floods, plagues and wars. He is eulogized by saying that his power is as high as Heaven, his light shines like lightning, his mouth spits fire, and his appearance is as white as snow. His

²⁰ *The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling* (1933), p. 230, footnote 1. The places she mentions are actually in Yün-nan and not situated north of the present Chinese province of Yün-nan.

²¹ This is the Tibetan rGya-sde རྒྱ་སེད།. It comprises the central part of Eastern Tibet. The limits of this country are given as a broad band of 60 miles from north to south, stretching eastward from East Nagchhukha, in longitude 92° 40', to the western confines of the principality of Chha mdo (Chhab-mdo), circa longitude 96° 25' E. By far the major portion of the people within the region profess the Bön creed. The Gya-de tribes are also called Khyung-po-pa, mainly because one of their deities is the Khyung (Garuda). In the Na-khi religion the Garuda plays an important role, he is called by them T'khyu, or Dtu-p'är Khyu-t'khyu, that is, "the Khyu-t'khyu as white as a conch."

appetite is such that he can consume three animals daily. Many years ago a fire laid waste the temple of Sa-ddo and the clay figure (PLATE 62) representing Sa-ddo was damaged. Embedded in the clay figure was found a manuscript, only parts of which were decipherable; these were copied and kept by the caretaker of the temple. Excerpts of this manuscript were printed in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* (1743) Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 46b. It represents part of the legend and historical notes entitled:

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE ESTEEMED PRAYERS OF THE GREAT SACRED SNOWY STONE OF THE PEI-YO TEMPLE, ON WHICH WAS CONFERRED BY IMPERIAL DECREE THE HONORARY TITLE OF *TING-KUO AN-PANG-CHING-TI* 定國安邦景帝 (AUSPICIOUS GOD OF NATIONAL PEACE)

"In the reign of the Emperor Tai Tsung 代宗 and the period Ta-li 大曆 (766-779) of the T'ang dynasty, I-mou-hsün, appointed by Imperial order king of the Nan-chao Kingdom, conferred on thee the most respectful title of *Ta-sheng Pei-yo ting-kuo an-pang-ching-ti* 大聖北嶽定國安邦景帝 (Great sacred Pei-yo, auspicious god of national peace).²² Originally, thy spirit descended to us from the land of Chia-k'uan-ti 加寬地.²³ Thy body was covered with white armour; thy head wore a white helmet; thy hand held a white spear; beneath thy feet thou didst ride a white horse. Thou camest from the north-west direction. On arrival at the border of our district, thy behavior was quite unusual. At that time there lived a king, to whom thou didst say, 'You should offer sacrifice to me, and you will then be greatly benefited by it. However, every day I require a sacrifice of three animals.'

"That king did as he was bidden, but no benefit came to him. His wife privately murmured, saying, 'Since this man came to our kingdom, all our cattle are being consumed. Now we see nothing good has happened to us. What profit have we obtained by offering sacrifice to him?' Meanwhile, the god appeared to the king, and said, 'Your family worships me, and I intended that half the kings of the whole world should reverence you as their king. Why have you murmured, and said that all your cattle were going to be consumed? Now I am going back to Yü-lung Shan. All the cattle and the paper money you have offered to me, will be returned to you with honor.' After so saying, he disappeared like a whirlwind. All the animals and paper money, which the king had offered to him, were returned in their original condition, and were

²² In the *Li-chiang Records*, Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 46b, it states that when Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of the Mongol dynasty (Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈, or Kublai Khan) attacked Ta-li coming from Li-chiang, he conferred on the white rock which represents the god or spirit Sa-ddo the name of *Hsüeh-shih Pei-yo an-pang-ching-ti* 雪石北嶽安邦景帝.

²³ Chia-k'uan-ti is the Chinese transcription of the Na-khi name, Gya-aw-dü. A literal translation of the name means "water collect land," the word *gya* really standing for *gyi*, water. The character 加 is read by the Na-khi, *gya* or *gyu*, and is always used in transcribing such syllables in Na-khi names. The character *k'uan* has been selected not for its phonetic value, but for its meaning, of vast, spacious, truly descriptive of the region. The Tibetans call it the Gya-de, according to SARAT CHANDRA DAS (*Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, p. 205), which extends from the high road of Nagchhukha to Hsi-ning 西寧 in Kan-su. (See note 21, page 193.)

even multiplied tenfold. All the people were much surprised at this, and none of them could explain its meaning. Thenceforth that kingdom became weaker day by day. Its people then began to understand that the stranger was a god, and they realized that their repentance came too late.

"In the meantime, the same stranger appeared in a dream to Mai-tsung 麥琮²⁴ and said, 'Mai-tsung, Mai-tsung, my name is San-to 三多 [Sa-ddo, Sa-tham]. I was originally the spirit of the northern regions. I come from the land of Chia-k'uan-ti for the purpose of helping you in your battles. You are an upright southerner and have expressed your sincere desire to benefit your kingdom. Whenever you go to battle, I shall come to help you. Don't be double-minded.' After saying these words, he changed himself into a white musk-deer, and was gone like a whirlwind.

"Thenceforth, every time that Mai-tsung was on the battlefield, there appeared suddenly a man, of stalwart demeanor, who was dressed in white armour, wore a white helmet, held a white spear in his hand, and, mounted on a white horse, rushed furiously in the front line of battle. When the fighting was crowned with victory, there would come a whirlwind, and a great rain-storm, casting so deep a shadow over the whole land that nothing could be seen. Later on, the same man would occasionally appear in the magistrate's yamen, and secretly assist Mai-tsung.

"Again, at certain times there appeared and disappeared a white musk-deer in the valleys of the Yü-lung Shan. When Mai-tsung went hunting, he saw it, and would let his hunting dogs fly after it. They would chase it till the midday meal, when it would disappear, and nothing more would be seen of it. This happened repeatedly. The musk-deer could be neither caught or trapped, nor could its track be discovered. However, one day his hounds stopped and surrounded a white stone, which surprised all the people very much, and they wondered. They then lifted this white stone on to their backs, but it was as light as paper. However, half-way down the mountain, they put it on the ground, and rested a little while. Afterwards, they found that it suddenly had become as heavy as 1,000 catties, and they could not move it at all. Meanwhile, they took some rice and garlic out of their travelling-bags, and offered it as a sacrifice to the stone, and prayed saying, 'Here is not the right place for a spirit to stay. We wish your weight would become light again.' It then actually became as light as before. Once more they carried it on their backs to the place where the present temple has been built, and there it again became so heavy that nobody could lift it.

"After the temple was completed, the Mu family became very prosperous; their territory became very extensive; all tribes turned in allegiance to them; all people were content with their lot. So numerous were the sacrifices to this rock that there was no moment when offerings were not being made. During the time when Kublai Khan, the Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of the Yüan dynasty, personally led his troops to conquer Ta-li, the spirit of this white rock often came to help him in battle, therefore he conferred on it by an Imperial order the honorary title of *Ta-sheng hsüeh-shih Pei-yo ting-kuo an-pang-ching-ti* 大聖雪石北嶽定國安邦景帝.

²⁴ Mai-tsung is identical with Mou-pao A-tsung, second of the Na-khi chiefs, who ruled in Li-chiang during the reign of the Emperor Li Tsung 理宗 (1225-1264).

The Pei-yo Temple. — The Pei-yo Temple is of Chinese architecture, with nothing to distinguish it from other temples. Over the main entrance are four large wooden tablets with the following characters engraved on them: En P'u San-to 恩溥三多 = Gracious all-pervading San-to (Sa-ddo). The characters were written by the Na-khi calligrapher Huang Ch'i-hsi 黃絳熙 a native of Pai-sha-kai. The building is in bad repair, and often Tibetan families live in its spacious but ruined courts. In the main court is a huge bronze incense-burner (presented by the Mu family in the Ming Wan-li period (1573-1619), in which worshippers burn pieces of juniper wood as offerings to Sa-ddo. The main figure in the central shrine, behind a screen, is a sitting statue of Sa-ddo with a black beard, very much like some of the Chinese gods; the two female figures represent: on his left his wife, on his right his concubine (PLATE 62). Over the central shrine are two *pien-lien* 匾聯 or horizontal inscriptions tablet. The upper one reads: Yu-hsien fu-te 佑賢輔德 (Show favor to the worthy and aid the virtuous). The lower one bears only two characters Hsüeh-liang 雪亮 (Bright as snow). To the left of the central altar on which Sa-ddo sits enthroned stands a square, box-like shrine, black with age and soot. In it is the figure of a hunter, Aw-bpu gkaw-dti by name. His aspect is that of a fierce dog charging, upright, but with body bent forward and wearing a spiked helmet. Tradition relates that it was he who carried from the mountain the white stone, on which the figure of Sa-ddo now sits.

After bad dreams people will come before Aw-bpu gkaw-dti's shrine and, prostrating themselves, beseech him not to send such dreams — although a good look at the figure in the black shrine is enough in itself to cause them, so fierce and ferocious is its expression. He is said to have been Mai-tsung's hunter. He was a native of Dū-gkv mbe-gkyi, a small Na-khi hamlet to the south-west of Dū-gkv, at the foot of the southern spur of the snow range. His descendants used to take care of the temple until recently, when they were barred by the Mu family, who listened to slander spread by bad elements of Dū-gkv village.

In the two lateral buildings flanking the outer court, embedded in the crumbling walls, are two marble stones, one dating back to 1535 and inscribed by the Na-khi chief Mu Kung (1494-1553), the other to 1748, giving an account of the miraculous deeds and apparition of Sa-ddo.

The first memorial stone. — This stone (dated 1535) reads as follows:

“Record of rebuilding temple of Pei-yo, the North sacred Mountain.

“The North sacred Mountain is another name for the Jade-dragon, the snow mountain. This majestic snow mountain is a great spectacle to the whole of Yün-nan. Its spirit or vapor is godly. When the vapor is clear, the spirit manifests itself supernaturally. When the spirit is miraculous, the people become heroic. Now our Mu family has hereditarily guarded Li-chiang. Is this not due to the endowment of the sacred mountain and the nourishment of the spirit? Oh! Glorious is the sacred mountain! It is covered with snow throughout the four seasons and stands like a piece of jade 10,000 jen 萬仞 high. Is this not a spectacle for the whole of Yün-nan to look at?

“In the 14th year of the period Ta-li 大曆 of Tai Tsung 代宗 of the great

T'ang dynasty (779), I-mou-hsün²⁵ removed to the town of Yang-chien-chü 羊瞋直²⁶ and changed the name of the year to Shang-yüan. It was not until the latter part of the Ming dynasty that the name of Pei-yo (North sacred Mountain) was bestowed on the Jade-dragon. He is prayed to under the name of 'Auspicious god spirit of Yo.'

"Therefore a temple was built at the foot of the mountain. When the chiefs, officials, and peasants humbly worshipped in the temple, the god was always efficacious and answered every prayer. The temple stood majestically, its hall high and deep, in a dense forest, striking awe in everybody who beheld it. All people made obeisance to the god. In the year *i-wei* 乙未 of Chia-ching of the Ming dynasty (1535), our prefect Mu Kung, having perceived a supernatural vision, engaged workmen to rebuild the temple, making everything look as new. This was only achieved through the devoted sincerity of our Prince.

"Oh! sacred god! Bless our people, defend our territory and protect the descendants of the Mu family for hundreds of thousands of years, so that they may continue to worship thee just as we do in the present day."²⁷

"Written on an Auspicious Day in the Spring,
By the Prefect Mu Kung" ²⁸

The second memorial stone. — This stone, dating from 1748, is entitled: Tablet recording the dedication of sacrificial fields of the Pei-yo Temple:

"The snow mountain stands straight through the clouds. [Clothed] with perpetual snow, it is the most wonderful view in Yün-nan. It is well known that this mountain has been miraculous. Since the name Pei-yo was conferred upon it by the Yüan dynasty, the border region has been glorified by the presence of another Heng Shan 恆山 [the author means the North sacred mountain of Shansi]. In the Ming dynasty the Mu family was appointed by the Throne as hereditary lords of the land, to guard this territory and to be responsible for the offering of sacrifices in the temple in recognition of military exploits. It is traceable from tradition that the power of the god was often relied upon in the defense and development of the territory. The present

²⁵ I-mou-hsün the sixth ruler of the Nan-chao Kingdom, ascended the throne at the age of 24 in the 13th year of Ta-li (778) and the following year changed the title of his reign to Chien-lung 見龍 and afterwards to Shang-yüan 上元. The inscription states that this happened in the 14th year of Tai Tsung; now the 14th year of Ta-li commenced on January 22nd, 779, and did not end until February 12th, 780; so it is possible, as no definite date is given, that it could have been in the beginning of 780. His capital was the present Ta-li.

²⁶ This is synonymous with Yang-chü-mieh 羊荳咩 and Yang-chien, which is the present Ta-li.

²⁷ It was the custom, even to the present time, for the ruling T'u-ssu (chief) of the Na-khi to come to the Pei-yo Temple on the 8th day of the second moon to worship Sa-ddo. In olden days when the Na-khi chiefs were the native prefects of Li-chiang, and they came to the temple to worship, none of the peasants were allowed to remain in the neighborhood, still less in the temple. It is believed that Sa-ddo was born in the sheep year, and so on a sheep day in the second moon the Na-khi peasants flock to the temple by the thousand. Much wine is drunk and many brawls ensue, as gambling takes place on that day.

²⁸ He was born in 1494, began his rule in 1527 and died in 1553.

Emperor made the frontier region a cultured place, and changed the tribes-people to a cultured race. Just and upright officials followed one another. A city wall and offices were built, farming and planting of mulberry trees were encouraged. If rain impeded work, or a drought brought hardship on the farmers, the god was always beneficent whenever prayers were offered. A rule was therefore made to sacrifice to him in the spring and autumn in token of the people's indebtedness to the deity.

"I am a mediocre and rustic native. In the reign of K'ang-hsi, in the winter of *chi-hai* 己亥 (1719), I was under orders of Governor Chiang 蔣 to lead the native troops and follow the vanguard of Lieutenant-general Wu Yung 伍雍 to Chung-tien to ascertain the condition of the road. In the year of *keng-tzu* 庚子 (1720), I was promoted to second captain. I led more than 500 native soldiers to follow Lieutenant-general Wu Wu 伍吳 in the western campaign and approached Lo-lung-tsung 洛龍宗. Then an Imperial decree was received to the effect that the insurgents be pacified along the highway between Ch'a-wa-kang 察瓦崗²⁹ and Kung-pu 工布; that roads be built and that food supplies be escorted. Upon the return of the troops I had a boat-bridge made at the Mu-lu 木魯 ferry.

"In the spring of *chia-ch'en* 甲辰 (1724) of the reign of Yung-cheng, I was instructed by governor Kao 高 to lead the native troops to co-operate with Commander Ho 郝 in advancing westward as far as Chia-lang 甲浪,³⁰ whence we were ordered to proceed to Ch'a-wa-peng 察哇崩 [and] Ta-pa-shu 打巴樹 to deal with the rebels. After the rebel chieftain Chia-sung-weng 加松翁 and his followers were executed, I moved back to Ch'a-mu-tao 查木道.³¹ In the autumn of the year *i-ssu* 乙巳 (1725), I was promoted garrison commander

²⁹ Lo-lung-tsung 洛隆(龍)宗 (in Tibetan Lho Dzong ལྷོང་ or Lho-rong Dzong ལྷོར་ལྷོང་) is the farthest west that Ho Kuo-chu, our tribal captain, penetrated with his Na-khi troops. It is on the main highway to Lha-sa from Chha-mdo (Ch'ang-tu 昌都) and west and south of the Salween (the Salween flows here east and then south). Ch'a-wa-kang is to the east of Lo-lung-tsung 730 li distant. From A-tun-tzu in the extreme north-west of Yün-nan to Ch'a-wa-kang is a distance of 1,188 li.

The territory of Kung-pu is south-east of Chiang-ta 江達, the present T'ai-chao 太昭. It is under the control of a T'u-ssu (chief) and is west of the old Tibet — Hsi-k'ang border, and north of the Ya-ru-tsang-po (Ya-ru-gtsang-po), the Chinese Ya-lu-tsang-pu Chiang 雅魯藏布江, which becomes the Brahmaputra.

The Mu-lu ferry our captain mentions is identical with the Mu-lung 木龍 of the maps. It is on the left bank of the O-i River 鄂宜河, the Ui Chhu (written Dbui Chhu) of the Tibetans, a tributary of the Salween in the south-easternmost province of Tibet, Tsha-wa-rong མཚེ་རུང་.

³⁰ The *Hsi-tsang T'ung-lan* 西藏通覽, fols. 117b-119a, gives the stages from A-tun-tzu to Ch'a-wa-kang: A-tun-tzu to Mereshü (Mei-li-shu 梅里樹), 160 li; thence to Chia-lang, 230 li; thence to Pi-t'u 必免, 120 li, and to Ch'a-wa-kang, 678 li, a total of 1,188 li. One road leads from Chung-tien, Yün-nan, to Tibet via Peng-tzu-lan, Ch'a-wa-peng and Lo-lung-tsung.

³¹ Ch'a-mu-tao is identical with Ch'a-mu-to 察木多, or Ch'ang-tu 昌都 [its ancient names were K'o-mu 喀木 and K'ang 康], the Tibetan Chhab-mdo (Confluence of [two] waters). It is situated in the triangle formed by the two branches of the Mekong; the eastern branch is called Tsa-ch'u Ho 雜楚河, and the western branch Ang-ch'u Ho 昂楚河, the word *ho* (stream) is superfluous, for the word *ch'u* is equivalent to *chhu*, the Tibetan for river. They are the Dza Chhu and Ngom Chhu of the Tibetans, the former being the real Mekong and the latter a tributary. South of the confluence, in Yün-nan, the river is called La Chhu.

and had charge of the regular troops. I had hardly withdrawn the troops when the governor's order again came in *ping-wu* 丙午 (1726) that I lead troops to follow Brigadier-general Nan 南 in taking up the garrison post at Ch'a-mu-tao. We did not return until the summer of the year *chi-yu* 己酉 (1729).

"In the autumn of the year *keng-hsü* 庚戌 (1730), Governor Ngo [O] 鄂 started a campaign to extirpate the insurgent Lo 樂 [Lo-lo] of Wu-tung 烏東 [Wu-meng (Chao-t'ung) and Tung-ch'uan are meant], and I was again ordered to coöperate with Commander Chang 張 at Tung-ch'uan and to recapture Ch'iao-chia 巧家.³² We pursued the rebels to the Niu-lan Chiang 牛欄江,³³ where we built a bridge and crossed at night. We reached Wu-meng 烏蒙³⁴ and Lu-tien³⁵ 魯甸 and captured the rebel chief Weng Chü-tsu 翁苴卒 and others. After that our troops were stationed at Tung-ch'uan until the spring of *hsin-hai* 辛亥 (1731), when we returned.

"During the autumn of the year *jen-tzu* 壬子 (1732), Governor Kao ordered me to lead the native troops to follow Brigadier-general Yang 楊 to proceed to Hsin-p'ing 新平³⁶ to capture fortresses. We searched the mountains and fought the rebels at Man-kan-pa 漫干壩³⁷ and defeated them. In the winter I was again ordered to mobilize troops to coöperate with Major Ha 哈 in marching down to Ssu-mao 思茅 and Pu-erh 普洱.³⁸ We advanced to Chiu-lung-chiang 九龍江³⁹ and attacked Meng-lieh 猛烈⁴⁰ and La-tsung 腊縱. We at last captured the lairs of the robbers. It was not until the autumn of the next year that we returned in triumph.

"Now, incompetent as I am, I have been frequently cited for military exploits in the South-west. These could not have been accomplished had it not been for the prestige of the country and the bravery of the tribal troops. When we slept during snowy nights, using our spears for pillows, or when we attacked fortresses on a malarial river, the god was said to have appeared at our

³² Tung-ch'uan is in eastern Yün-nan and Ch'iao-chia in the Tung-ch'uan district, is situated on the east bank of the Yangtze which here forms the border between Yün-nan and Taliang Shan 大涼山, the independent Lo-lo country in Ssu-ch'uan.

³³ The Niu-lan Chiang forms the border between the Tung-ch'uan and Chao-t'ung magistracies in eastern Yün-nan. The river has its source near Yang-lin 楊林 and flows into the Yangtze near Hsiao-niu-lan 小牛欄.

³⁴ Wu-meng is the present Chao-t'ung. It was thus called in the T'ang dynasty (618-906) and was inhabited by Man or Lo-lo tribespeople. In the Ming dynasty it was called Wu-meng fu and belonged to Ssu-ch'uan. It became Yün-nan territory in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) and became known as Chao-t'ung in the ninth year (1731).

³⁵ Lu-tien is south-west of Chao-t'ung, near a small lake called Ma-ch'ang Hai 馬廠海.

³⁶ Hsin-p'ing is directly north of Yüan-chiang 元江, south-west of K'un-ming.

³⁷ Man-kan-pa, also called Man-kan, is north-west of Hsin-p'ing between two spurs of the Ch'e-ts'ung Mountains 徹崇山.

³⁸ Ssu-mao and Pu-erh are two stages apart in the southern part of Yün-nan.

³⁹ Chiu-lung-chiang is equivalent to Ch'e-li 車里, inhabited by Tai or Shan people, on the Mekong in the Hsip-song-pa-na near the Burmese border.

⁴⁰ Meng-lieh is on the Mekong, but in Burmese territory and north of Meng (Muang) Hsing in French Laos.

critical moments, in the form of white horses, and sometimes to have assisted us with supernatural banners and soldiers. There were countless occasions when the god manifested his miraculous power. When we fought the rebels close to their lairs at La-tsung, they tried to assail our camps at night. They said themselves that they were prevented from approaching our camps by a god with a long beard and round eyes, leading ferocious beasts around the camps.

"There were many Chinese as well as tribal soldiers in our ranks who also saw the miracle. They unanimously realize that it was the appearance of the god of the sacred mountain. I am further convinced that what I had heard was not inaccurate after all.

"When the heavenly soldiers saved our people from floods and drought, there was already established the practice of regular worship in the temple. I myself have been sheltered on numerous occasions, so how can I forget the kindness of the god? I therefore dedicate to him two fields adjacent to the temple. The fields are situated in Shan-jen-li 山人里⁴¹ bordering on K'ai-mai 開買⁴² on the east, the field of Ho Ts'e-pao 和冊寶 [Ho-mbö-bo is the Na-khi name] on the south, and to the rear of the field of Ho Pao-shan 和寶山 on the north-west. Every year the amount of 0.034 silver taels shall be paid to the priest Ho Ti-chu 和地住 [this is a transcription of the Na-khi name, Ho-ddü-dzu] of the temple. The fields shall be cultivated and the proceeds therefrom shall be spent in keeping lamps (lighted) in the temple. In this way the illustrious virtue of the god may be perpetuated with the snow mountain.

"Written on an auspicious day in the spring in the 13th year of *mou-ch'en* 戊辰 in the reign of Ch'ien-lung of the Great Ch'ing dynasty (1748)."

"Reverently written by HO KUO-CHU 和國柱, of the Prefecture of Li-chiang, second captain of the tribal troops, promoted one rank for meritorious military services and with two Records of Merit."

This translation shows how far the Na-khi troops were sent under their officers to fight, not only in the snow mountains of Tibet, but also in the malarial regions of Burma, and in the eastern and southern-most parts of Yünnan.

⁴¹ The words Shan-jen-li are a transcription of the Na-khi name, Ssaw-zhi-llü.

⁴² This is a transcription of the Na-khi words, K'a man = the tail-end of the ravine.

CHAPTER III

LAMASERIES AND BUDDHIST TEMPLES OF LI-CHIANG

I. THE KARMA-PA SECT AND ITS HIERARCHIES

The Karma-pa, a sub-sect of the Kargyu-pa, founded about the middle of the twelfth century, look upon rDo-rje hChhang as their supreme deity. He is regarded as a reflex of Buddha himself. He is the metamorphosis of Indra and is called Vajradhara in Sanskrit. Directly inspired by rDo-rje hChhang was Ti-lo-pa (Tai-lo-pa), who had Nā-ro-pa as disciple. Thence followed Mar-pa, who was the teacher of the famous Mi-la (Mi-la-ras-pa, pronounced Mi-la-re-pa), the Cotton-clad. Mar-pa was born in 1010 (Bacot in *La Vie de Marpa*, p. 2, n. 1, gives 993 as the year of his birth and 1081 as that of his death); Mi-la-re-pa was born in 1038 and died in 1122.

His disciple was Dwags-po. This latter's disciple was Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa who became the actual founder of the Karma-pa sect. He was born in 1109 and died in 1192.

There have been 15 incarnations, including the present one, of Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa (pronounced Dū-sum khyen-pa).

Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa's disciple was hGro-mgon Ras-chhen; the latter's disciple was sPun-brag-pa.

The first incarnation but second head of the Karma-pa sect was Karma-pa-zhi (1203-1282); he was invited by Kublai Khan to China. His disciple was mKhas-grub U-rgyan-pa (the abbot writes A-rgyan-pa.)

The second incarnation was Rang-byung rDo-rje (1283-1338); he was the third head of the Karma-pa Church. He was invited to Peking by the Emperor Tohan Timur, Shun Ti 順帝, or Hui Tsung 惠宗 (1333-1367). The third incarnation was Rol-pai rDo-rje (1339-1382); he was the fourth head; the fifth head (fourth incarnation) was De-bzhin-gshegs-pa (1383-1415); in the abbot's list he is called De-bzhin-shes-pa; he was invited to China by the Ming Emperor Ch'eng Tsu 成祖 (Yung-lo 1403-1424); the sixth head was mTshong-wa Don-ldan; the seventh head Chhos-grags-rGya-mtsho; the eighth Rang-byung mTsho-skyes; the ninth Mi-bskyod rDo-rje; the tenth Chhos dbyings rDo-rje; the eleventh Ye-shes rDo-rje; the twelfth Byang-chhub rDo-rje; the thirteenth bDun-hdul rDo-rje; the fourteenth Theg-mchhog rDo-rje and the fifteenth mKhah-khyab rDo-rje.

The sixteenth head but fifteenth incarnation of Dū-sum Khyen-pa was found nearly a decade ago. His name is Rod-pas rDo-rje¹ pronounced Rō-pe-dor-je.

2. TWO FAMOUS GURU

In the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien lu* 維西聞見錄⁴ we are told that, "There are 13 different sects of the Red Lama Church [Hung-chiao la-ma 紅教喇嘛] and that of these only one is to be found in Wei-hsi,⁵ namely, the Ko-ma 格馬 (Karma-pa) sect. This latter sect has five heads, or chief lamas, who are known as the Wu-pao 五寶 (Five treasures). They are reborn in Tibetan territory through successive transmigrations; in all more than ten generations now have appeared without danger of extinction.⁶ They are thus called Huo-fu 活佛 (Living Buddhas)." There are in Wei-hsi five monasteries composed of 800 Red sect lamas, who adhere to the rules of the Ko-ma Ssu-pao la-ma 格馬四寶喇嘛 (Lama of the four treasures of the Karma-pa sect). We read further that "the adherents of the Karma-pa sect are mainly Mo-so. Among them strife becomes daily more common, as the Yellow lamas oppress them considerably. . . ." During the Ming dynasty it was the Red lamas who oppressed the Yellow.⁷

La-ma Shan-chih-shih. — In the same work we read (fol. 14b) about Shan-chih-shih 善知識 lama, who was a *Kao ti-tzu* 高弟子 (Exalted disciple or Sthavira) of the Karma-pa Ssu-pao lama. His previous births and incarnations, however, are not known. He was born in the year *chi mao* 己卯 of the Ch'ien-lung period (1759) in the village of Liu-ts'un 六村 in the family of the Mo-so interpreter, Wang Yung-shan 王永善. Before his birth the wife of Wang Yung-shan dreamed that the brightness of the sun illuminated her chest, the warmth so penetrating that she could not be awakened. Afterwards Shan-chih-shih was born. His appearance was remarkably beautiful and had no resemblance to a Mo-so. When he sat down on the ground he crossed his legs Buddha-fashion; he could also speak, and he said to his mother, "The ancient homeland of your son is cold, but it produces apricots, raisins and *p'u-lu* [the red woolen cloth woven by the Tibetans]. I cannot offer you anything now to mark this rebirth which I owe to you, my mother, but after a few years I shall be able to make you rich." His mother understood nothing of this discourse. In the year *ting hai* 丁亥 of the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1767), the Ssu-pao lama ordered a number of lamas to take with them gold, silver, horses and mules to the value of 700 (oz.) of gold, and travel to the home of Wang Yung-shan.

⁴ The *Wei-hsi Wen-chien lu* is to be found in the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng chih* 雲南備考志 of which it forms the 18th chapter. The part concerning the lama sects occurring in Yün-nan is to be found also in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 204, *Nan-man chih* 南蠻志 and *Chung-jen* 種人, 6, fols. 13a-19a.

⁵ This lama sect has also settled in Li-chiang and other parts of western Yün-nan.

⁶ This was written about 1769, as the author, Yü Ch'ing-yüan 余慶遠, resided at that time in the yamen of Wei-hsi during his elder brother's incumbency as ruler of that district.

⁷ In one of a set of six Chinese illustrated tribal albums in my library there is one plate representing the Hsi-tsang Ta-pao with the following statement: "In Tibet there are the Ta-pao, Erh-pao and San-pao who are Huo-fu (Living Buddhas). Out-side Tibet are the Ssu- and Wu-pao lamas."

When Shan-chih-shih saw them coming for the purpose of paying their respects to him he was overjoyed. The ancient utensils which had served him in his previous existence he selected from among other objects absolutely identical and with which they had been mixed. When the Mo-so peasants of the village of Liu-ts'un became aware of this they all came, hat in hand, to pay him reverence. Shan-chih-shih, sitting cross-legged, Buddha-fashion, placed his hands on the heads of those who came to worship him. He understood and conformed to all the rules. His father, Wang Yung-shan, accompanied him on his journey to Tibet. At every stage of the route, although he had never passed that way previously, Shan-chih-shih always could describe in advance the aspects of the mountains and rivers.

Shan-chih-shih is not the personal name of this lama, but translated into Chinese it signifies the degree of his personal nature, namely: Perfect knowledge.

Guru Chhos-kyi hByung-gnas. — Much venerated by the Li-chiang Karma-pa lamas is a certain Gūru of the Karma-pa sect who, four generations back, came to Li-chiang (PLATE 63). To this day places are still pointed out where he rested during his journey, and in a cave in Yung-ning territory (see p. 396) his staff is still shown wedged in the rocks of the ceiling. His Tibetan appellation is Chhos-kyi hByung-gnas.⁸ There were three incarnations of this saint, and they are known by the following names: Pad-ma Nyin-byed,⁹ Pad-ma Kun-bzang¹⁰ and Pad-ma dWang-chhen.¹¹ The latter is still alive and resides in the lamasery called dPal-po gling¹² in Dege sDe-dge),¹³ the Chinese Te-ko 德革.

3. THE FIVE KARMA-PA LAMASERIES AND SMALLER TEMPLES

It may be said that the Na-khi are unreligious rather than irreligious, yet at the same time they are exceedingly superstitious. While this is not the place to enter into a discussion regarding their ancient religion, the pre-Buddhistic Shamanism, which has survived among them in all its ancient purity, yet it must be remarked in connection with the history of the Karma-pa sect in Li-chiang, that the Na-khi are adherents of none of the various religious sects which have tried to obtain a foothold in Li-chiang, and this is also true for the Christian religion. Religion is with them a matter of outward behavior or "face," rather than an inward conviction. At marriages, where in former days native priests (sorcerers) officiated, to-day mostly Taoist ceremonies take their place. At funerals, lamas of the Karma-pa sect, as well as Chinese Buddhist priests, are employed. The ancient funeral ceremonies which were very elaborate are now seldom performed by the Na-khi of Li-chiang, but are still in vogue in the outlying districts, such as La-pao 刺寶, and elsewhere in the Yangtze valley where Na-khi exclusively are settled.

Some of the Na-khi clans, like the Lü-khi of Yung-ning 永寧, are adherents of the Gelug-pa (Yellow reformed lama sect), while those of the Tso-so territory in Ssu-ch'uan are adherents of a now much degenerated Bön lamaism.

8 ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱུང་གསལ་ 9 བཤེན་མཁོ་ཕྱེད་ 10 བཤེན་ཀུན་བཟང་ 11 པའ་མ་དབང་ཆེན་ 12 དཔལ་པོ་གླིང་ 13 རྟེན་དགེ་

Among the Yung-ning Lü-khi, a very ancient form of Bön Shamanism, called by them *Nda-pa*, is still practiced. The priests wear similar head-dresses to those worn by the Dto-mba of Li-chiang, but, unlike the latter, they have no literature and all their prayers, etc., are chanted from memory. (PLATE 222).

The ancient religion of the Li-chiang Na-khi, and that of the Lü-khi or Hli-khin Nda pa of Yung-ning, will be treated in separate publications. We are here only concerned with Karma-pa lamaism, a late introduction into Li-chiang. Excepting the Na-khi who have become lamas, and live in the few lamaseries in the district, there are few if any followers among the lay population. It may be said that in Li-chiang they are in a decadent state and the number of lamas is constantly decreasing. In the Wei-hsi district are both sects, the Red Karma-pa, and the Yellow Gelug-pa (dge-lugs-pa); the former preponderates. In the Te-ch'in 德欽 (A-tun-tzu 阿墩子) and Pen-tzu-lan 奔子蘭 lamaseries, the lamas who are adherents of the Yellow sect are nearly all Tibetans. It is in the Red or Karma-pa lamaseries of the Wei-hsi and Li-chiang districts that Na-khi lamas predominate.

In the Li-chiang district proper there are five Karma-pa lamaseries. In order of importance they are:

1. *Chieh-t'o-lin* 解脫林 (Monastery of Emancipation). — This lamasery is called in Tibetan, 'Og-min-rnam gling¹⁴ (pronounced O-min-nam-ling). During the reign of the Ming Emperor Hsi Tsung 熹宗 (1621-1627) the name of Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺 was bestowed on it by Emperor Hsi Tsung himself. The actual date of its founding is not known as it was once destroyed by fire and all records were burnt with it. It was said to have been rebuilt in the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873) and that 53 years had elapsed between the fire and the rebuilding of the monastery.

Chieh-t'o-lin was originally founded by the 9th incarnation of Dü-sum-khyen-pa (Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa) whose name was Chhos-dbyings rDo-rje.¹⁵ Dü-sum-khyen-pa himself, the founder of the Karma-pa sect, was born in 1109, ordained in 1124, and died in 1192.

Before the founding of the lamasery, the land on which it was built was the execution ground during the rule of the Mu chiefs; later a small Chinese Buddhist temple was built on the former execution ground. The Na-khi name of the place was Bbue-na-k'o, written in Chinese Pei-na-k'o 背拿課. Other names are Nao-tu-lin 腦獨林 and Wu-mei-nao-tu-lin 吾妹腦獨林 — the latter is the Chinese transcription of the Tibetan name. The monastery is beautifully situated on Chih Shan 芝山, called in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü Ngyu (PLATE 64).

In the Ming dynasty the Ssu-pao 四寶 lama came from the Ta-pao 大寶¹⁶

¹⁴ འོག་མིན་རྣམ་གླིང་

¹⁵ ཇོ་སེ་དབྱིངས་རྡོ་རྗེ་

¹⁶ Shortly after Kublai Khan ascended the throne, he invited the very scholarly and wise nephew and successor of Saskya Paṇḍita the famous hPags-pa-bLo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (born in 1234) to China. He wished to discuss with him the form of government of Tibet and also the conversion of the Mongols to the Lama Buddhist church. He thereupon appointed him as head of the entire clergy and bestowed on him the titles of King of the Law in the three realms, venerable Lama and Ta-pao fa-wang 大寶法王 = King of the great and precious law (Mahārata-dharma-rāja). He is usually known in Chinese literature as

of Wu-ssu-tsang 烏斯藏 (the name of Tibet during the Ming dynasty) to Chi-tsu Shan 雞足山 to worship. *En route* they passed through Li-chiang when the reigning Na-khi King extended a warm welcome to the Erh-pao 二寶 (Second precious one), who pointed out that Chih Shan was an excellent place on which to build a lamasery. Thereupon the Na-khi King presented the land to him. On his return journey he took with him six disciples to enter a school in Tibet. After their studies had been completed they returned to Li-chiang and established the Lama religion and built the lamasery. On a stone, set into the wall immediately beyond the main entrance to the principal temple, is engraved a detailed description of the mountain; every ridge, ravine and prominent rock is mentioned by name, but no definite date when the lamasery was built. The rock is dated T'ien-ch'i 天啓 *ting-mao* 丁卯 of the Ming dynasty, which corresponds to 1627. The temple was built by Mu Sheng-pai, whose official name was Mu Tseng. As he was born in 1587, took office in 1598 and died in 1646, the building of the temple must fall within the period 1598-1646 — in all probability in the early part of the seventeenth century. The *Yün-nan Hsü-t'ung-chih-kao* (Supplementary Topography of Yün-nan) does not give the date of its erection, but states that it was repaired in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882) by the lamas. (See *Chih Shan*, page 184).

2. *Chih-yün Ssu* 指雲寺. — Called in Tibetan, Nges-don-phun-tshogs gling, pronounced Nge-dön-phün-tsho-ling,¹⁷ (Lamasery of perfection and absolute knowledge of the truth). It must not be confused with the big lamasery called Phun-tshogs gling in Tsang Tibet, belonging to the Jonang-pa sect. It is situated on a mountain called Mo-tu Shan 秣度山, 20 li west of Li-chiang, in the district of La-shih 刺是, and was built in the fifth year of

Pa-ssu-pa 八思巴. In the *Yüan Shih* (Mongol History) ch. 202, fol. 1b, he is called Ti-shih P'a-k'o-ssu-pa 帝師帕克思巴 or Imperial Tutor P'a-k'o-ssu-pa. His biography is contained in the above-mentioned chapter. He received a jade seal from Kublai Khan who also appointed him Kuo-shih 國師 (Preceptor of the realm). He invented a new Mongol script of about 1,000 signs with 41 radicles. He died in the sixteenth year of the period Chi-yüan 至元 (1279).

While the first Ta-pao fa-wang was a Saskya Lama, the Ta-pao here in question was a Karma-pa Lama. It was in the year 1405 that the Ming Emperor Ch'eng Tsu (period Yung-lo) at a time when the reformer Tsong-kha-pa had already appeared, bestowed on a Karma-pa ecclesiastic the title of Ta-pao fa-wang and not on a Saskya Lama. The lama so honored on account of his sanctity was De-bzhin-gshegs-pa, the fifth head of the Karma-pa sect. He had been ordained in 1403 when in his twentieth year. The title was apparently inherited by the successive incarnations.

From the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu* we learn that there are five heads of the Karma-pa sect known as the Wu-pao or the Five Treasures. They are reborn in Tibetan territory. All the lamaseries of Wei-hsi (*q.v.*) comprising about 800 lamas belong to the Ssu-pao lama of the Karma-pa sect, *i.e.* are subject to the fourth of the Five Treasures.

The Ta-pao fa-wang hPhags-pa of the Saskya sect was a contemporary of the second head of the Karmapa sect namely Karma-pa-zhi whom historians commonly call Bakshi or Karma Bakshi. Both resided at Kublai Khan's court for a time. Thus hPhags-pa and Bakshi are two different persons. Karma-pa-zhi was the first incarnation of the founder of the Karma-pa sect Dü-sum Khyen-pa who built the first Karma-pa lamasery in 1154 north of Lhasa which is still the most powerful of that sect. Karma-pa-zhi established in the hills west of Lhasa a monastery called Tsor-pu-ling.

¹⁷ དེས་དོན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་གླིང་།

Yung-cheng (1727) under Magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng 元展成.¹⁸ He personally contributed money and became the patron for the collection of funds for the building by the lama Li Hsiang 立相 and others.

Teacher Wan Hsien-yen 萬咸燕¹⁹ states that at the foot of a mountain south-west of La-shih li there was in ancient days a water spring which later became obstructed. A western lama from Mo-ka-t'o 麼迦陀 (Magadha, in southern Behār, the cradle of Buddhism down to 400 A.D.) sat down cross-legged by the spring, on a pile of sharp, conical rocks. He took a stick and poked into the empty well, and the water gushed forth. His footprints are said to be still there. The lamasery of Chih-yün Ssu was then built at that spot. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that it was rebuilt by the lamas in the sixth year of Kuang-hsü (1880).

In the lamasery of Chih-yün Ssu there are two memorial stones, one dealing with the monastic rules of the lamasery, admonishing the lamas "to respect the old monks and to take care of them, not to drink liquor, to chant the classics morning and evening in the great chanting hall, and to behave well during the ceremonies. The crops of the fields belonging to the lamasery must not be given away to relatives of the lamas. The head of the lamasery must be obeyed and treated reverently. The aged and ill, the naked and hungry, must be cared for, healed, clothed and fed, while living; and when dead, they must be properly buried. The buildings of the lamasery must be well taken care of and repaired. The incense fires must be kept going, and the memory of the founder should be kept alive for ever."

This memorial stone is dated the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756). It also relates that the first lamasery built was Chieh-t'o-lin, and that during the year *keng-hsü* 庚戌 of Yung-cheng (1730),²⁰ the teacher of the law of the Four Treasures of the western land (Tibet) went to worship at Chi-tsu Shan, and passed *en route* through Li-chiang. He pointed out that in La-shih li 刺是里 in the grotto of Lo-shui-tung 落水洞 where the footprints of the patron saint of Magadha (Mo-ka-t'o) are preserved, there should be built a Buddhist temple

¹⁸ He was a native of Chih-li 直隸, of the city of Ching-hai 靜海 in T'ien-ching 天津. He was a *lin-sheng* 廩生, or former salaried graduate of the first degree or *hsiu-ts'ai* 秀才. In the fourth year of Yung-cheng (1726) he became Commissioner of revenue of Yün-nan province.

¹⁹ He was a native of Shih-p'ing 石屏 and held the degree of *chin-ssu* 進士 (Metropolitan graduate). He was the fourth school teacher in Li-chiang, and assumed his post in the second year of Yung-cheng (1724). In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), as he was deserving of special merit, he was promoted to become magistrate of Ching-yen 井研, Ssu-ch'uan.

²⁰ This date does not correspond with the one given both in the Li-chiang Records and in the Yün-nan Topography, where the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) is given as the date of the building of this lamasery. According to the memorial stones in Chih-yün Ssu, the Karma-pa lamas who passed through La-shih li on their way to Chi-tsu Shan in 1730 pointed out where the lamasery should be built; according to these latter records the lamasery was not built until several years afterwards by Li Hsiang. Which is the correct version is difficult to say, but I should trust the prefectural records rather than those of the monastery itself. As it is stated that the name Chih-yün Ssu was given by magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng, it must have been in the fifth year of Yung-cheng, as in the sixth year, that is, 1728, he was succeeded as magistrate by Feng Kuang-yü 馮光裕, according to the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 上, ch. 5, fol. 58a.

for the protection of the country and the people. They recommended that silver to the value of over 700 ounces of gold should be collected for the purpose. The Buddhist priest Li Hsiang listened and obeyed and went to all parts of the country collecting funds. Several years afterwards the foundations were laid. Magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng then gave the temple the name of Chih-yün Ssu.

Another memorial stone in the lamasery refers to the fields belonging to the said temple. It also states that the King of the Law of the Four Treasures 四寶法王 gave 200 taels of silver to buy these fields. (They are mainly situated in the Yangtze valley between Shih-ku and Chü-tien.)

3. *Wen-feng Ssu* 文峯寺. — Also called Wen-feng yüan 院. Its Tibetan name is gSang-sngags-dgah-tshal gling²¹ (Lamasery of Secret religious instruction and garden of happiness), pronounced Sang-nga-ga-tshe-ling. This lamasery is situated ten li south-west of Li-chiang at the foot of Wen-pi Shan 文筆山, called in Na-khi, Sã-bpi zhër nv-lv. In ancient days a temple called Ling-shou Ssu 靈壽寺 stood on the site, but later fell into ruins. In the eleventh year of Yung-cheng (1733), the Tibetan lama Ka-li-pu 噶立布 built a hut in that place. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739) the Ssu-pao la-ma 四寶喇嘛 of the Karma-pa sect came to Li-chiang to prostrate himself before magistrate Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣,²² and to ask him for funds and to allow the priest Ming Chü 明具 to solicit contributions from all over the country for the building of the lamasery.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that the lamasery was rebuilt in the seventh year of Kuang-hsü (1881).

There is a cave on Wen-pi Shan called Ling tung 靈洞 (Spiritual cave). It is related that the Karma-pa lamas crossed the Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze) three times in search of a beautiful place before they found the Ling tung, which they pronounced to be one of the 24 Ling tung of the Nan Chan-pu chou 南瞻部洲 (Southern Jambudvîpa) or Southern Continent of the Universe situated south of Mount Meru — as the inhabited world is referred to by Buddhists.

4. *P'u-chi Ssu* 普濟寺 (Lamasery of Universal aid). — Its Tibetan name is Thār-pai-lam-hdzin gling²³ (Lamasery of the Keeper of the road to salvation), pronounced Thār-pai-lam-dzin ling.

Needless to say it also belongs to the Karma-pa sect and is located 13 li west of Li-chiang near the village of P'u-ch'i-wa 普七瓦, called in Na-khi, P'u-ts'ü-wüa, and a short distance south-west of the larger village of Shu-ho, in Na-khi Shwua-wüa.

This, and the monastery of Chieh-t'o-lin, were destroyed by soldiers during the Mohammedan rebellion, with the exception of the large gate to the latter monastery.

²¹ གསལ་སྒྲུབ་དག་ཅེས་པའི་གླིང་

²² He was a native of An-fu 安福 in Chiang-hsi. He became *chin-ssu* (Metropolitan graduate) in the year 1718, and in the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736) was appointed magistrate of Li-chiang.

²³ ཐཱ་ཤ་པེ་ལམ་མཛན་གླིང་

The head lama of P'u-chi Ssu belonged to the Ho family 和氏 of P'u-chi village 普濟村. His name was Lo 羅. He was middle-aged when he became a lama. His nephew, also a lama, by name Tien 典, was greatly revered by the Ssu-pao lama of the Karma-pa sect. He was told that in his previous existence he was a Lo-han 羅漢 (Arhat), and that if it pleased him he should build the lamasery on the mountain, behind the village of P'u-chi. Many mendicant priests became his disciples. He died at the age of 80. After three years, the Ssu-pao lama said he would be reborn in the same family. Later lamas enquired and found the child. When he was six years old they brought him to P'u-chi Ssu. At the age of ten he was taken to Tibet to study the Tibetan classics while the priests looked carefully after him. When he had finished his studies he returned to P'u-chi Ssu and became its abbot.

Although no exact date of the building of P'u-chi Lamasery is recorded it must have been during the reign of Ch'ien-lung. Both the priest Lo and his nephew Tien studied at Fu-kuo Ssu in the beginning of Ch'ien-lung. Lo was asked by mendicant priests of the Ssu-pao lama to become head of the Fu-kuo Ssu, but this he refused and said he would build his own lamasery. This he built on the mountains of La-shi. This seems to contradict the records of Chih-yün Ssu, where it states that it was built by the priest Li Hsiang and others, unless he is included under "and others." In the P'u-chi Ssu records it states definitely that Lo 刺是山成大叢林即今指雲寺 "completed on La-shih mountain the large Buddhist monastery which is now Chih-yün Ssu." It is possible that Li Hsiang was the first to collect funds, but that he was only enabled to lay the foundations, and that later in the Ch'ien-lung period it was completed by Lo.

P'u chi Ssu, as stated, must have been built after the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung, as it is the only lamasery not mentioned in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, which was published in the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung (1743).

5. *Yü-feng Ssu* 玉峯寺 (Jade peak Lamasery).—Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis-chhos-hphel gling,²⁴ pronounced Tra-shi-chhö-phe ling.

It is situated on the eastern slopes of the Li-chiang snow range to the west of the village of Yü-lung-ts'un 玉龍村 (Dü-gkv) and the temple of Sa-ddo (Sa-tham). It was built during the Ming dynasty, probably during the Wan-li period (1573-1619). No memorial stones are extant in the temple grounds and the lamasery shelters now only seven or eight priests. It has an incarnation, or Huo-fu, who is now in Tibet, but they have no money to bring him back. Most of the lamas were addicted to opium and they are nearly all on the last rung of the ladder.

Yü-feng Ssu is really beautifully situated on the slopes of the snow range, embedded in a forest of old *Pinus Armandi* trees (Yün-nan white pines). A lovely little pond, encircled by huge trees, is in front of the main entrance to the temple. The latter itself is in a most dilapidated condition. It is the home of rats, whose excrements lie inches deep in the building and on the seats, testifying that the lamas very rarely occupy them in praying as the rules require. In the upper story of the main temple, dangerous to visit on account of the decayed condition of the floor and ceiling, is a small library, the books

²⁴ བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཆོས་འཕེལ་གླིང་

wrapped in dusty silks, a picture of neglect. It is, in fact, the most forlorn and forsaken lamasery I know of.

An-lo Chi-hsiang lin 安樂吉祥林. — This lamasery, which is unknown to me, is called in Tibetan bKra-shis-spro-bde gling²⁵ pronounced Tra-shi-tro-de ling (Monastery spreading happiness and bliss). As the Chinese name indicates, it is supposedly located near the villages of An-lo and Chi-hsiang in the li of La-shih 剌是.

The smaller temples. — In addition to these five larger lamaseries, there are several smaller temples under the Karma-pa sect which are of interest. The most important ones are here briefly discussed. The various Chinese temples found in the Li-chiang district are omitted.

To the east of the market town of Boa-shi (Pai-sha-kai), there are two Lama temples, one on the eastern outskirts of Pai-sha-kai proper, and one some distance north-east of it. The nearer one is called Pai-sha Ta-pao-chi Kung 白沙大寶積宮 (Temple of the collection of the great treasure of Pai-sha). The Ta-pao-chi has undoubtedly reference to the collection of the 49 sutras known as Mahāratnakūṭa, arranged by Bodhiruci, a Śramaṇa (ascetic) who came to China and Lo-yang in particular in A.D. 508. It is known to the Na-khi as Boa-shi Dta mā-lo, and is also called Hu-fa T'ang 護法堂 (Hall of Dharmapāla) and Hu-fa ch'ieh-lan 伽藍 (Hu-fa monastery), the monastery or temple of the Defender of the faith.²⁶ Beautiful murals decorate the walls of the temple, they were executed during the Ming dynasty by the same artist who painted the murals of Hsüeh-sung An now destroyed, see pp. 156, n. 8; 219.

According to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, the temple was built during the Ming dynasty. A tablet states that the Na-khi chief Mu Wang 木旺 built it. Mu Wang was born in 1551, became hereditary ruler of Li-chiang in 1580 and died in 1596. It must have been built between 1580 and 1596, as the tablet bears his title as magistrate 知府.

In the temple, now decayed and dilapidated, but still inhabited by two Karma-pa lamas who hail from the lamasery of Chieh-t'o-lin, is a shrine containing a figure of Mahākāla (mGon-po nag-po བཀོན་པོ་ནག་པོ་, or the Black Lord), one of the defenders of the faith. His sanctuary is closed the entire year, except on the 20th day of the first moon when the box-like shrine is opened, and a live chicken is thrown in, which is said to die instantly. All the peasants from the Li-chiang plain as well as some from the Yangtze valley at A-hsi 阿喜 come to worship on that day.

Further to the north-east of Pai-sha are two temples close together, one called the Chin-kang Tien 金剛殿 (Hall of the Diamond sutra) and the other the Ta-ting Ko 大定閣 (Hall of Great abstract meditation). Both were rebuilt by the famous Na-khi chief Mu Tseng during the Ming dynasty. Mu Tseng ruled between 1598 and 1646, and the rebuilding of these two temples

²⁵ བཀོན་པོ་ནག་པོ་

²⁶ The Dharmapāla are demon-generals who execute the will of the tutelaries, or demon-kings. They are hideous and fierce-looking and each commands a horde of demons. In this case the Lord-demon Mahākāla is meant.

falls within that period. The temples, according to memorial stones found in them, existed in ancient times, that is, before 1587, which is the year of Mu Tseng's birth. The record states that they were rebuilt by Mu Tseng but not finished at that time. They were later finished by Mu Pen-li 木本立 and 32 others.

4. ANCIENT NA-KHI ALTARS

At Pai-sha-kai there is said to be an altar or 壇 [*muan-bpö d'a*²⁷ in Na-khi], called Hsien-t'ao t'an 羨陶壇, built during the T'ang dynasty. The name of the altar is derived from a Na-khi chief called Hsien-t'ao A-ku 羨陶阿古; he lived during the time of Yeh-yeh, who is considered the first ancestor of the Mu chiefs. It was Hsien-t'ao A-ku, chief of the natives of the village of Boa-shi (Pai-sha), who recognized in Yeh-yeh signs of nobility. This happened during the reign of the Emperor Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1101-1125). Although the t'an (altar) bears the name of Hsien-t'ao A-ku it could hardly have been built by him, for the records state that it was built in the T'ang dynasty and Hsien-t'ao A-ku lived in the Sung dynasty.²⁸

Another altar at Pai-sha-kai is the Yüeh-chün t'an 月均壇, which was built during the reign of T'ang Chao Tsung 昭宗 (901-904). The name of the altar most likely refers to one of five village chiefs whose name was Wa-chün 瓦均, and Yüeh 月 is perhaps a misprint for wa 瓦. He lived during the Sung dynasty, at the same time as Hsien-t'ao A-ku. In the first moon the native officials used to lead their clansmen to this altar (in all probability also a *muan-bpö d'a*) to worship the spirits of the mountains, rivers, earth and grain (PLATE 65).

Behind the village of Shu-ho 東河, at the foot of the cliff, and overlooking a pond is the small altar called Tzu-che t'an 子宅壇 15 li west of Li-chiang, built in the 46th year of Ming Wan-li (1618). In the third and seventh moon of each year the peasants of Shu-ho li 東河里 repair to that temple to worship the spirits of the Shih Pao 十保神 (Ten Protectors).

Outside of the former east gate of Li-chiang there is an altar called Hsien-nung t'an 先農壇. It was built in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) by the Chinese magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng 元展成. Another is called She-chi t'an 社稷壇 (Altar of the spirits of the land and grain) and was built in the fifth year of Ch'ien-lung (1740). These are Chinese altars and not Na-khi *muan-bpö d'a*.

²⁷ A *muan-bpö d'a* is a place where the Na-khi propitiate Heaven in the first moon of every year.

²⁸ It is, of course, possible that Hsien-t'ao was the clan name. Every Na-khi clan has its own *muan-bpö d'a* wherein they propitiate Heaven in the first moon, and so it is very likely that it was built by the ancestors of Hsien-t'ao A-ku during the T'ang dynasty.

CHAPTER IV

LI-CHIANG SNOW RANGE AND TERRITORY SOUTH OF THE YANGTZE LOOP

I. THE SOUTHERN END OF THE SNOW RANGE

The entire Yü-lung Shan is of limestone, but in the extreme southern end this stone is partly superimposed by volcanic rock.¹ The range completely encloses the Li-chiang plain to the west and joins Wen-pi Shan (Sä-bpi zhër nv-lv) by a low spur over which a pass called Gkaw-gku leads to the Yangtze, via La-shih-pa. Here are situated the hamlets of Tsi-man (Tz'u-man 茨滿), La-ssaw-dzhi, P'u-ts'ü-wüa (in Chinese, P'u-ch'i-wa 普七瓦), Shwua-wüa (the Chinese Shu-ho, but pronounced Ssu-ho in Li-chiang).

The li of Boa-shi (Pai-sha li), with its largest village called Pai-sha-kai, comprises many villages, such as Mbe-man (of which there is an east and a west village), Llü-mä-ndaw-ts'an (PLATE 66), Mbe-lü, K'ü-ndu, 'A-k'ö (first residence of the Na-khi kings), Dzhi-man, Dzhi-lo, Gyi-ts'ä-ndso and Dzhi-gkv-ggö. These places are on the main road from Li-chiang to the snow range; west of the road, and at the foot of the long spur which extends south from the snowy crags, are other hamlets, such as Ndz(ër)-gkan-ndz(ër)-k'ö, Mbe-gkv, K'a-mä-gyi-k'u and Mbe-gkyi; east of the latter village is a marshy meadow called O-ggü-ddü on which the Na-khi of the neighboring villages herd their live-stock. On this southern spur, also, are situated three lamaseries belonging to the Karma-pa sect.² Then comes the village of Dü-gkv (Yü-lung-ts'un) with its temple to Ssa-ddo, the spirit of the Li-chiang snow range. North of Dü-gkv, at the very foot of the snow range, is the last Na-khi hamlet, called Nv-lv-k'ö (Foot of the [Silver rocks] snow range), or Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪嵩村. This is the highest village on the Li-chiang plain and has an elevation of 9,400 feet. Foreign travelers mention it usually as Ngu-lu-kö.

¹ The upper part of the snow peak consists of massive unfoliated limestone. Large blocks of caespitose reef coral (*Thecosmilia* cf. *fenestrata* Reuss) occur in the southern end of the Hsiang Shan [Gyi-wüa Ngyu of the Na-khi]. This coral is of the triassic age. While the Li-chiang plain is alluvial, the southern part of the Yü-lung Shan consists of basalts resting on Minchia limestone. Boulders in the Sa-ba moraine [*which see*] contain a Devonian coral (*Idiostroma*). The presence of fragments of a coral belonging to Stromatomorpha indicates that the massive limestone also belongs to the triassic age. The western slopes of the low spur which connects with Wen-pi Shan and over which the pass Gkaw-gku leads, are of basalt; the southern side of this pass is a volcanic neck composed of limburgite tuff and agglomerate. These rocks rest on Minchia limestone. The limburgite is supposedly kainozoic in age (GREGORY).

PROF. GREGORY adopted the name Minchia Series for rocks which cover an extensive area in north-western Yün-nan, after the tribe in whose territory it is widely developed. The characteristic feature of the Minchia Series is the association of a dark gray to bluish limestone with white calcite veins along a network of cracks, with black shales, purple, red and green sandstones and grits. These rocks are often associated with various porphyries and coarse porphyritic basalts and diabase. The series is unfossiliferous and the limestone has been largely recrystallized. The only fossil from the Minchia Series is a Devonian *Uncinulus* (GREGORY). This rock forms the main building material (foundations) in Li-chiang.

² See Ch. III Lamaseries, and Buddhist temples of Li-chiang.

Between Dü-gkv and Nv-lv-k'ö is a meadow called Mba-mä. Here a large spring called Boa-shi gko-gyi issues from the mountain-side under a grove of century-old maples (*Acer cappadocicum sinicum*), where Na-khi sorcerers perform *Zä-mä*, a ceremony for the propitiation of the Llü-mun (Serpent spirits). The spur behind Dü-gkv is called A-na-lo. The spur north-west of the Yü-feng Ssu lamasery is called Hār-lēr-man (End whence the wind is called). A trail leads across this spur to the western slopes of the snow range and the Yangtze valley, described separately.

For every crag and spur, pond and meadow of this beautiful snow range the Na-khi have names, which shows that they must have occupied this region for many hundreds of years. Every nook of the mountain has its name and story connected with it, yet they have no name for the entire range, nor real Na-khi names for the highest peaks.

The southernmost and first limestone crag of the snow range, overlooking the village of Nv-lv-k'ö, is called Hua-lä-bpu (H-M., Ünlupe); west of the crag is an alpine meadow called Gko-zo-lo. At the foot of and south of the crag, is a deep ravine, Dzhi-k'o-lo, which is crossed by a trail to Hār-lēr-gkv, a pass over which the wind howls in fury during the winter and spring months. To the north of the valley is a cliff resembling a stairway or ladder, and hence known to the Na-khi as 'A-lä-gyi (Cliff stairway). Beyond is a waterfall which has its source on Hua-lä-bpu and flows over a gravelly slope called Shou-mbyu-lo.

Below and east of Shou-mbyu-lo is a small lake or pond called Ts'u-k'aw, supplying a waterfall which flows over a steep cliff, with a deep, narrow cleft, called 'A-nggü-t'an. Adjoining Hua-lä-bpu, north of the Ts'u-k'aw Lake, is a very steep, hanging alpine meadow called 'A-lä-dte, which merges into fantastic crags forming the backbone of the mountain. From this meadow extends abruptly a deep, impassable valley with a stream called Lo-mä-lo. This valley can only be entered from the plain below. To the north of 'A-lä-dte is a ravine which joins Lo-mä-lo. This is called 'A-lä-dte-k'u-k'ö; it can be crossed only in two places, but no animal larger than a goat can pass. Below 'A-lä-dte and north-east is a steep meadow with tall luscious grass and marvelous flowers. A large, dark limestone boulder, which once upon a time had fallen from the heights above, stands guard in this meadow, which is called Ladtu-gkaw. Above it, passing through a rock gate, one can reach the immense screes sloping from the moss-covered crags above. There are two of these screes, a black one called Nv-lv-na, or Na-dshwuä, and a white one called Nv-lv-p'ër. North of Nv-lv-na is a small waterfall, frozen in the winter, but descending in the summer to an alpine meadow called Gko-zo-mbu, where leeches abound. The source of this waterfall is a flat terrace called Khi-t'a-gkv.³ It passes first over a basin-like meadow called Ndv-lo (H-M., Mdwolo; Poison valley), on account of the abundance of aconite (*Aconitum volubile*) growing there, and then into a small ravine in a meadow known as A-nün-t'khü-k'ö (Sharp bill of the cliff).

To the east of Ndv-lo is an Abies- or fir-crowned hill, with a small meadow called Mbër-hoa-lo dzü-gkv (Yak pen on top of the hill). Adjoining Nv-lv-na,

³ This name is part Chinese and part Na-khi, the first two words being the Chinese *hsi-t'ai* 戲臺 (theater, stage).

but separated by a black limestone spur, the ground is composed of gravel and resembles small terraced fields. These are called Khi-llü-p'u-dshwà ([Terraced] rice-field partition). This is the depression at the foot of Nv-lv-na and Nv-lv-p'ër. Here in the gravel and scree grows the peculiar composite resembling a shako, *Saussurea laniceps* H-M., formerly mistaken for the Himalayan species *S. gossipiphora* (PLATE 67).

The lovely alpine meadow of Gko-zo-mbu, commonly known as Ma-huang pa-tzu 蚂蟥壩子 in Chinese (Leech meadow) on account of the leeches which abound there in the summer, is surrounded by beautiful fir trees (*Abies Forrestii*) with dark greenish-black needles, silvery beneath. These exude a delicious fragrance of balsam. Here grow also wonderful rhododendrons and primulas, and in the summer the meadow is often one mass of *Strobilanthes versicolor*, with bluish-purple flowers. Above the meadow and the encircling forest to the north-west is a hanging meadow with a mass of limestone rocks hidden in the grass. Crossing the little stream of A-nün-t'khü-k'ö, a trail leads first to a spot called Zhwua-mä-shi-gkv, with a spring, and thence to the steep, rocky slopes of P'ër-dshwà-k'u-k'ö (Gate to the white barrier).

Opposite, to the east, is Ho-san yi-gkv, a high, limestone crag 15,500 feet in height, with long scree and talus slopes. A Buddhist priest once spent a night on the top, hence the name, Where the priest slept (*ho-shang* 和尚, priest). The name is half Chinese and half Na-khi. Beyond P'ër-dshwà-k'u-k'ö is another lovely meadow, 14,500 feet in elevation, known as P'ër-dshwà. In the month of July it is covered with the most beautiful alpine flowers and prostrate rhododendrons (*Rhododendron prostratum*) with large salver-shaped, wine-colored blossoms. From here one can ascend still higher to 17,000 feet and look down upon Ho-san yi-gkv; the region is called P'ër-dshwà-gkv-lu.

The tremendous gorge of Sa-ba lo-gkv (H-M., Lo-kü) which extends to the very foot of the vertical limestone wall beneath Shan-tzu-tou, stops one's progress (PLATE 68). On the edge of the gorge, which is 4,500 feet deep, lie masses of loose boulders; one passes over a pile of rock, split by the action of ice into thousands of fragments, and then over a talus slope, the last stretch of which leads to the brink of the overhanging crags composed of loose, flat limestone slabs. The edge appears crenellated, due to dislodged boulders which found their way to the depths below. Avalanches of rock and ice from the hanging glacier below Shan-tzu-tou descend continuously into the gorge, and the resulting roar reverberates like distant thunder from the abyss below. Huge boulders are precariously balanced on the edge of the gorge and the lightest touch dislodges them. Here at 17,000 feet is the limit of vegetation. At this height we find the beautiful turquoise-blue-flowered crucifer *Solmslaubachia pulcherrima* growing between limestone rocks, while on the screes and among loose rock occur shako-like species of *Saussureas* (*S. laniceps*, *S. leucoma*), their flowers buried in a conical mass of cotton which rises from rosettes of prostrate leaves.

Halfway up the mountain mass of Ho-san yi-gkv is a belt of fir forest called Nv-lv boa-gkü (Belt of the snow range), and to its north a broad talus slope descends steeply into a valley or, rather, ravine called Zhwua-k'o lo (Gorge where the horse was killed). On this long talus slope is a broad strip of black fir forest growing for some distance down into the ravine. The latter leads

steeply out onto a scree slope adjoining the foot of a limestone bluff called Ggǒ-gko 'a-k'ö, at the edge of the gorge Sa-ba lo-gkv. The lower part of the ravine debouches, at the foot of Ho-san yi-gkv, into a meadow called Man-dzu-gkv.

Man-dzu-gkv meadow (PLATE 69) is very beautiful and contains a spring beneath a large boulder. It merges, in its lower part, into a gorge called Bu-mä lo, which in turn opens into the Li-chiang plain. The meadow stream flows by the village of Ssaw-ssu-k'a (Wen-hua-ts'un 文華村) and is known as the Ssaw-ssu gyi (Waters of Ssaw-ssu). The word *ssaw* is now often pronounced *ssan*.

Over the northern spur, which hems in Man-dzu-gkv, a trail leads through beautiful fir and spruce forest with rhododendron undergrowth; a meadow extends the length of the first terrace of the spur. This beautiful spot, from which a lovely view unfolds, is known to the Na-khi as Ghügh-bö lo (Cattle-pen valley). From here we ascend through forest of fir and spruce with several species of tall rhododendron trees (*Rhododendron rubiginosum* predominating) as undergrowth to a spring which issues from the hill-side along the trail known as Vu-zi gyi-k'o-k'ö (Bird spring). Arrived on the top of the spur, the trail crosses the head of a valley called Gkaw-chër-k'o lo whence one can reach three meadows: the highest is called Ggǒ-gko (Top one); then comes Lù-gko (Central one), above the head of the valley; while the third, across the valley, is called Muan-gko (Lower one).

These three meadows, as well as the region in the immediate neighborhood, are collectively called Llü-ghügh-gko. From Muan-gko the trail crosses a succession of little meadows surrounded by low, forested spurs, and continues east to the edge of the deep gorge Sa-ba lo-gkv, which extends to the foot of the highest peak of the snow range. These little meadows, as well as the larch- and fir-forested spur overlooking the gorge, are called La-zo-gko-dshwuà (Homes of the baby tigers).

The elevation of La-zo-gko-dshwuà is 12,300 feet, while the floor of the gorge immediately below is 12,000 feet above sea level. From this vantage point a wonderful view is obtained of the deep gorge and of the Li-chiang snow peak at its head (PLATE 70).

2. SA-BA GORGE OR SA-BA LO-GKV (PLATE 71)

At about the center of the Li-chiang snow range, that is, in the part south of the Yangtze gorge ('A-ts'an-gko), are two long, deep canyons, a western one called Gyi-p'ër k'a, which extends from the foot of Shan-tzu-tou into the Yangtze valley; and an eastern one called Sa-ba in its lower, and Sa-ba lo-gkv in its upper part, which extends exactly opposite towards the Li-chiang plain. The eastern gorge, once glacier-filled has no outlet, as it terminates in a moraine. There is a difference of 2,650 feet in the height of the floors of these two gorges at their head.

The Sa-ba moraine and the head of the gorge Sa-ba lo-gkv is easily approached from north of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö at the foot of the snow range, but it may be remarked that a steep trail descends from the meadow La-zo-gko-dshwuà, to the upper half of the gorge. The best approach to the lower part, and the beginning of the gorge called Sa-ba, is over the north-eastern foothills.

Past the little artificial pond called in Chinese Yü-hu 玉壺 (Jade jug), to which the Na-khi add the word *khü* or lake (Yü-hu *Khü*),⁴ we come to a meadow called Bi-ndu-tsü-gko, alongside a little, shallow gully; to the left, or west, debouches a small ravine called Gka-gkv, the waters of which flow into the Yü-hu (*Khü*). The trail ascends 'A-mä-nun a scrub-covered slope with pine forest on both sides.

A high limestone mountain, called Zhwua-dzo-gkv, covered with scrub oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*) rises to the left (west); the trail follows at its foot into the Bu-mä lo ravine. In the winter the ravine is dry, but below, where the trail crosses it, is a steep drop and there it is filled with trees; a broad stream gushes forth from beneath the rocks at all seasons. This stream disappears and reappears several times on its way to the village of Ssaw-ssu-k'a to the south-east of Nv-lv-k'ö.

After crossing the Bu-mä lo and a short slope, we arrive in a depression with pines and scrub oak, bounded on the east by a limestone spur; here are two small lakes, or rather, ponds, one to the left of the trail and one below the trail, somewhat north, with graves near the banks. This latter pond called Bpa *Khü* (Frog Lake), overflows during the rainy season, into the Bu-mä lo. From here the trail skirts the scrub-covered slopes, with a forested ravine to the east called Gyi-mbu-gkv. This ravine has two sources, one in Sa-ba and the other north-west on the mountain slope called Ba-ndër gko, in a small meadow, but water is to be found only in the ravine below the trail. We climb the rocky slopes over a rough, white, stony trail; cross a dry, white stream-bed which has its source in Ba-ndër gko, and ascend among pines and spruces along a gully called Sa-ba lv-t'khye-aw, where there is a great amount of loose white gravel and rock. Thence we strike the southern end of the moraine and a little meadow called Sa-ba dü-man, and later come to the large moraine and a beautiful meadow without a single rock, the soil being pure marl, resembling a cement floor. This meadow, surrounded by lateral moraines which are now pine-covered, extends north-east and is called Sa-ba dü-la-lo (PLATE 72). A glacier once covered it from the head of the gorge south towards Nv-lv-k'ö and also north-eastward. The glacier has retreated now to the head of the valley, where it is fed by the hanging glacier immediately below the summit of Shan-tzu-tou (PLATE 73).

The entrance to the main gorge of Sa-ba beyond the grassy expanse is guarded to the north by an enormous limestone mountain, about 16,000 feet in height, called Ch'wua-lo-gku (Where the stags cross). On its eastern face is a depression once filled by a glacier. Immediately behind it is a still higher limestone crag which I called Sa-ba nv-lv and which, with Ch'wua-lo-gku, forms part of the northern wall of Sa-ba lo-gkv. From the base of Ch'wua-lo-gku a trail leads through dense spruce forest along the foot of the snow range to the glacier stream and valley called Pai-shui 白水 (White water), and Gyi-p'ër lo-gkv in Na-khi. This latter region is described in detail under 4. Nga-ba Depression.

⁴ It is believed that a jade jug is buried in the pond, hence the name. The real Na-khi name, however, is Bi-ndu *Khü* (Forest Lake). There are no trees now in the immediate neighborhood, but extensive forests covered this region several hundred years ago; a remnant of spruce forest still exists around the village temple a little to the south of the pond.

The floor of the valley is 12,000 feet above the sea, the entire southern length being occupied by forest, first pine, then spruce, and, near the head of the gorge, fir (*Abies Forrestii*) and larch (*Larix Potaninii*). In the center is a broad stream-bed which narrows in its upper part owing to extensive avalanches of rock and huge boulders from the vertical northern wall of the gorge. Its rocks are pure limestone, of a dazzling white; except in its upper part, it carries no water — the stream disappears underground about halfway down the gorge. The upper part of the gorge which is called Sa-ba lo-gkv (At the head of the gorge Sa-ba — *lo*, gorge, valley, *gkv*, inside) is blocked by a gravel-covered glacier which extends from north to south, the stream-bed winding around it at a sharp angle. A waterfall descends into a basin of ice and disappears underground. Here Sa-ba lo-gkv is 13,250 feet above sea level. From its north-western corner the limestone wall rises in a series of tiers 6,000 feet above the valley floor, bearing masses of ice, fed by the hanging glacier immediately below the main peak into which it culminates (PLATE 73). At the foot of this wall grows the gorgeous larkspur *Delphinium likiangense*, associated with the blue-flowered *Adenophora coelestis*.

3. THE NORTHERN EDGE OF THE LI-CHIANG PLAIN

The north-western part of the Li-chiang plain is bordered on the east by a fairly high limestone range which is a continuation of Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), the Na-khi Gyi-wù Ngyu. It is furrowed by several ravines or steep valleys which debouch west into the Li-chiang plain. At the foot of this range, which extends parallel to the Yü-lung Shan, there are situated several Na-khi hamlets. The southernmost, and immediately north of the Li-chiang Lung-wang Miao (Dragon-king Temple), is the hamlet of Gyi-wù where there are many springs known as Gyi-wù gyi-t'u-gkv. Ten li or more beyond to the north is the large hamlet of Gko-lo, subject to the larger village of Tung-wen-ts'un 東文村, the south-eastern end of Pai-sha. Beyond is Lama-llü, consisting of about eight families. It belongs to the larger hamlet west of it called in Chinese Mu-tu-ts'un 木都村, which in turn belongs to Pai-sha li. Then comes the hamlet of Dto-k'ö, with a few families only and subject to Mu-tu-ts'un. Beyond Dto-k'ö used to be a small settlement, now abandoned, called A-yü-nyu-k'ö (At the foot of monkey mountain). This was the last village on the eastern margin of the plain at the foot of the limestone range.

The central part of the plain between these villages and Pai-sha is either occupied by fields or uncultivated areas. The large stretch of perfectly level ground called Wù-dtv k'o-dü is uncultivated. *Wù-dtv* is the name of the person who owned it, and *k'o-dü* means any uncultivated area. It would form one of the finest aviation fields possible, as it is about two miles long, over half a mile wide and as smooth as a billiard table.⁵ It is only ten miles from Li-chiang.

Immediately to the north of Wù-dtv k'o-dü is the last hamlet in the central part of the plain, called Ssaw-ssu-k'a, named after the stream Ssaw-ssu which

⁵ It was on this field that our plane, the "K'un-ming," landed in 1936 on the historic first flight around the snow range. It has served as an airfield during world war II, and a weather station was established there but is now (1946) abandoned.

flows along its eastern margin — *k'a* being a ravine. The Chinese name of the hamlet is Wen-hua-ts'un 文華村. Formerly it was known as San-chia-ts'un 三家村, as originally only three families lived there. To-day there are eighteen.

The most northerly village on this part of the plain, situated at the actual foot of the snow range at an elevation of 9,400 feet, is Nv-lv-k'ö, consisting of about 100 families (PLATES 74, 75, 76).

South of Wüa-dtv k'o-dü, on the main road to Li-chiang and east of Pai-sha, is the hamlet T'a-bbu-d'a, called in Chinese T'ai-p'ing-ts'un 太平村. T'a-bbu-d'a was originally one of the 12 *d'a* (residences) owned by the Mu family. It was the place where they worshipped their ancestors; when performed in the sixth moon, the service was known as *T'a-bpö*. To the east of T'a-bbu-d'a is a small hamlet of seven or eight families called Nda-la-k'o-dyü, also belonging to Mu-tu-ts'un.

Another larger village consisting of over 100 families, called Nyi-mä-t'u-ts'an in Na-khi, and in Chinese, Hsiang-yang-ts'un 向陽村 (Facing the sun village), is north-east of Pai-sha.

Rice cannot be cultivated on this northern part of the Li-chiang plain, as the soil is too stony and there is not enough water to irrigate the fields, furthermore the altitude is too great. The Na-khi plant wheat, maize, potatoes, barley, oats, beans and peas, also the rape-turnip *Brassica rapa depressa* which they call *ngyu* (the *man-ching* 蔓菁 of the Chinese). The tuber itself is called '*a-k'ö*. Opium was also grown for Chinese consumption. South of and in the actual neighborhood of Li-chiang, opium was grown in the spring, and rice during the rainy season.

Gv-bö, in Chinese, Chiu-tzu-hai 九子海 (Nine lakes) is a district lying east of the long limestone spur which hems in this part of the plain. It has been settled only recently. Peasants from the village of Pai-sha-kai have started homesteads and planted fields. Previous to the settling of the Na-khi, a few Li-su and Lo-lo had built their poor huts there and carried on cultivation. The Chinese name is derived from the several circular basins which are filled with water all the year round.

The range in which is situated Gv-bö, better known as Gv-bö la-zhër gko [the name appears also in Na-khi literature, and has reference to the tigers which once roamed in its forests and meadows: *la* = tiger, *zhër* = sound, noise, *gko* = alpine meadow], is composed of old limestone. The sharp rocks projecting through the mass of scrub oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), give it a peculiar aspect. The highest point of this range is the triangular peak Lv-zhër-dsu (H-M., Lajatso), approximately 12,000 feet in height. The best approach is from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö or Ssaw-ssu-k'a, whence the ascent can be accomplished in about three hours. From its summit one obtains a glorious view of the entire Yü-lung Shan, that is, the part south of the Yangtze gorge. The northern end of the Li-chiang plain is covered with low pines and oaks (PLATES 77, 78), especially scrub oak; many herbaceous plants with beautiful flowers form lovely carpets in the summer months, and enliven the otherwise grey, stony waste.

Immediately east of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö is a low, circular mound, looking for all the world like an extinct volcanic cone. It is known to the Na-khi as La-lo-dtö-gkv, including a small ravine to the north of it. On the top of this

hill, in its crater-like depression, the Na-khi of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö in ancient days used to cremate their dead and bury their ashes. The first burial *à la chinoise* took place from the village of Shu-ho 束河 (in Li-chiang pronounced Ssu-ho) in 1723, when the mother of one Ho Tsung-shun 和崇順, headman of Shu-ho, was placed in a coffin and interred. To-day cremations still take place but only of women who have died in child-birth, or within 100 days after. They are no longer cremated on the top of the hill, however, but in the little ravine at its foot.

North of the hill is the little artificial pond called Yü-hu K̄hü (see p. 216) constructed by one of the early Na-khi kings, and in it is a small islet with a solitary tree. It was here that a Na-khi king exposed his sister in a cage, as related in the history of Nga-ba (see p. 221).

A neat village temple (now dismantled and changed into a forestry station) surrounded by a grove of *Picea likiangensis* trees is west of the pond. These spruces are the remnant of once extensive forests which here covered the plain. The temple contains an image of Buddha in Tibetan style, in the Bhūmisparśa mudrā = Earth-touching or Witness attitude. A marble slab in its court, now broken and merely giving certain rules of conduct, bears the date Ming Wan-li 36th year (1608); it may however have been built earlier. The temple is known as Nv-lv kwuà-d'a to the Na-khi, and as Hsüeh-sung An 雪嵩庵 to the Chinese. It was one of the 12 *d'a* (see: note 155, p. 148) of the Na-khi chiefs, in which a certain specified part of each year was spent. The great chief Mu Sheng-pai kept here a herd of deer (*Cervus albirostris*) in captivity at Nv-lv kwuà-d'a; a place a little below the temple is still known as Ch'wua-k'o-lo (Garden of the stags), the pond Yü-hu K̄hü serving them as drinking pool.

The inner walls of the little temple were once covered with beautiful frescoes, of which only a small portion remains (now totally destroyed). In the third year of the Republic, when anti-religious feelings ran riot, the ancient statue of Buddha was carried up the snow range and hidden in a cave to save it from destruction. It again sits peacefully on its throne erected centuries ago, while the old quinces still bloom in the little court as of yore.⁶

Beyond the village of Nv-lv-k'ö the region is wild in the extreme, lonely forests alternating with stretches of meadows, rocky wastes, pine-covered spurs, and deep ravines. Every hill, spur and cliff has its Na-khi name, some of which figure in their ancient manuscripts.

To the north of Yü-hu K̄hü is a grassy knoll with graves, at its foot a marshy meadow drains into the pond. This hill is called Wua-nà mbu-dtò — *Wua-nà* being the name of an ancient Na-khi, and *mbu-dtò* meaning hill. From the hill a trail leads down to the stream called Ssaw-ssu gyi, also Ssaw-ssu gyi-na gyi, crossed by a small stone bridge. Beyond the little bridge the trail loses itself over a stony waste called Na-dò-k'o, also Lv-na-k'o (Place with the black rocks) which merges into a lovely pine forest known as T'o-dshwua-mbu. The trail, again distinct, leads on to a stream called Bpö-lü k'a, also Gyi-p'ër gyi; its source gushes forth from beneath a layer of rocks on the eastern slopes of the snow range at a spot called Gyi-mbu-gkv. Crossing it, we reach open country,

⁶ The statue of Buddha had been removed when the temple was taken over by the forestry department and placed elsewhere in the village. Thus one of the old landmarks has ceased to exist.

while the ravine to our left is filled with hazel-nuts, spiræa, viburnums, etc. We then come to the main gulch of Bpö-lü k'a (gyi) now dry, as the water has been diverted.

We next reach very rocky ground, the entire region having been once a lake bottom. The protruding limestone is of the weirdest shape and sharp as razor blades. Small scrub-oak bushes with spiny leaves fill the gaps between the rocks, making walking rather disagreeable. This region is called La-bpa-dto-lo-gkò (Place of the small oak bushes). From here a trail leads to the foot of the limestone range of Dza-dza mbu, which hems in the eastern margin of the plain. To the south of this mountain between spurs extends a magnificent meadow larger than Nga-ba, called Ts'a-ts'a dü, which adjoins Gv-bö in the north. Beyond La-bpa-dto-lo-gkò the plain becomes still rockier and is here called 'A-man-ndv (Broken tail [end] of the rocks), meaning that beyond 'A-man-ndv, along the main highway, the sharp rocks cease.

From 'A-man-ndv the trail descends into a dry, rocky ravine called 'A-lo (Cliff valley), with steep sides of limestone. The rocks are covered with *Selaginella involvens*, which in the dry season roll up into balls, and spread out into beautiful dark green rosettes during the rains. To the west of 'A-lo, among the low, rocky hills, is a cave, the home of many bats.

In a limestone cliff a little to the north of 'A-lo are peculiar miniature caves which play an interesting role in the religious life of the Na-khi. The place is known as Nv-gkyi-k'o-ndv. In these caves the Na-khi deposit pine twigs carved to represent human beings, the needles left on to represent hair. These twigs, called *nv*, represent the body of a departed spirit. They are deposited during the great funerary ceremony called *Khi-nv*, a sort of All Souls' Day rite performed during the eleventh moon. I hope to describe the ceremony in a work on the religion of the Na-khi, giving the translation of the hundred odd books chanted during its performance.

From Nv-gkyi-k'o-ndv we finally emerge onto a stony meadow. The rocks of white limestone seen from the distance give the meadow the appearance of being covered with snow. A rocky ravine extends here into the foot-hills of the snow range, the entire region, lonely in the extreme, being known as Zhër-p'ër-gyi-tsi. On the eastern margin of this plain, near where it joins Dza-dza mbu, is a small spring — hence the place is commonly used as a lunch-stop by Tibetan caravans *en route* to Li-chiang. The northern end is closed by a ridge which projects from the foot-hills of the snow range and forms the southern margin of Nga-ba. From Zhër-p'ër-gyi-tsi the trail ascends a pine-covered spur and leads over undulating country covered with open pine forest, along a deep, tree-filled gorge to the east — a regular rife or fault, known as Să-bpi lo-mä (great Cinnamon gorge). The gorge has its source to the north in a basin-like depression called Mbër-ò-gko-ho, and ends miles below on the eastern margin of the Li-chiang plain at a spot called Mbu-lo-màn. The place where the trail to Gv-bö crosses it is called Ssi-dzi-lo-k'o.

We now descend to Mbër-ò-gko-ho, a small, circular basin, its slopes wooded with spruces. A little spring issues from beneath the spruces on its western slopes. It is a lonely, spooky place, shut in and weird in the extreme. Its northern outlet is through a narrow defile with a cave in the cliffs to the west. The Na-khi themselves believe that the place is haunted by ghosts and will



PLATE 121. — THE CENTRAL PART OF THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

雅昌角陝隘

Looking north-east, downstream, from a bluff 8,000 feet elevation whence plate 120 was taken. There are in all 34 rapids in the gorge. The Yangtze strikes the snow-capped range Dzu-ku nv-lv (visible in center of picture), and flows north. Pines in foreground.



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 122. — THE NA-KHI HAMLET GYI-P'ĒR-LO IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

雅昌角麼些兩家村

The isolated village consists of seven families and is built entirely of rock; its elevation is 7,775 feet, and is in Chung-tien territory.



PLATE 123.—THE YANGTZE IN THE CENTRAL PART OF THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

雅昌角金沙江

The river is a narrow blue-green ribbon only a few yards wide, but very deep. The famous Hu-t'iao-t'an or Tiger-leap rapid is visible in the center of the picture. Photographed (with front-lens removed) from a lateral spur elevation 8,350 feet.

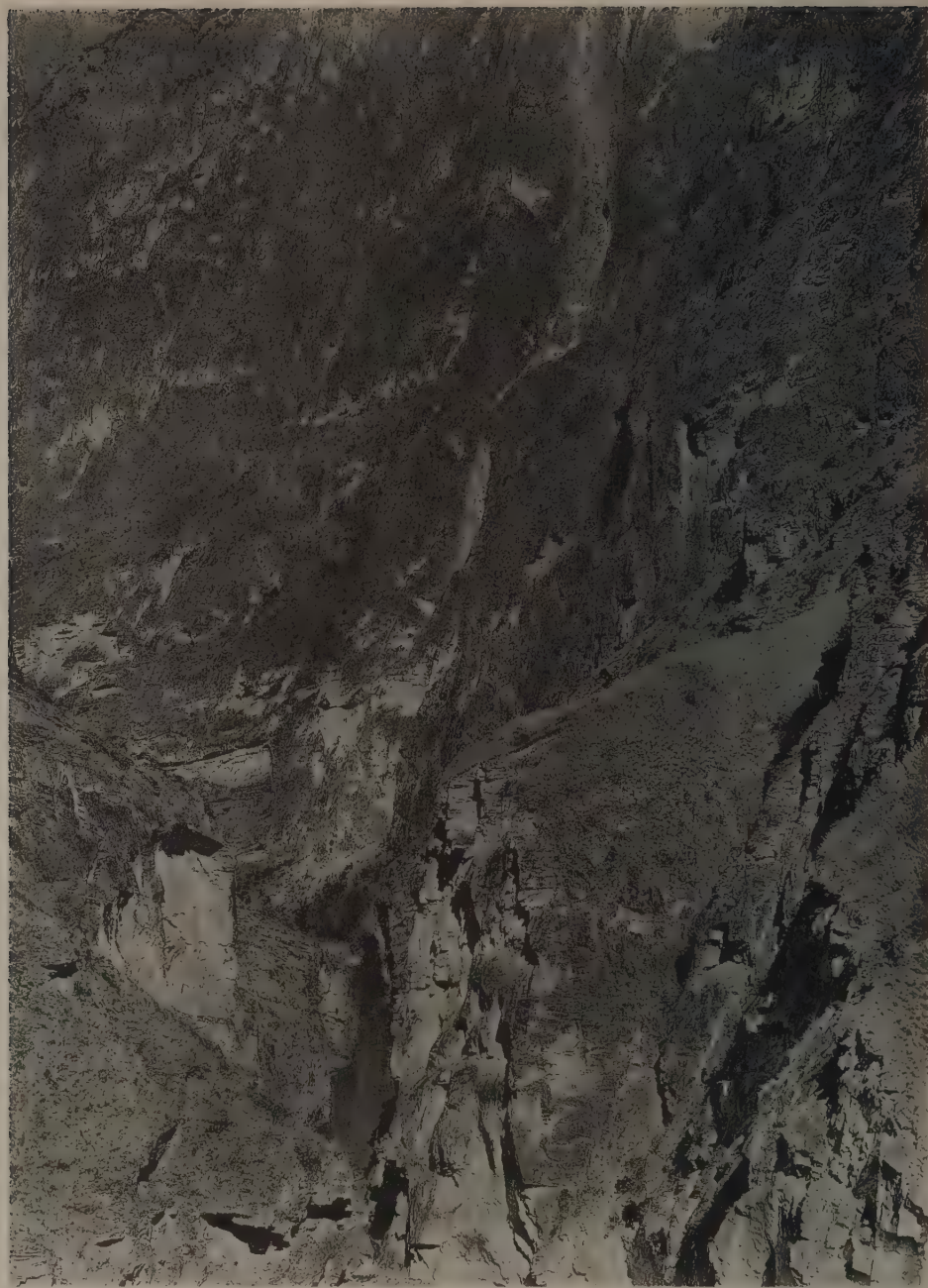


PLATE 124. — THE CELEBRATED HU-T'IAO-T'AN OR TIGER-LEAP RAPID

金 沙 江 虎 跳 灘

The narrowest part of the Yangtze in the entire 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. It is so narrow that a tiger could jump from wall to wall, hence the name. The rock is old limestone.



PLATE 125. — THE YANGTZE IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE LOOKING UPSTREAM
FROM NEAR THE HU-T'IAO-T'AN

雅昌角陝隘

In this stretch, the river is one succession of rapids; in the summer or early spring, the volume of water is immense and tons of water are thrown up into the air at every rapid.



PLATE 126. — THE PINNACLED LIMESTONE WALL OF THE YANGTZE GORGE
OPPOSITE TA-SHEN-KOU

雅昌角陝岩大深溝對面

The right bank of the Yangtze is hemmed in by the vertical cliffs of the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge.



PLATE 127.—THE END OF THE TRAIL IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

漢坡嶺山口

The gap called Han-p'o-ling is at an elevation of 10,000 feet; there is a sheer drop of over 4,000 feet to the Yangtze. Rhododendrons and pines cling to the vertical wall of rock.



PLATE 128. — VIEW INTO THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

雅昌角金沙江遂景

From near the Han-p'o-ling gap the Yangtze, roaring 4,000 feet below, appears as a small stream, a solid wall of limestone rock rises thousands of feet vertically from the Li-chiang side of the river.



PLATE 129. — THE YANGTZE IN THE TA-KU PLAIN

金沙江流入打鼓壩

After emerging from the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge the Yangtze flows across the conglomerate plain at Ta-ku. Photographed a little north of Han-p'o-ling gap, elevation 10,000 feet. The village of Ta-ku is on the terrace upper right. Pines in foreground.



PLATE 130. — PINE FOREST IN THE HA-BA DISTRICT

哈 巴 松 林

Unlike the Lo-lo, the Na-khi are lovers of trees and disturb the forests as little as necessary. The trees are *Pinus yunnanensis*.



PLATE 131. — HA-BA NDSHĒR NV-LV, THE FOURTH HIGHEST PEAK OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

哈 巴 大 雪 山

As seen from a spur called Wa-'a mbu in the Ha-ba district, elevation 9,250 feet.
The peak is 18,700 feet in height.



PLATE 132. — THE BBĒR-DDĒR NA-KHI VILLAGE OF WU-SHU-WUA

北 地 麼 些 村

The houses are built of mud bricks with a superstructure of wood. The roof is of boards weighted down with rocks.
On the racks they dry their grains and turnips.



PLATE 133. — THE MOUNTAINS OF GKÜ-DÜ NORTHEAST OF BËR-DDËR

The range is snow-covered in winter only and its highest peak is 15,420 feet. Photographed from near T'khi-dü in Ha-ba, elevation 9,000 feet. The forests are composed mainly of pines and oaks.



PLATE 134. — NA-KHI FROM THE VILLAGE OF BU-DU-WUA

北地慶些農夫

It is the first village in Bbér-ddér (coming from Ha-ba) situated at an elevation of 7,600 feet. The people were painfully polite and knelt on our approach.



PLATE 135. — THE MYSTERIOUS SACRED SPRING AT BĚŘ-PĚŘ-DĚŘ

北 地 靈 泉

The spring is situated at an elevation of 8,650 feet in the center of a hill. The BĚř-pĚř-dĚř sinter terraces owe their origin to this carbonate of lime-bearing spring. The white wooden rods surrounding the spring are *k'o-byu* on which are painted various *Llu-mun* or Nāga, serpent spirits, whom the *dto-mba* propitiate.

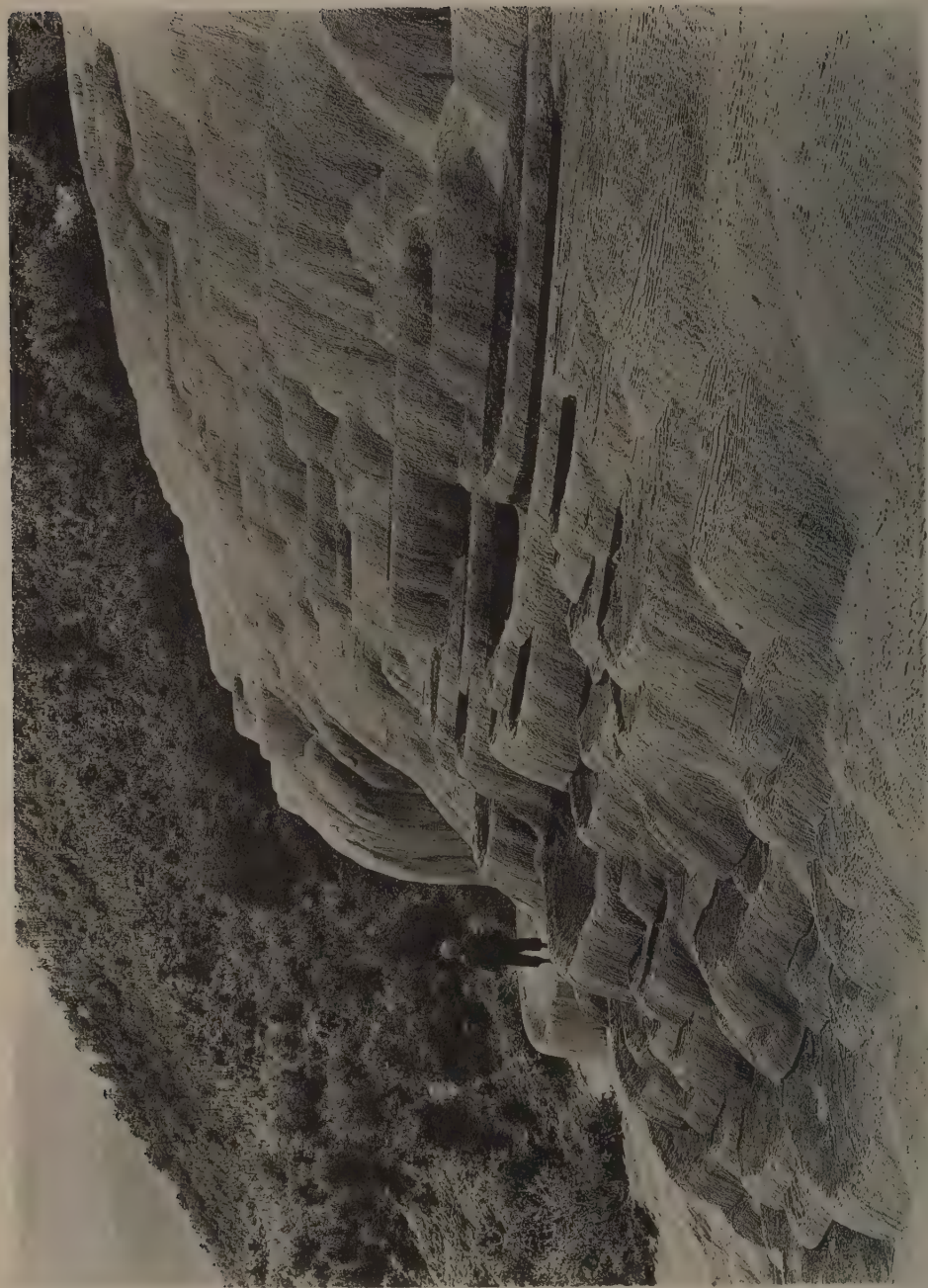


PLATE 136. — THE SINTER TERRACES OF BBËR-T'ËR-DTËR

北地泉華臺

The carbonate of lime-bearing waters of the spring shown on plate 135, have built these marvelous terraces and basins. They are composed of thousands of thin layers of carbonate of lime deposited by the water which flows noiselessly over them. The entire terrace, where covered by the water, is of a rich cream color.

hardly ever be persuaded to spend the night there. They are even afraid to cross that place alone by day. When escorting the spirits of their ancestors north, to their ancestral homes where the cranes lay their eggs, in the distant grass-lands of the Ko-ko Nor, they believe that if their souls once pass Mbër-ò-gko-ho all is well. The cave and narrow ravine which leads north out of Mbër-ò-gko-ho is called Ds'i-p'a 'a-k'ò (Goat-face cliff cave). Beyond the cave was in ancient days a huge forest; the place is still known as Mbër-ò-bi-mä (Vast forest of Mbër-ò). The trail, lined by pines and spruces, now merges into a white, rocky road, full of clinker-like limestone; this is called Nga-ba lv-t'khye-ò (Narrowing stony throat of Nga-ba). A short distance beyond we emerge onto the southern end of Nga-ba, covered with pines and spruces.

4. NGA-BA DEPRESSION

Nga-ba is a large basin-like depression at the foot of the eastern slopes of the snow range at an elevation of 10,500 feet. It extends from the northern slopes of the Sa-ba moraine to the edge of Pai-shui 白水 or Gyi-p'ër k'a (not to be mistaken for the Gyi-p'ër k'a of the western slopes) (PLATE 79).

Nga-ba, once the bed of an ice lake, is now usually dry, except in summers of unusual rain when the greater part becomes a beautiful blue sheet of water in which the snow range is reflected (PLATE 80). Nga-ba is over two miles in length and bounded on the east by forested limestone hills, the trees being mainly pines. To the west of the basin are great forests of pines (*Pinus yunnanensis*) which merge into dense forests of spruces, *Picea likiangensis* of large size predominating. These in turn give way to forests of larches (*Larix Potaninii*), with undergrowth of *Arundinaria*, or cane-brake, a small slender bamboo, rhododendrons, etc. Above the larches are patches of *Abies Forrestii*, easily distinguished by their dark foliage.

The region of pine forests is known as Nga-ba t'o-k'ò (t'o, pine tree, k'ò, land, ground); the slopes forested with spruce and larch are called Llù-na-bi-gkv (Where the forests of the black spruces are) these forests furnish the Na-khi with timber used in the construction of their houses. The pine and larch logs are transported on very primitive two-wheeled contrivances (PLATE 81).

It was on this meadow that the Hli-khin⁷ and Hsi-fan warriors of Yung-ning camped with their chiefs ready to attack Li-chiang. Tradition relates that the sister of one of the Na-khi chiefs,⁸ who was given in marriage to the chief of the Hli-khin tribe, instigated the attack, suggesting the day of Ch'ing-ming 清明⁹ when all the male Na-khi would be away visiting the graves to

⁷ The Hli-khin (people of Hli, or Hli dü, or Yung-ning) are a branch of the Na-khi speaking a Na-khi dialect (see section on Yung-ning).

⁸ It was Mu Ting who gave one of his four sisters, the eldest, called Mu Shih-hsien 木氏先, to the Yung-ning chief, A-ch'ò 阿綽, in marriage. In the chronicle it relates that Mu Ting conquered Yung-ning between 1521-1523, and this would coincide with the Yung-ning Chronicle, in which it is stated that the chief A-ch'ò came to power in the 20th year of Ch'eng-hua (1484), succeeding his elder brother. The name *Boa-shi*, however, dates back to the Sung dynasty (see Chapter III, 4), and therefore the incident here related must have happened much earlier.

⁹ Ch'ing-ming falls either in the second or third moon, oftener in the third moon, usually about April 5th. On that day the people visit the graves and make food offerings to their

worship their dead. The Hli-khin and Hsi-fan people came down from the north and camped at Nga-ba, which the Hli-khin people call Gha-ba dü. A great mounted host had assembled on this huge meadow and before the attack staged a war dance, dressed in armor (PLATE 82) and bearing swords, lances, cross-bows and poisoned arrows. Below Nga-ba, on the northern end of the plain, is 'A-lo, or 'A-man-ndv, the plain covered with razor-sharp limestone outcroppings resembling a rough lava flow (*see* p. 220). Their charge, at 'A-lo was delayed by the sharp rocks which cut the feet of their horses, laming them. The delay lost them the battle, for when they arrived twenty li north of Li-chiang they were met by the Na-khi chief's army and annihilated, every Hsi-fan being decapitated. The place is known to this day as Boa-shi (Dead Boa, or Hsi-fan) and the scene of the decapitation is called Lv-wüa-k'ö (Place where the rocks are piled up). For every decapitated head a stone was thrown on the spot, till a considerable pile accumulated; the tumulus still exists. Another Lv-wüa-k'ö lies one li south of the village of Ssaw-ssu-k'a (Wen-hua-ts'un) and is also known as K̄hü-wüa-k'ö (*k̄hü* = lake), referring to the immense pool of blood of the executed.

The Na-khi chief then brought his traitorous sister to Li-chiang. On the artificial islet of Yü-hu K̄hü, or Bi-ndu K̄hü, he imprisoned her in a cage, feeding her with dry barley flour, but giving her no water whatever: surrounded by water she died of thirst. So much for historic events in Nga-ba.

Several spurs with intervening meadows separate Nga-ba from the northern end of the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain. The first peak, a massive limestone mountain, which flanks the southern end of Nga-ba on the west, is the same which guards the entrance to Sa-balo-gkv, namely Ch'wua-lo-gku; it once bore a glacier on its eastern face. Behind the latter is a still higher mountain mass which I have named Sa-ba nv-lv (PLATE 79). At its foot in the spruce forest issues a spring and a streamlet which disappears underground on its way down the hill-side. The spring is called Gyi-k'aw-k'ö of Llü-na-bi-gkv.

The trail, which leads through the forest on the middle slopes of the mountain, passes a small meadow called Bpü-gkaw-k'o-man below a small valley and spring known as Bpü-gkaw-gkv-k'wuà. Between the main peak and the nameless mountain mass is a ravine densely forested with fir at its apex; the ravine and meadow with luscious grass where the shepherds herd their flocks of sheep, are called Ö-här ba (Turquoise meadow), while the spur separating it on the north from Pai-shui bears the name Ö-här mbu-gkv (Turquoise spur) and overlooks the glacier valley Pai-shui.

On the eastern mountain slopes of Nga-ba there is a meadow called Nga-ba tsi-mä gko, east of the trail leading to the hamlets of Nga-tz inhabited by Na-khi as well as Miao-tzu 苗子. The latter are immigrants from Kuei-chou. From the northern end of Nga-ba a trail leads through forest, after crossing a ravine which issues from the mountains to the east of Nga-ba and is called Nga-ba lua-mba-k'o. There Tibetans often camp and herd their yak, selling the butter in the Li-chiang market.

dead. The Na-khi buried the ashes of their cremated dead, and placed a stone before the circular mound.

Emerging from the pine forest we come to an *obo*¹⁰ (*shi-zhi* in Na-khi) at the head of the trail which leads into Pai-shui. The first part of the trail takes us to a small meadow and depression called Hoa-gkyi lo,¹¹ surrounded by *Picea likiangensis*, and thence down to the stream-bed, spanned by a stone-bridge; elevation 9,970 feet. The stream-bed is lined with spruces, willows and rhododendrons. On the northern bank, and somewhat above it, is a beautiful meadow surrounded by spruce forest which, next to Nda-za gko, is one of the finest camping places in this region. It is known as Gyi-p'ër k'a-k'o, elevation 10,000 feet.

The Pai-shui (White water) has its source in the hanging glacier overlooking Nga-ba, and it is rightly so called, for it is of a bluish-white, intensified by the white limestone rocks over which it flows. It is a beautiful stream with tall spruces lining its bank (PLATE 83) as if planted there, and for background the grand peaks of Jade-dragon Mountain crowned with eternal snow. Words fail to describe the beauty of the scene. Here is Nature still undisturbed, here roam bears, deer, leopard, stags and pheasants, in the majestic forest and over meadows starred with myriads of flowers.

Two lateral streams join Pai-shui near its head, the Pai-shui itself is fed by the glacier which spreads out like a fan over the rocks polished by the ice. Here at the head of the stream-bed the elevation is 11,000 feet and the mountain wall rises abruptly, the slopes to the left and right being forested with larches, while above them somber firs cling to the steep declivities, their dark green foliage contrasting sharply with the light-grey limestone scree.

On the spur which separates Pai-shui from the parallel-flowing Hei-shui 黑水 (Black water), called Gyi-nà lo-gkv, rising in the third highest peak, Gyi-nà nv-lv, is situated one of the finest meadows on the entire range. It is called Nda-za gko, elevation 10,700 feet (PLATE 84). There are two approaches to this loveliest of all the meadows, hidden in dense forest on this lateral spur which appears too narrow to harbor such an extensive place.

One approach is by the Pai-shui valley, the trail ascending the northern valley wall; the second is up the broad slope of the pine-covered spur which separates Pai-shui from Hei-shui. The steep trail leads at right angles from the main road into the pine forest, the dividing spur being known as Gyi-p'ër mbu in Na khi and Shan-shen-miao 山神廟 in Chinese, for once upon a time a shrine dedicated to the mountain spirits existed here. Once over the steep slope the trail crosses a rocky flat covered with pines and low, shrubby oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), to a narrow meadow called Nda-za gko dü-man, flanked on the north by a spur with a bluff known as Ting-hsiang 釘像 gkv; the last word is Na-khi and meaning "there," while the Chinese characters refer to the shape of the bluff, which resembles a nail.

From this little meadow it is only a short distance to the magnificent one of Nda-za gko. To the south the spur enclosing it is covered with forest composed of spruces 100 to 150 feet tall and firs, with undergrowth of cane-brake.

¹⁰ *Obo* is a Tibetan-Mongol word and denotes a cairn, a pyramidal pile of rocks on a pass. The Tibetans call it *la-rdsas* (pronounced la-dse).

¹¹ The *Hoa-gkyi* is an herb (*Oxyria sinensis*) with reddish stems and white flowers, the leaves of which are cooked and fed to pigs.

From the top of the sharp spur a wonderful view is to be had of Pai-shui. West the meadow extends almost to the foot of the wall of Gyi-nà nv-lv, and is surrounded by the same type of forest, carpeted with deep moss. The sources of the Hei-shui (Gyi-nà lo-gkv), separate the meadow from the massive walls of the mountain. The latter can be reached by following the forested spur to the south of the meadow.

Only in the summer time is there running water on the meadow, but a little distance to the north is a spring called Gyi-dtà-lä-han¹² (the name embracing not only the spring but also the meadow and immediate surroundings), which furnishes water in the winter. Seen from this meadow, Gyi-nà nv-lv is one huge limestone mass declining to the north (PLATE 85); in the spring when the snows melt, or after heavy rains, waterfalls descend its steep slopes, here and there sparingly covered with firs and junipers.

From Nda-za gko it is possible to reach the northern slopes of this mountain, by descending into the valley parallel to its base and following it to Yu-k'o-lo at the foot of the cliff. The waters from the two ravines at the left and right of its base join and flow east as the Hei-shui; collectively they are called Gyi-nà lo-gkv, and the entire region Gyi-nà gv-ssu gko. Two other ravines, descending from the eastern face of the mountain proper, join the main Hei-shui Stream. The first, or southern one, is dry and is called Bpu-k'a-k'u (Dry embankment), the second, north of it, carries water and is called Gyi-shi k'a (Yellow water valley). These have to be crossed if one wishes to reach the foot of the mountain at Yu-k'o-lo (PLATE 86).

5. THE GYI-NÀ MOUNTAIN, OR GYI-NÀ NV-LV (PLATES 85, 86, 87)

Gyi-nà nv-lv, commonly spoken of as Gyi-nà lo-gkv, is the third highest mountain mass of the Li-chiang snow range. Unlike the Shan-tzu-tou range, it is a long, broad mountain with a gradual ascent from north to south, and perfectly flat on the top, in the shape of a long hand, the upper part of which is occupied by a broad glacier hemmed in by low limestone ramparts. The eastern side is composed of a solid limestone wall, almost vertical from its base at 10,500 feet to the summit, 19,356 feet above sea level. Between Shan-tzu-tou and Gyi-nà nv-lv¹³ is a lower, but nameless, mountain mass, isolated from both by once-glacier-filled ravines. The rocky mass which I here baptize Nga-ba nv-lv (Silver rocks or Snow mountain of Nga-ba) is visible on plates 80 and 83.

The western flank of Gyi-nà nv-lv is covered with loose limestone and is less steep than the eastern, but with sharp limestone ridges protruding from the

¹² The name Gyi-dtà-lä-han refers to two springs, one on the actual meadow of Nda-za gko, the second on the other side of a low spur to the north of it. *Gyi* is water, *dtà-lä* is a double bag, with two openings similar to a saddle-bag, such as the Na-khi use, and *han* is the method of carrying such a bag, slung over the shoulder — here the spur between the two springs is meant.

¹³ While any snow range is called *nv-lv*, the literal meaning is "silver rock," *nv* = silver, *lv* = rock. However, there are other high, steep mountains, not crowned with eternal snow, which are also designated as *nv-lv*, as for example, Sā-bpi zhër nv-lv. The word *zhër* has two meanings — one is steep, vertical, and the other is the ringing in the ears at high altitudes. Both meanings may be applicable, but the former is probably the correct one.

screes. Its slopes drop into a valley which has its head near and west of the summit of Gyi-nà nv-lv. The other wall of the valley is formed by a spur, culminating in ten separate limestone crags which extend parallel to Gyi-nà nv-lv proper. The three first are worthy of the name peak, for each has a glacier which descends into the valley. The southernmost of this row of peaks, known collectively as 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv, is the second highest of the range, being slightly higher than Gyi-nà nv-lv — probably 19,500 feet — and a close rival of Shan-tzu-tou. It is directly opposite and west of the summit of Gyi-nà nv-lv and joined to it by a sharp limestone crest, to the north of which lies a glacier. This glacier forms the head of the valley, sending down a greyish stream, called the Chien-t'ai Ho 漸台河 (PLATE 88), into the Yangtze west of Ta-ku. Although the peak is higher than Gyi-nà nv-lv, it is not an outstanding one and is only visible from the north or from the slopes of the former.

As the three southernmost and highest peaks of the 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv Range which forms the eastern wall of the Yangtze gorge, were nameless, I have given each an appropriate Na-khi name, in memory of the three most renowned Na-khi chiefs. As the most noteworthy was A-ssu, or Mu Tseng, the first of these three peaks I thus baptize A-ssu nv-lv; the second, after A-ku, or Mu Kung, A-ku nv-lv; and the third after A-mbu or Mu Kao, A-mbu nv-lv¹⁴ (PLATE 89).

The entire spur of 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv has the character of Shan-tzu-tou mountain and is in fact a continuation of it (PLATE 90). Gyi-nà nv-lv, parallel to 'A-ts'an-gko is a quite different, bulky mountain mass, pushed further east, as it were from the main backbone of the range. Were it not for the sharp limestone crest which connects it to the first peak of the 'A-ts'an-gko Range Gyi-nà nv-lv would really be a separate mountain mass.

The best approach to the foot of Gyi-nà nv-lv, whence it is possible to ascend the mountain, is by following the trail north from Pai-shui — the same trail which leads up into the Yangtze loop. Thus from Pai-shui we climb through beautiful forest of spruces and pines to a spur called Gyi-p'ër mbu, at 10,400 feet elevation, the divide between the Pai-shui and the Hei-shui. Over this ridge called Shan-shen-miao in Chinese, a steep trail leads to the alpine meadow of Nda-za gko. We descend into the Hei-shui, quite a disappointment in comparison to the beautiful Pai-shui. Ere reaching the Hei-shui, to the left of the trail, halfway down the slope, is a spring surrounded by pines and oaks. This spring and the immediate neighborhood, where good camping places can be found, is called Gyi-nà zhwua-ts'u.

The muddy trail descends now to the narrow stream of the Hei-shui which is here spanned by a wooden bridge, elevation 9,600 feet, or 400 feet lower than the Pai-shui. After crossing the bridge the trail ascends steeply to where used to be a Chinese hut, which served as an inn for travelers, a miserable affair at best. No one lives there now and the slopes, which were once cultivated, lie fallow and abandoned owing to the robbers who make this region unsafe. These robbers are mostly Chinese, but Lo-lo and Lü-khi (Yung-ning people) also, are not averse to highway robbery when opportunity offers. From the

¹⁴ Should these Na-khi names prove difficult to be pronounced, their Chinese equivalents may be adopted thus: Mu-tseng Shan 木增山, Mu-kung Shan 木公山, and Mu-kao Shan 木高山.

ruins of former habitations we enter open pine forests and emerge at a lovely meadow surrounded by large *Tsuga yunnanensis*, or hemlock trees. This meadow, a rather marshy one, is called Gyi-nà o-nda-mä (Marshy meadow of Gyi-nà), elevation 10,550 feet.

With the entire snow range in full view, we ascend through pine forest to the top of the northern spur of Gyi-nà lo-gkv valley, called Gyi-nà mbu-gkv, to an elevation of 11,000 feet. From this vantage point one of the finest views of the snow range is revealed. The main trail descends the spur through virgin forest consisting of spruces, hemlocks, firs, oaks, birches, sorbus, willows, and rhododendrons, with undergrowth of cane-brake.

Instead of following the main trail, we turn west through pine forest, later entering lovely spruce and hemlock forest, with tall *Rhododendron rubiginosum* trees bearing purple to lavender flowers, and finally emerge on the broad spur, a huge meadow of the richest green, bordered by forest. Thousands of flowers wave their heads in this luscious, green meadow called Gv-ssu-gko dü-man (PLATE 91), over which our trail continues overlooking the valleys of Pai-shui and Hei-shui, and the ancient lake-bed of Nga-ba. The entire country to the south lies before us like an open book. To the north of the spur is a valley, very deep in its lower part where it joins the Hei-shui. The region north of the valley is called collectively Gko-ndza-gkv, as lush, rich meadows are interspersed with forest of fir and oak: *ndza* meaning spotted, *gko*, alpine meadow, *gkv*, the region. Of this region the Na-khi have the saying, *Gko-ndza ts'ü-ho-p'a*, *lv-mä ts'ü-ho-hwua*, *hwua-gku-muan-dto-dto*, or, "On the 18 faces of Gko-ndza, the 18 assembled shepherds cannot see one another's huts." Numbers of shepherds may herd their sheep on the many separate meadows, without one being aware of the others' presence.

One feels lost in this vast place, which joins the broad, massive base of Gyi-nà nv-lv. Myriads of flowers dot the green turf, on which Tibetans have established their yak encampments. Where the meadow joins the limestone mountain it is called Gv-ssu gko. Elevation 12,500 feet. This entire region was once covered with dense forests of fir (*Abies*) and junipers of immense size, the haunt of tigers and leopards, as well as deer and stags. Several decades ago someone set fire to the forest, which burned for months and reached the borders of Nga-ba, crossing even the deep gorge of the Pai-shui. Since then tigers have vanished from this region.

Crossing Gv-ssu gko to the head of the gulch Yu-k'o-lo, which becomes the Hei-shui at the base of the mountain, the trail ascends steeply through beautiful forest to a plateau with pure stands of fir forest, thence out on to a burnt-over area with the charred remains of the forest, partly standing and partly littering the steep slopes, which make climbing difficult. The almost vertical slope, covered in its upper part with stunted firs and prostrate rhododendrons, joins the limestone wall of Gyi-nà nv-lv at 13,500 feet. Instead of skirting the broad base, made difficult on account of the soft snow which lies here often 50 feet deep, we climb hand over foot up the grey limestone wall, thence across snowfields, from one spur to another, until an elevation of 15,500 feet is reached. The sharp, limestone rocks stand upright as the leaves of a book. Here a panorama of real grandeur unfolds itself. To the north one can see plainly in this clear atmosphere the three Gangkar ling peaks in Hsi-k'ang,

rising to over 20,000 feet into an azure sky, while Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv rears its snowy head high over the crags and pinnacles forming the last of the spur to the west, at the foot of which the Yangtze roars some 10,000 feet or more below, ever carving a deeper and deeper gorge. Range upon range is visible, as well as the Yangtze in its trench at Ta-ku after it emerges from the gorge between Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv and the crags of 'A-ts'an-gko.

From 15,500 feet on, the grade is gentle and the going is good. We continue on the top of the wide spur leading to the broad peak, over thousands of tiny, loose, sharp limestone rocks. The entire surface of the hard limestone has been split into myriads of fragments by the action of the ice. The wall of rock which forms the eastern part of the gorge is cleaved several feet deep into a forest of columns as if the entire surface had been chopped up with a giant's axe. From the summit down to 17,000 feet the broad spur is buried beneath a massive glacier, the ice lying in folds like the train of a wedding garment (PLATE 87). The rocks here change in shape, resembling angular sticks several feet in length, and only about two inches in width. They lie about parallel to each other, having been split by the action of severe frosts and ice. Quartz is not uncommon here, also iron-bearing rock and pure white marble. The ascent to the summit of this mountain can easily be accomplished, one needs only follow the western outer edge or rampart which hems in the glacier, and which is usually free of snow. The only obstacles are the terrific gales which blow over these mountains, whirling the snow in huge columns like smoke into the air. If one wishes to ascend Gyi-nà nv-lv, camp should be pitched in the gorge west of it, on a broad shelf or terrace, suitable for a camp, a little below 16,000 feet. At 14,500 feet and even higher we found *Lerwa Lerwa major* on the rocky, barren waste and also several snow chickens, *Tetragallus tibetanus henrici*, neither hitherto recorded from Yün-nan.

6. THE REGION BETWEEN TA-KU (NDA-GV) AND GKO-NDZA-GKV

Ta-ku and the many small villages belonging to it are collectively called Ta-chü li 大具里. Ta-ku itself is situated on a fan-shaped plain mainly composed of conglomerate. To the west the plain is bordered by the Gyi-nà nv-lv and the Chien-t'ai Ho 漸台河. The Yangtze emerges here from the terrific gorge which it has cut for itself through the Li-chiang snow range, and flows east for a short distance through the conglomerate plain and then north at the foot of a mighty range — the Dzu-k'u nv-lv as it is called by the Na-khi of Ha-ba and Bbër-ddër. The plain through which the Yangtze flows, 600 feet below the main village of Ta-ku, drops in terraces towards the river. It is entirely inhabited by Na-khi, except for a few Chinese settlers. The climate is warm enough for two crops to mature in one year. Wheat, paniced millet (*shu* 黎), cotton, rice and maize are grown. Out of the millet stalks they make sugar known as Sha-t'ang 紗糖. *Cannabis sativa*, the *ma* 麻 (hemp plant) which the Na-khi call *ssaw*, is much cultivated, especially the female plant which gives better fibre and which they call *ssaw-mä*.

Ta-ku is 140 li north of Li-chiang. To the west of the village is a large spring called Lung-ch'üan 龍泉 (Dragon spring); in the days of a native official, its water was conveyed in irrigation ditches to the higher fields. Near the

main village, or to the east of it, are the hamlets of La-mbe and Zaw-muan.

From Ta-ku we go south across an arid, uncultivated stretch, the ground appearing to be hard, cemented limestone, which sounds hollow when riding over it. The plain from Ta-ku village to the foot of the hills is six li across. The village of P'ä-da (Chinese, P'ei-tan 培單) is the last on the southern edge of the plain at the foot of the hills. From P'ä-da we ascend the hill-side over a steep and more or less indistinct trail through a xerophytic vegetation of *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, *Berberis*, *Wikstroemia*, etc., up to an elevation of 8,500 feet where the trail enters pine forest. It then skirts ravines, past a lovely meadow in the pine forest with a spring, which affords an excellent lunch-stop as well as camping place.

Skirting another ravine we emerge on the top of a spur with a dry pond, in dense pine forest at an elevation of 9,250 feet. Looking between the trees down over the Ta-ku plain, we spy to the west on a terrace the hamlet Gka-dzè amidst green fields. Higher we ascend, where we meet with individual larches, with *Rhododendron heliolepis*, oaks and pines, all forming a somber forest through which the trail zigzags. Winding around ravines we enter a broad, densely forested valley from the head of which extend several rounded terraces. Over these the trail leads in and out, to ascend a central spur from an elevation of 10,000 feet, forested with hemlocks (*Tsuga yunnanensis*), *Pinus Armandi* with *Rhododendron rubiginosum* and cane-brake as undergrowth (PLATE 92). Soon spruces take the place of hemlocks, with golden oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), and we emerge at a beautiful meadow, elevation 10,700 feet, surrounded by lovely spruce forest. From here an unrivalled vista opens to the traveler. The peaks of the Li-chiang snow range tower high above us, cold and wintry, wrapped in ice and snow.

To the north in Chung-tien 中甸 loom the mountains of Gkü-dü, and north-east Wua-ha Shan of Yung-ning beyond the Yangtze. This region with its numerous meadows, each isolated and surrounded by spruces and firs, is called Gko-ndza-gkv.

From these meadows, some of which resembled a ploughed field rummaged by wild boars, we descend through forest to the main trail which leads north-east to Mba-yi-wüa.

CHAPTER V

THE LI-CHIANG TERRITORY WITHIN THE YANGTZE LOOP

The Yangtze River after cutting its way through the snow range in a north-eastern direction turns northwards at Ta-ku headed off by the limestone range of Dzu-ku nv-lv which merges into La-pao Shan. Hua-ti-yi nv-lv is an extension of the range and is the highest part of the backbone in the north. At Shang Feng-k'o the river turns due south. Deep and long gorges extend east into the Yangtze as the central mountain mass is closer to the western bend of the loop than the eastern.

The territory north of Li-chiang in the Yangtze loop is quite narrow in comparison to the great triangle which the river encloses. The southern and eastern part of the triangle is inhabited by Na-khi, but the northern part is exclusively occupied by Tibetans. Both banks of the river to the west of the triangle up to Ch'i-tsung are however peopled by Na-khi.

The Li-chiang snow range occupies the western and central part of the loop; it is here pierced by the Yangtze which bulges considerably into the land and is then forced north by the range mentioned previously.

The land within the loop from Li-chiang to Shang Feng-k'o is six stages long and exceedingly mountainous. With the exception of the Li-chiang plain which extends to the foot of the snow range, there is no level land within the loop, save scattered alpine meadows, the longest of which is Nga-ba. As one travels over the high mountains, mostly densely forested, one gains occasional glimpses of the Yangtze on both sides, especially in the northern part of the loop on the road to Shang Feng-k'o 上俸可 (Upper Feng-k'o). On the trail to Feng-k'o 俸可, however, one is forced to travel for about half a day along the barren, rocky slopes of the eastern part of the loop. Coming from Shang Feng-k'o, at the apex of the loop, the trail leads over the central mountain mass, leaving the Yangtze on both sides, without entering either valley.

It is possible to reach Ta-ku 打鼓 from the central mountain spurs within the loop, by a narrow trail from two different places, one being Mba-yi-wà (Place where there is sugar) called Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾 in Chinese, and the other T'o-k'ö-shě, called in Chinese Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 (Long pine flat). The trail is negotiable to pedestrians only.

The only large settlements within this territory and north of the Li-chiang plain are at La-bpu (Chinese, La-pao 刺寶), Fu-k'o (Chinese, Feng-k'o), and Nda-gv (Chinese, Ta-ku). The remaining villages are scattered and consist of a few families only.

I. FROM HEI-SHUI TO LA-PAO LI

We have followed the main trail from Nga-ba as far as Gyi-nà mbu-gkv, where a small path leads to the heights of Gyi-nà nv-lv, and shall continue north from the bluff overlooking the Hei-shui.

Leaving the pine forest behind, the trail descends from Gyi-nà mbu-gkv into

virgin forest of a mixed type consisting of giant spruces, hemlocks (*Tsuga yunnanensis*), oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), willows, red birches, Sorbus and rhododendrons, with undergrowth of Ribes and a species of Arundinaria, or cane-brake. A brook crosses the trail which in the winter is a sheet of ice and difficult to negotiate. The elevation is 10,700 feet. The spot is called Mun-p'ä (Winnowing tray). This streamlet joins the Mùen-ts'ä-dto, a brook crossing the trail further north; together they flow near Nga-tz into the united Hei-shui and Pai-shui which is known as Nga-tz gyi-t'a (Water below Nga-tz). We continue to descend through beautiful forest of similar composition, but with additional species such as Acer, Prunus, etc., cross another brook called Mun-p'ä-gko and follow the mountain slope, till we emerge from the mixed forest onto a pine-covered slope whence the confluence of the Pai-shui and Hei-shui is visible. Opposite the mouth of the Nga-tz River, where it debouches into the Yangtze, is a large mountain which Handel-Mazzetti calls Man-tou schan,¹ height 10,300 feet. Near by on the west bank of the Yangtze is situated the hamlet of Dshi-hö gyi-ts'ä (Red earth ferry), called in Chinese Hung-men-k'ou 洪門口. Here rules a small chief by name Yang Hsiu-lin 楊修林.

Neither the Yangtze nor the village are visible, as both are hidden in the terrific chasm of the river nearly 100 li distant. The Chinese map places the village opposite the district of La-pao and on the east bank of the Yangtze, a long days journey too far north.

Once more we enter mixed spruce forest, which the Na-khi here call Wua-ssi-bi-ssu-dshwua: the meaning of the first part of the name has been lost, but *bi* is forest and *ssu-dshwua* means three partitions. Pine forest alternates again with spruce forest and a trail leads north-west over Gko-ndza-gkv to Ta-ku, on the Yangtze. Where the trail branches to the left up the spur to Ta-ku the place is known as Mùen-ts'ä-dto after the brook somewhat to the south. Elevation 10,800 feet.

We continue on the main trail, skirting a depression to the east, and ascend the spur K'ö-shër-hwoa to an elevation of 11,100 feet. Here is a small, sloping meadow, an agreeable midday halting-place, with water in the ravine below; the place is called Llü-bpu gko, and is surrounded by forest of oaks, spruces and rhododendrons.

Ascending further through forest we strike a broad, gravelly trail, almost worthy of the name of road, and descend over the steep mountain slopes, here covered with larches, pines, oaks and rhododendrons. To the west is a broad depression which separates us from the Gyi-nà nv-lv range of which one enjoys a magnificent view. A-nà Ngyu, a rock dome 15,600 feet in height, is visible north of Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv; it is the fifth highest peak of the Li-chiang snow range, but situated across river in the Chung-tien district and divides the Bbër-ddër Na-khi from the Chung-tien Tibetans. To our left is the broad ravine which leads to the plain of Ta-ku on the Yangtze; from here the river is also visible, flowing north in its deep trench. To our right is a gravelly limestone spur at the foot of which our trail descends, among pines and bushes of the blue-flowered *Rhododendron cuneatum*. Still descending, we turn east through tall pine forest into the former Lo-lo settlement of Ghüh-t'o.

¹ The *Yung-pei chi-li t'ing chih* records no mountain by that name.

The finest stand of pine forest in this part of Yün-nan was once here. Trees a hundred feet tall, with perfectly straight boles stood here until the Lo-los came from Ta-liang Shan 大凉山 to settle. Clan feuds had forced them to wander and they came to this wild region. They cleared most of the forests and, cutting down the magnificent hard yellow pines set fire to them as they lay on the ground. Of the smaller twigs and branches they would make oblong piles, cover them with sod, and then burn them; the ashes they ploughed under. This method of agriculture is mentioned in Chinese records about Lo-lo, as ploughing (cultivating) with fire. They made a desert of the land and the smoke clouds of the burning forests enshrouded the landscape (PLATE 93).

Water is scarce, there being only one small water-hole which is dry in winter, while in a small ravine near by a little brook furnished the only regular water supply for the entire community. From here the women carried the water in wooden buckets to their homes. As they depended entirely on rain for irrigation, they grew mainly potatoes, oats and buckwheat. The potatoes they ate baked in live coals. For over ten years they lived here, cultivating the dry lands, until, on account of almost daily robberies they were forced in 1931 to leave Ghügh-t'o. As the area is easily controlled on account of its being surrounded by the Yangtze on all sides, they could never return. Some went to Bbër-ddër, some to Yung-ning, the Li-chiang soldiers standing by on the banks of the Yangtze until the last Lo-lo had left with wife, child, sheep and pig. Thus they went east and north of the river with their few belongings to find new places to devastate (PLATES 94, 95). In their abandoned fields, young pines have sprouted again.

From Ghügh-t'o, the trail descends into a dry valley and pine forest. Ghügh-t'o like Lo-shui-tung 落水洞, possesses funnel-shaped sink-holes, the narrow part being lined with limestone; they are, however, not so numerous. Ere reaching the hamlet of Mba-yi-wüa one passes a large, forested, limestone mountain called T'khi-t'khi 'a-lv-k'ö (To shake off fear at the foot of the cliff) to the east of the trail. It is said that formerly tigers inhabited this region (leopards are still to be found) and people were afraid when they reached that spot.

Diagonally across the hill is a much lower mound, its slopes covered with pines; on its top a mud fort was erected, that is, a simple encircling low, mud wall. This fortification, called La-bpu Wua-ssä, was constructed during the Mohammedan rebellion in 1856, when the Moslems were being slaughtered by the Chinese at Ta-li and elsewhere. As the Chinese officials had fled from Li-chiang, a La-bpu (La-pao) Na-khi headman, by name Wua-ssä, had made himself magistrate and Fu-kuan; he liberated all the prisoners in the jails and slaughtered many Moslems. He forced Li-chiang merchants and well-to-do people, who had lent money to La-bpu peasants at exorbitant rates of interest, to take the place of cattle before a plough, and carry heavy loads. When they were unable to perform such work he addressed them thus: "As you are unable to do the work of a cow ploughing the fields, or to carry a load, you had better drink new milk," and thereupon had them beheaded. By the drinking of new milk he intimated that they had better be killed, to be reborn as babies. Many who had left their old masters, whom they maligned in order to in-

gratiate themselves with him, and hoped to be enrolled as his followers, were also told that it were better they too "go and drink new milk." For if they were now speaking evil of those whose food they had eaten, would they not probably speak evil also of him after having eaten his? And so saying, he had them beheaded. Nothing is known of the end of Wua-ssä's career.

The Na-khi village of Mba-yi-wüa (H-M., Bayiua; Chinese, Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾), not far distant from Wua-ssä's fort, is situated on the slopes of a hill at an elevation of 10,160 feet, with cultivated fields surrounding it. Wheat, oats, hemp, rape turnips (*Brassica rapa depressa*), buckwheat and maize are grown by the inhabitants. The village is not a large one and the Na-khi are still more or less uncontaminated. Their women still wear the genuine Na-khi dress, a short, much pleated skirt of greyish-white homespun hemp cloth, with blue borders and horizontal stripes. Heavy silver ear-rings, the size of a large key-ring, with heavy pendants, are inserted into the lobes of the ear, the rings extending below the shoulders (PLATES 96, 97).

The village boasts of a temple situated on the top of the hill over looking it. By far the finest view of the entire snow range is to be had from the temple terrace (PLATE 98). A sunset I once witnessed over twenty years ago from this spot will remain to me unforgettable: As the sun disappeared behind the snowy range, there shone forth magnificent rays above the battlement-like crest, each sharp crag causing the deflection of a ray, while the peaks themselves were enshrouded in cold mist. In the brilliant light of the full moon, shining in a crystal-clear atmosphere, the long snow range resembled a sleeping dragon fashioned of ice.

To the east of Mba-yi-wüa a deep gorge extends towards the Yangtze, called Gyi-t'khi lo, a branch of which is known as Dto-bpo lo; from here a trail leads into the Yangtze valley, whence several ferries ply across to Yung-ning territory.

The highway north continues over lofty mountains in the center of the loop, first turning west at the village of Mba-yi-wüa, and thence north up a narrow valley through beautiful pine forest, the trees 80 to 100 feet tall, until it comes to a peculiar meadow of great beauty. This is called Nda-za dü or Nda-zaw dü (Land of the descending hoar frost), elevation 10,600 feet. It is peculiar because the meadow is really a basin without an outlet, surrounded by limestone mountains forested with pines; its center, a bog, drains into a little brook or stream which has its source to the north of the meadow. The stream gathers together various brooks and disappears near the foot of the western mountain wall into a hole in the limestone.

From Nda-za dü we climb the eastern hill-side through dense virgin pine forest alive with song birds. To the west of the trail the ravine, which opens into Nda-za dü, narrows and is filled with magnificent spruces (*Picea likiangensis*). Continuing at an elevation of 11,000 feet, we leave the pine forest and enter mixed forest of tall spruces, hemlocks and large oaks, associated with maples, rhododendron, *Dipelta yunnanensis*, etc. This stretch of forest is known as Gka-ts'an-ssu-gka-ts'an. Beyond a few larches make their appearance, also firs, but most numerous of all and by far the stateliest tree of this region, is the Yün-nan hemlock, (*Tsuga yunnanensis*). Alas, the finest part of this forest has been burned, and only the black charred trunks remain, some

prostrate others still erect, tragic witnesses of the once magnificent forest, covering now waste land. Here, at an elevation of 10,700 feet, parrots (*Psittacula Derbiana*) fly in flocks from grove to grove, chattering noisily.

We descend through pine forest to a small meadow, and emerge at the foot of a huge, vertical limestone cliff into a circular basin, in which are several hamlets collectively called T'o-k'ö-shër, or Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 in Chinese (H-M., Tsasopie).² North of the last hamlet, situated on a spur, is a small hill with tall pine trees, whence the place takes its name: The flat of the long pine. On the top of the hill is a lovely spring and an excellent camping place. The district is known as La-bpu (La-pao li in Chinese), and comprises not only the small villages of T'o-k'ö-shër, on the spur but also the many villages in the deep valley which here extends east into the Yangtze, and those on the western bank of the Yangtze proper.

2. THE DISTRICT OF LA-PAO OR LA-BPU

The district of La-pao (La-bpu), the ancient Pao-shan chou 寶山州, is 245 li north of Li-chiang, and 170 li south-west of Yung-ning. During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 24) it belonged to I chou³ and was the land of the district (hsien) of Hsieh-lung 邪龍. During the Later Han dynasty (25-220) it belonged to Yung-ch'ang Chün 永昌郡. In the T'ang dynasty (618-906) it was conquered by the Mo-so-man. In the beginning of the Mongol dynasty (1253) they submitted and their villages (those belonging to Pao-shan chou) were called Ch'a-han hu-lu-han 察罕忽魯罕. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) there the magistracy of Pao-shan hsien was created. In the 16th year (1279) it was raised to a chou belonging to the circuit of Li-chiang. No changes were made during the Ming dynasty (1368-1643). A native magistrate (T'u chih-chou 土知州), by name Lo 羅, governed its six li (Communes).

Excerpts from the Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao (ch. 117, fol. 20a)

[The brief statement in this work regarding Pao-shan chou makes gross error, when it states that it is east of Li-chiang; this is, of course, wrong, for 245 li east would be in Yung-sheng (Yung-pei), east of the Yangtze. The name Pao-shan chou still occurs on the Li-chiang district map and is to the north of 'A-k'ö (Chinese, Ngai-k'ö 岩可) on the west bank of the Yangtze. It further says that it is 130 li south to Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府. This is also incorrect, for Ho-ch'ing is 80 li south of Li-chiang and the latter place is 245 li south of Pao-shan chou.]

The region which comprises the present-day La-bpu and known during the reign of Chih-yüan (Kublai Khan) (1279) as Pao-shan chou, was captured by force by seven brothers who belonged to the Mo-so tribe. This happened during the T'ang dynasty. At that time La-bpu consisted of seven stockaded villages of which the largest one was called Ta-kuei 大厓 [the Li-chiang records

² Another example of the Na-khi mispronunciation of Chinese words ending in a consonant, Tsa-so-pie = Ch'ang-sung-p'ing.

³ The Han dynasty I chou comprised parts of Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan.

state that the ruins of it are still in existence and are east of Pao-shan chou]. The other six were called Lo-pang 羅邦 [this may be the origin of the Na-khi name La-bpu], Lo-ssu (also called Lo-ssu-wei 羅寺圍), Ngai-ch'ang 礙場 [perhaps the present Ngai-k'o, or Na-khi 'A-k'o, south of Pao-shan chou in La-bpu (PLATE 100)], Pien-t'ou 卞頭, Tang-po-lo 當波羅 [undoubtedly the present-day Dto-bpo lo, or Chinese Tung-po-lo 東波落, in the li of La-pao], and, finally, Tang-lang-chiang 當郎將.

It is recorded that these seven brothers separated and resided each in a village. When Kublai Khan came in 1253 to attack Ta-li, that is, the Nan-chao Kingdom, he crossed the Yangtze at Pien-t'ou 卞頭 and came to Lo-pang and thence to Lo-ssu-wei and Ta-kuei, etc. Their headman submitted and their villages received the name of Ch'a-han hu-lu-han.⁴ In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) the district of Pao-shan was created and in the 16th year (1279) Pao-shan was raised to a chou.

La-bpu is an ancient historical region. The first Na-khi chief migrated to this district from Lou-t'ou 樓頭, that is, the present Yung-ning, which the Na-khi call to this day Lü dü (Land of the Lü). More than 20 generations of his descendants succeeded him. The name Pao has been retained to this day in its present appellation of La-pao, which the Na-khi call La-bpu.

[So much for the historical part available.]

3. FROM T'O-K'Ö-SHĒR TO THE FENG-K'O FERRY

La-bpu proper is a triangular basin, sloping steeply towards the Yangtze, and is separated from T'o-k'ö-shĕr by a limestone spur. It is composed of many Na-khi hamlets, such as Dshi-shi-wüa, Nda-bpu, La-zä, etc. The mountain spur forming the western wall of the Yangtze gorge is pierced by the Yü-lv-t'o (La-bpu Stream) which divides the La-bpu basin, and flows east through a deep rock gate (Shih-men 石門) into the Yangtze. A trail leads through this terrific ravine to the banks of the Yangtze, 500 feet above which is situated the village of La-bpu 'A-k'o (Ngai-k'o), built on both banks of the La-bpu Stream. The trail into La-bpu from T'o-k'ö-shĕr crosses a gap, elevation 10,400 feet, over the separating spur. It then descends steeply into a deep valley which leads to the La-bpu villages. To the north is a huge limestone mountain with cliffs; it is here that the T'ai-tzu Kuan is situated.

Instead of descending to the ravine bottom we skirt the northern mountain-side high above the gorge through groves of pine, oak and pear trees, a typical xerophytic vegetation such as one encounters elsewhere in the Yangtze valley. Flocks of parrots disport themselves in the pine groves, but other birds are scarce. The trail is narrow and is obliterated in places by landslides. The schistous rocks are split into small fragments. In and out winds the trail at 8,400 feet elevation, skirting lateral ravines, the largest of which, called Ssi-

⁴ It seems that the name was originally Ho-lo-ko 和囉囉, and was rendered by the Mongols, Hu-lu-han; the *I-t'ung chih* states that the old Mongol name was corrected to Ho-lo-ko. The name Ho 和 is a distinct Na-khi family name. All Na-khi were known as Ho who did not belong to the ruling class. The Na-khi chief of the seven villages, of which Ta-kuei was the largest, who submitted to Kublai Khan, was apparently called Ho-lo-k'a, and as he belonged to the tribe which the Mongols called Ch'a-han-jang (White Jang) they gave his district the name Ch'a-han hu-lu-han, transcribing his name in Mongol fashion.

kwuà-lo-gyi, sends a considerable stream into the gorge below. The trail descends to the village of La-zä, probably the Lo-ssu of the Li-chiang records, where in the dim past one of the seven Na-khi brothers had settled. La-zä is situated at 8,000 feet elevation, on a narrow spur which terminates into a steep bluff, giving the hamlet a medieval fort-like appearance (PLATE 99).

The high bluff, north of the Rock Gate which communicates with the Yangtze, is called La-bpu mbu from its summit one is rewarded with a magnificent view of the Yangtze gorge and La-bpu proper. From La-zä the trail ascends gradually to the foot of La-bpu mbu, and afterwards steeply through pine forest to the summit, which is 10,200 feet high. At the foot of La-bpu mbu a saddle-like depression separates it from the spur which forms the left wall of the Yü-lv-t'ö valley, and from here, at an elevation of 9,400 feet, one gains a wonderful view into another terrific canyon parallel to La-bpu. This canyon is called Shwuà-wua-gku; its northern wall is vertical and much higher than the spurs which hem in La-bpu, it is on this spur that the historic T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關 is situated; the wall facing the Yangtze presents a sheer drop into the gorge, where 5,000 feet or more below the river flows.

At the top of La-bpu mbu is a small, open, mud-brick temple containing a female deity dressed in red. The view from the summit of this mountain is indeed awe-inspiring. Down-stream the Yangtze can be seen for quite a distance to the mouth of Tsui-yi valley near Chiang-wai 江外, where a trail leads to Yung-ning (PLATE 100). The view north, or up-stream, is obstructed by a spur which extends further into the Yangtze valley than La-bpu mbu, so that only a small stretch of the river is visible. The fields of La-bpu 'A-k'ö are terraced in narrow strips resembling steps, the land sloping steeply to the river. As the mountains east of the Yangtze gorge are still higher, the river flows at a depth of 7,000 to 8,000 feet. There is no trail through the Yangtze gorge from La-bpu 'A-k'ö, and the villages beyond or north of it are only approachable from Lv-ts'ö lo.⁵

Continuing our journey north from T'o-k'ö-shġr, we ascend the spur which separates it from La-bpu and, climbing to the foot of a grey limestone cliff at an elevation of 11,600 feet, we reach virgin forest of spruces, hemlocks, oaks and pines, and descend 600 feet to the valleys called Shġr-gv shġr-lo, literally "Seven circles and seven gulches, the San-ta-wan 三大灣 of the Chinese who transcribe the Na-khi name San-ku-san-lo 三古三羅." It is a circular basin divided into many ravines — hence the name. To the north of it is a high limestone cliff with caves inhabited by Na-khi shepherds, who herd their flocks on the higher meadows.

The region here is wild, and not a breath of air is stirring in the forest of pines, through which our trail leads up into the silent wilderness, where yellow and white pines (*Pinus yunnanensis* and *Pinus Armandi*) form pure stands. A deep gorge filled with trees and hemmed in by huge grey limestone cliffs debouches some ten miles to the east into the Yangtze, a forbidding chasm inaccessible in its upper part. The name of this region is Nda-nyu-yi-t'ü, the Chinese Ta-niu-ying-tui 打牛英雄堆. It is from this spot that the newly opened

⁵ A very narrow path leads through the gorge along the cliff, which has to be negotiated by groping sideways facing the cliff, a most dangerous undertaking.

and historic trail leads to the famous T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關, also known as Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan 雪山門關. It is the pass of the Heir-apparent, that is Kublai Khan (Hu-pi-lieh) who led his army over it when *en route* to attack the Nan-chao Kingdom in 1253 A.D. For years I had been searching for that pass, but nobody seemed to know where it was located. In the early summer of 1942 I left Li-chiang for Yung-ning 永寧 to avoid falling into the hands of the Japanese, who were then rumoured to have taken Ta-li. It was only then that I came on to the newly opened trail to the Yangtze.

From Nda-nyu-yi-t'ü the trail leads east across a small ravine and then ascends a densely forested spur, virgin forest, moss-carpeted, and undisturbed. From this forest we reach a ravine with vertical limestone walls and following down the little stream in a northerly direction we climb again through dense forest and then up a cliff, the trail ascending in many short, sharp zig-zag turns to the foot of a limestone wall. A gap in the wall forms the famous historic pass, the T'ai-tzu Kuan.

The man responsible for the reopening and rebuilding of this ancient trail, shorter by over one day than the old trail, was the late Ho Chih-ming 和志銘 a Na-khi and native of Aw-khi (A-hsi 阿喜). The work was commenced in 1940, and the trail finished early in 1942. He died at Feng-k'o from poisoning, having taken an overdose of medicine the day prior to my arrival at Feng-k'o in 1942. He furnished most of the funds for its construction; a certain Chia-wa 甲凹, a native of Law-k'a-khi-llü (Pu-chio 卜脚) in Yung-ning territory also contributed funds towards the reopening of that historic trail.

From the pass the trail leads zigzag down a long spur to the village of Yang-liu-p'ing 楊柳坪 and then follows north high up on the slopes of the mountain which forms the western valley wall of the Yangtze. This trail leads in and out narrow ravines which debouch into the Yangtze, high above a lower trail which I followed in 1931 to the villages of Lo-k'o and Gkyi-da-gko when exploring the deep Yangtze gorge north of La-bpu (La-pao) (see p. 240, n. 7, also Pl. 104). Near the mouth of Lv-ts'o-lo canyon it rejoins the lower trail and leads to the Na-khi hamlet and bridge of Lv-ts'o-lo.

The old trail winds through majestic forest, up a steep spur to an elevation of 11,400 feet, leaving a deep ravine to the left filled with magnificent trees. Ascending the spur which joins the main western mountain mass, we reach the skeletons of once stately forest trees, now reduced to ashes by careless hunters. Many times I have passed this stretch, and during ten years I have not observed a single young tree taking the place of the charred boles 100 feet or more in height. Leaving the valley to our left we enter a majestic grove of giant spruces and hemlocks, their trunks swathed in moss which also forms a carpet in this forest. Clear, running water is everywhere and a nicer lunch-stop it would be difficult to find.

This forest extends into a ravine with walls of limestone to the west and low, rounded hills to our right or east, gradually emerging at an open pass 13,000 feet above sea level. Gorgeous rhododendrons (*Rhododendron rubiginosum*) brightened the otherwise somber colors of the oaks and spruces, while primulas and peonies dotted the lush meadows. Not a human soul dwells here. To the west high limestone crags and screes of grey rock merge into a deep blue sky, while to the east we behold the chasm in which the restless

Yangtze hurries on its long journey to the sea. The forest changes now, for the somber spruce and oak give place to larches clothed in the fresh green of their spring foliage, framing a lovely meadow called Ngv-khü gko (Nine pools). Lavender rhododendron bushes (*Rhododendron hippophæoides*) grow in the marshy part of the meadow, while large pink-flowered ones, *Rhododendron adenogynum*, *Rhododendron sigillatum*, and *Rhododendron orthocladum*, frame the rich green sward, full of primulas, anemones and lady's slippers, at an elevation of 12,600 feet. This fairy spot is situated at the foot of a mighty limestone range called La-bpu Ngyu or La-pao Shan.⁶

La-bpu Ngyu forms the backbone of the mountain mass which fills the Yangtze loop; it joins Hua-ti-yi nv-lv to the north. It is called Ha-ba su-p'e-zu by the people of Bbër-ddër and is north-east of the mouth of Ha-ba lo. I could not discover whether that name is known to the people of La-bpu. Its height is approximately 16,000 feet and it is Handel-Mazzetti's Hsuetschou schan.

From Ngv-khü gko we descend a deep ravine filled with larches and stately oaks, opening out towards the Yangtze with steep grey limestone bluffs on either side. Ascending again to 12,500 feet we follow the rocky, open slopes of La-bpu Ngyu, covered with a mass of *Rhododendron racemosum*, a low bush growing among the sharp rocks, with here and there an oak and a pine-tree, also prostrate junipers (*Juniperus squamata*). Higher up on the crags and scree grow black firs mixed with larches. We climb to 12,750 feet over a very rocky stretch to where the trail divides. The upper one leads to the very tip of the Yangtze loop at Shang Feng-k'ö, also called San-chiang-k'ou 三江口 on account of three streams debouching there into the Yangtze; the lower trail leads to Feng-k'ö, we shall follow it to the Yangtze. A short distance beyond where the trails divide we descend into hemlock forest with cane-brake and tall rhododendron trees as undergrowth; skirting a deep ravine densely forested we emerge into open pine forest at 12,000 feet elevation. Many of the trees in the ravine had been burned years ago, and, as on the southern slopes of La-bpu Ngyu, no young trees have as yet appeared. The trail descends a pine-covered spur separating the canyon of Lv-ts'ö lo from a ravine to the west, once inhabited by Lo-lo from Ta-liang Shan.

The spur broadens into a large bluff with steep slopes, which we negotiate over a zigzag trail. It is called Hua-bi-gkv, elevation 11,675 feet, and is mainly sandstone. Here under pine-trees grows a lovely rhododendron, a low, compact shrub with small tubular, pink, flowers arranged in a globose head (*Rhododendron radinum*). From Hua-bi-gkv on clear days it is possible to see the snow peaks of Gangkar-ling some 10 to 12 days' journey to the north.

To our left (west) is the mighty limestone mountain Hua-ti-yi nv-lv, over

⁶ This is the mountain baptized Mount Bonvalot by G. COURTELLEMONT (*Voyage au Yunnan*, 1904: 227). He named two peaks of the Hua-ti-yi nv-lv range, the southern one Mount Bonvalot, and the northern higher one, Pic Koua-ly Malou. His Koua-ly may be a misprint for Koua-ti, which is the Na-khi Hua-ti, and his Malou is undoubtedly the Na-khi nv-lv which means snow range. The Na-khi speak rather indistinctly and it is only after long practice that one learns to differentiate their difficult sound complexes. He marks a village on his map (p. 227), to the north-west of his peak, on the east bank of the Yangtze; this village he calls Koua-tien. It is the Na-khi village of Hua-ti-yi (Chinese, Hua-t'ing-i 花廳衣), after which the mountain is named or vice versa.

16,000 feet in height; three small valleys descend from it and unite beyond our spur to form with the stream from Ngv-*k*hü-gko, the Lv-ts'o lo canyon debouching east into the Yangtze.

Descending the spur of Hua-bi-gkv over a zigzag trail, we enter the canyon of Lv-ts'o lo. The trail is rocky to a degree and seems endless; the stream-bed is dry in stretches, the water appearing and disappearing underground until we come to an old temple once dedicated to the Lung Wang 龍王 (Dragon King) at 7,500 feet elevation, where a clear spring gushes forth from beneath the path. Here is situated one of the few Na-khi hamlets in this valley. The people are very poor, for the terraces on which they grow their maize are rocky and few in number. The new trail coming from T'ai-tzu Kuan joins here the old Lv-ts'o lo caravan route. Crossing the stream we ascend the narrow trail and follow along the opposite walls of the canyon to a bluff, 8,100 feet elevation, overlooking the Yangtze, which flows here at 4,900 feet above sea level. Opposite the mouth of Lv-ts'o lo canyon, over the river in Yung-ning territory, debouches the Ba-cha-dji-ki canyon from Wua-ha Mountain, 16,000 feet in height, a high limestone range which forms the eastern wall of the Yangtze valley.

From the bluff the trail descends over the open scrub covered rocky slope, through the scattered hamlet of Feng-k'o (H-M., Fong kou). It leads through hamlets and fields and is the most exasperating in this part of Yün-nan. The fields are terraced and supported by rock walls, encroaching on the path so as not to sacrifice an inch of soil, thus reducing it to a mere strip resembling a ditch. In addition all the rocks of the fields are thrown on the trail, which also serves as an irrigation ditch. Nature has taken possession of the rock walls in the form of rose-bushes and other shrubbery, which are, of course, never cut nor even trimmed, and thus hide the narrow track. The Na-khi caravans, brushing constantly against the bushes, keep the trail more or less open, but, nevertheless, one's garments suffer considerably from the thorns of the roses, unless one rides a tall horse. The traffic is the steam-roller. Senselessly the trail leads up and down past every hut. Even should such a shanty be situated on the top of a hill, the path must climb up to it, only to descend again to the level whence it started.

Ere reaching the banks of the Yangtze, the trail descends into a valley in which most of the scattered hamlets of Feng-k'o are situated, a stream is crossed over a stone-bridge, and a short distance beyond we descend over arid, red, gravelly slopes, bearing a typical xerophytic vegetation such as *Pistacia weinmannifolia*, *Dalbergia*, *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, *Dodonaea viscosa*, legumes, *Terminalia micans*, *Phyllanthus emblica*, *Sapindus Delavayi*, etc. Most of the water in this arid waste is brackish. Close to the river bank, on a small terrace, a few houses form the hamlet called Ndzu-dü (H-M., Tsatue).

Near a pyramidal rocky hill which juts into the Yangtze, forming a little bay to the south, is the river ferry. It is here that Kublai Khan must have crossed with his army. There are other ferries to the south below La-bpu, but there he could not have crossed as it is recorded that he met the Mo-so first at the T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關 (see pp. 97, 236). The ferry-boat, a leaky affair, holds five mules and a few loads, besides two or three passengers. The current is swift and in the summer crossing is very dangerous owing to a large oblong

rock which is then submerged. The ferrymen are Zhër-khin, a clan of the Na-khi (PLATE 101), but the man in charge of the ferry is a Chinese who buys his position from the Li-chiang magistrate. He hires the rowers and charges a certain amount, as 10 to 20 cents silver per animal, and a nickel per man. Of this a certain amount must be given to the yamen at Li-chiang. The magistrate has the right to remove him and can give the position to any one who is willing to pay more for it. Thus he is never certain, although he has purchased the position, how long he may remain in it. The natives of Yung-ning pay half of what the Li-chiang people pay, and the Yung-ning chief also secures a portion of the ferry money. Often the ferry renter is unable to keep the position on account of losses, for the magistrate must receive a certain amount per annum; if there is little traffic on account of robbers, the income is next to nothing — yet the magistrate must have his due. The boat is nearly always built by the renter, who must also keep up repairs; that these are hardly ever made is indicated by the leaky condition of the boat. Infrequently the magistrate contributes something towards the building of the boat — a crude affair at best (PLATE 102).

4. THE YANGTZE BETWEEN LV-TS'O LO AND LA-BPU

The Yangtze between Lv-ts'o lo (Lu-tzu-lou 鹿子樓) and La-bpu is approachable only by Lv-ts'o lo. One must, if coming from Feng-k'o, ascend the Lv-ts'o lo gorge to the bridge over the stream, as below, where the gorge debouches into the Yangtze, it is impassable, forming a deep, winding canyon with vertical walls. A narrow trail leads for ten li along the southern flanks of Lv-ts'o lo gorge to a bluff over the Yangtze, whence a full view can be had of the rock gate known as Gv-ho-gu (the Ngv-khü gko of the Li-chiang Na-khi), which separates La-bpu from Lv-ts'o lo. Through this the Yangtze flows again south into the heart of Yün-nan to within two stages of Ta-li Lake, 78 li as the crow flies. The western flank of the Yangtze valley, south of Lv-ts'o lo, slope more gently and are partly cultivated. The eastern bank in Yung-ning territory is precipitous, culminating in the bulky limestone mass of the Wua-ha Mountain (Ta-yao Shan 大藥山), a southern extension of which forms the Dzoan-p'u peaks; its precipitous slopes are cut up into steep and deep ravines, like those of Ba-cha-dji-ki and Nda-shi (these are Hli-khin, or Yung-ning, names).

Looking down-stream from across river above Law-k'a-khi-llü (H-M., La-kalo), in Yung-ning, the western face of the gorge appears as one continuous, massive rock wall, though it is formed by two projecting spurs: the first is narrower and separated by a deep ravine with vertical walls, the second is a broad rock wall washed by the Yangtze (PLATE 103). Through the rock gate is visible the La-bpu peak (La-bpu mbu) already described. The gorge is the dividing line between La-pao and Feng-k'o districts. The scenery is awe-inspiring and really magnificent, yet less impressive than the gorge of 'A-ts'an-gko.

Between the mouth of the Lv-ts'o lo and the Gv-ho-gu gorge, in Li-chiang territory, are situated two Na-khi hamlets, the lower one is called Lo-k'o, the upper one, Gkyi-da-gko. The women of these villages dress like their sisters

in Yung-ning; they wear pleated skirts and immense dark blue, cotton cloth turbans. Beyond the last village the valley walls are steep and forested with pine (*Pinus yunnanensis*). Across the spur west of Gv-ho-gu gorge is a pass known to the Chinese as Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan 雪山門關 (the Snow Mountain Gate Pass), and also by the name of T'ai-tzu Kuan (Pass of the heir apparent).⁷

On the cliffs of the T'ai-tzu Kuan north of La-bpu, a member of the Mu family engraved ten Chinese characters which, tradition relates, an Imperial heir apparent had visited. On the Chinese map it is given as being along the main trail north of Pao-shan, written 保山, which is not correct, for La-bpu (La-pao 剌寶) was the ancient Pao-shan 寶山.

Between Lo-k'o and Gkyi-da-gko there is a deep ravine which the trail skirts; back of the latter village the trail ascends to the top of the first lateral spur which forms the western wall of Gv-ho-gu, elevation 8,000 feet. Between this spur and a much higher one to the south, is a terrific ravine called Gko-mä; its walls are vertical and it is here that the Na-khi mine saltpetre. Dense forests of oaks, pines and junipers fill the ravine (PLATE 104). The trail leading from T'ai-tzu Kuan to where it joins the old trail through the Lv-ts'o lo gorge, follows the lower one but high above it and the villages mentioned.

Opposite Lv-ts'o lo in the ravine of Ba-cha-dji-ki is the Hli-khin village of Mi-ndu-wüa, situated on a terrace; the second, smaller ravine to the south is called Nda-shi, after the lone village in the valley.

The region on the Yung-ning side between Law-k'a-khi-llü and Nda-shi is known as Ts'o-lo-wu. Here, half-way up the slopes of the mountain, which is crowned by the limestone crags of Wua-ha (H-M., Alo), used to be a small lake, called in Chinese Tang-tsung Ch'ih 當宗池. This pond has been drained for many years, but it is still marked very prominently, and much too large, on the Chinese military map of 1928.

5. SHANG FENG-K'O IN THE APEX OF THE LOOP

Shang Feng-k'o (Upper Feng-k'o) is at the extremity of the Yangtze loop. It can be reached by two different trails, one which leads from Feng-k'o along the banks of the Yangtze, and the other over the mountains along the central spur or backbone which fills the Yangtze loop. We will follow the latter trail from Shang Feng-k'o proper to where it strikes the lower or Feng-k'o path.

There are several ferries over the Yangtze on the eastern stretch of the loop;

⁷ The Li-chiang records state that "The Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan is 260 li from Li-chiang, and the pass is north-east of the ancient Pao-shan chou. During the T'ang dynasty, it was the border between the T'u-fan and the Mo-so. It is as of Heaven created, a dangerous precipice. The younger brother of the Emperor of the Yüan dynasty, namely Hu-pi-lieh, when on his way to attack Ta-li, coming from the T'u-fan country, fought the Mo-so at this pass; hence the pass is known to this day as T'ai-tzu Kuan (Pass of the heir apparent)." From this I am convinced that Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) crossed the Yangtze at P'u-dgyu in Yung-ning territory to the present Feng-k'o; in order to reach T'ai-tzu Kuan, or the Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan, the Yangtze must be crossed at Feng-k'o. The pass was the border between the T'u-fan and the Mo-so, the latter lived south of the pass where he attacked them; the first Mo-so settlement coming from T'u-fan country was Pao-shan, the present La-pao. As it is stated that after having crossed the Yangtze, Kublai passed through various villages which now comprise La-pao (La-bpu), he could not have crossed but at Feng-k'o and passing first through Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan entered La-pao. The *Tien-hsi* gives an older name for this pass, viz., Yüeh-mieh-ken Kuan 越滅根關.

the most important is at Feng-k'o, the next important one at Chiang-wai further south, and the third at, or near T'o-lä-tsu. A fourth ferry, which serves the Chung-tien and Gangkar-ling country, and the people of O-yü on the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi in Mu-li (Mi-li) country, is at the very apex of the loop, at Shang Feng-k'o. There are several other ferries, that is, improvised rafts, made of inflated goatskins. Unless goods are to be transported they are rarely used; people who merely decide to cross, usually tie their scanty clothing around their head, fasten a goatskin in front of themselves, inflate it, jump in the river and swim across. I have known of Na-khi swimmers, from the southern border of Yung-ning called north to Yung-ning lamasery by their chiefs, to return home by simply tying a goatskin or two around their bodies, inflating them, jumping into the river, and allowing themselves to be carried by the current through rapids and narrows till they reached their hamlets, in preference to walking back over a long rocky trail. This entails, of course, an expert knowledge of the river, otherwise one would be dashed to pieces against the rocks.

The Yangtze is called Gi-dji by the Yung-ning people, and Ha-yi-bi, or La-lër Ha-yi-bi, or simply Yi-bi (River), by the Li-chiang Na-khi.

The largest tributary of the Yangtze in this region is the Zho Chhu ⁸ (Hsi-fan), or Shu gyi (Na-khi), the Chinese Wu-liang Ho 無量河; its lower part is in Yün-nan, in the territory of Yung-ning. North of Yu-mi the Zho Chhu is in Mu-li territory (Land of the Yellow Lamas), up to the cantilever bridge (elevation 8,820 feet) at the village of Wua-shi which forms the border between the Gangkar-ling Bun-dzi-bese clan ⁹ and Mu-li. Handel-Mazzetti calls the river Dou-chu, which is incorrect; there is a Tong Chhu [sTong-chhu] ¹⁰ which is an affluent of the Zho Chhu, it derives its name from the district of the Tonyi-bese Tibetan clan through whose territory it flows, south-west of the Gangkar-ling mountain system. The Zho Chhu does not have its source in the Gangkar-ling mountains, as Kingdon Ward surmised, but near Na-wu, 11 days' journey north of Mu-li.

Major Davies gives the source of a river at Na-bu (Na-wu) which he believed to flow into the Li-t'ang River. This is nothing else than the source of the Zho Chhu, which however flows into the Yangtze at Shang Feng-k'o (PLATE 105). It receives a very important affluent, the Gang-kha Chhu (Gangs-kha chhu), from the glaciers of the northern slopes of Mount Chhana-dorje of the Gangkar-ling peaks. South of the Gang-kha Chhu it receives three affluents worth mentioning, namely the Tong Chhu, Lo-nda, and Chwua-

⁸ ཉུ་ཅུ

⁹ The Gang-kha-ling (Gangs-kha-gling གངས་ཀ་གླིང or Gangs-dkar-gling གངས་དཀར་གླིང) territory is ruled by a chief who used to be subject to the T'u-ssu of Li-t'ang 裏塘土司. His name is Tshe-rab-dpon ཅེ་རབ་དཔོན (pronounced Tshe-rab-pön). Since the Li-t'ang T'u-ssu has been abolished the clans are under nobody's jurisdiction and are outlaws or a law unto themselves. Tshe-rab-pön has under him three sub-chiefs, each one controlling a clan. They are known as Rim-hbal-sras རིམ་ཨ་བལ་སྤྲས (pronounced Rim-bese), hBum-rdzi-hbal-sras རུམ་རྩེ་ཨ་བལ་སྤྲས (Bun-dzi-bese) and sTong-chhen-hbal-sras སྟོང་ཅེན་ཨ་བལ་སྤྲས (Tong-chhen, better known as Tonyi-bese).

¹⁰ སྟོང་ཅུ

dzu. The latter has its source in a mountain called Dza-bo ran (*ran* in Hsi-fan is a pass) which forms the Hsi-k'ang — Yün-nan, that is, Mu-li — Chung-tien, border. Kingdon Ward calls the river the Shu-lo (a Na-khi name), but this is the name of the valley: *shu* = iron, *lo* = valley; the river is called Shu gyi (Iron water). Iron is mined in large quantities, especially near O-yü, where the best iron ore in the Zho Chhu valley is obtained.

The little hamlet of Shang Feng-k'o is situated directly opposite the mouth of the Zho Chhu (Shu gyi) and consists of a few houses only. The place or region is also called San-chiang-k'ou (Mouths of three rivers); the three streams which debouch into the Yangtze near the apex of the loop, are the Zho Chhu from the north, the Luë-dzu from the east, and the Ha-lo from the south or within the loop.

In former days there was a ferry where the Zho Chhu debouches into the Yangtze, but now it plies a little north of the mouth of Luë-dzu valley.

Opposite Luë-dzu, a valley called Law-k'an debouches from the Li-chiang side. It is here that a trail leads up into the hills to the central spur.

From the banks of the Yangtze the trail ascends the grass-covered slopes up the valley of Law-k'an past several hamlets where maize and millet is cultivated, and thence to a pine-covered spur at an elevation of 10,100 feet. The trees are mainly yellow pine and oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*). The ridges are dry and gravelly; in one place the rocks are volcanic. The trail now joins the main broad spur, the backbone of the mountain mass in the loop. Here the Yangtze can be seen to both sides. In the west the river makes two sharp bends (PLATE 106) ere reaching Shang Feng-k'o. Beyond, a grey scree mountain rises into the turquoise-blue sky: it is part of the Gkü-dü range, also known to the Na-khi as Gkü-dü gkü-tsu-tsu. To the east, seen from 9,500 feet elevation, the Yangtze makes a sharp bend between Feng-k'o and Luë-dzu valley (PLATE 107). Further south the gorges to the west become visible, the river entering terrific canyons.

Our trail continues on the top of the broad central spur through beautiful pine forest; I consider this the best trail to Yung-ning as one avoids the long hot journey up the dry Yangtze valley. The heat in the Yangtze valley is at all seasons intense, especially in the spring. There are lovely meadows surrounded by wonderful forest, and excellent camping places, the elevation being 10,000 feet. Here clear brooks flow from the foot of a high mountain overlooking the river. Oak and pine forests cover the spur. The trail skirts many deep ravines, but leads steadily up, along the foot of grey limestone cliffs, to the west. At 10,900 feet there used to be a Lo-lo settlement now forsaken, and the destroyed forests can again claim their own. At 11,400 feet the forest is still composed of pines, but with undergrowth consisting mostly of birches, a rather unusual plant association; at 12,000 feet the trail enters forest composed of larches, spruces, oaks, and birches, with scattered pines, hugging a limestone wall at the head of deep valleys which debouch east into the Yangtze. The scenery is superb, the autumn coloring magnificent, the birches yellow, the sorbus trees crimson, and the maples orange-red. The path leads from one spur to another and their intervening valleys, over gently sloping ground forested with spruces and carpeted with soft moss, and an undergrowth of tall, large-leaved rhododendron trees, *Lonicera* (honeysuckle), *Ribes*, and cane-

brake. The somber spruces contrasted sharply with the gay-colored foliage of the deciduous trees which were then in autumn garb. The trail emerges from this beautiful virgin forest into a clearing at the foot of the mighty limestone crags of Hua-ti-yi nv-lv above the Lv-ts'o lo gorge. East of the Yangtze looms high the massive limestone mountain Wua-ha. Water being scarce further on, this proved an excellent camping place at 12,200 feet elevation, for a small stream issues from some rocky bluffs below the clearing. From Shang Feng-k'o to this camp is two full stages.

Further on the entire forest has been burned by the wretched Lo-lo, the enemy of every tree; where once stood vast tracts of spruce and birch is now a black waste. The trail leads along the edge of a spur overlooking the Yangtze valley, till at 13,000 feet we enter pure larch forest which covers the steep slopes to the very foot of the towering limestone crags. Not a single house, hut, or human being is met with on this stretch after leaving the hamlet of Law-k'an. Continuing on the top of the spur at the foot of cliffs and in forests of spruce and larch for 15 li, we come to the gravelly trail which joins the one leading down into the Yangtze valley to Feng-k'o, or Lower Feng-k'o as it is also called.

6. FROM MING-YIN-WU (MBA-YI-WÜA) TO THE CHIANG-WAI FERRY

From Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾 a trail leads east to the Yangtze and thence to a ferry at Chiang-wai on to Yung-ning via the Tsui-yi valley (called Ts'wue-yi by the Li-chiang Na-khi); it is by far the shortest trail. From Ming-yin-wu a zigzag path leads into the Dto-bpo lo valley; the upper part is covered with pine forest, in the valley itself there are large groves of oaks and *Castanopsis Delavayi*, an evergreen wild chestnut-like tree, at an elevation of 9,200 feet.

Dto-bpo lo is a smaller and comparatively shallow branch of the very deep and large valley, or rather gorge, called Gyi-t'khi lo, except where it debouches into it. It is undoubtedly the ancient Tang-po-lo 當波羅 of the T'ang dynasty Mo-so-man, and was one of seven districts belonging to Pao-shan, the present La-bpu (Chinese La-pao: see La-bpu district, p. 233). The hamlets of Dto-po lo are situated in the center of the broad valley floor; some are at its head.

In the Gyi-t'khi lo gorge the hamlets are perched like swallows' nests on the steep valley slopes; their narrow fields are terraced strips, some of them not wider than two or three feet, with a sheer drop of 100 feet or more beneath. The trail which descends this long valley to its narrow mouth, is dangerous indeed, on account of its extreme narrowness and its proximity to the vertical walls of the deep chasm which it skirts. At about 7,000 feet elevation we meet the peculiar conifer *Keteleeria Davidiana* with pale green needles and erect, persistent, straw-colored cones. Old trees branch like deciduous trees rather than like a conifer. It is peculiar to the hot, dry canyons.

The trail descends zigzag to the poor hamlet of Bu-dv-dzi-man, a scattered affair, the houses situated on the hill-tops, while the fields are along the river bank. Fairly good oranges are here cultivated. From the village we again ascend a spur to a bluff at 6,800 feet elevation, overlooking the Yangtze (PLATE 108), and six li from the village. The journey in this arid valley of the Yangtze proves usually hot, unless the sky is overcast. The trail is indescrib-

ably rocky and leads up and down between boulders and rock walls which hem in the wretched fields of the first Na-khi hamlet we strike, here called P'a-lo, consisting of six families. Ere reaching P'a-lo the trail negotiates a lateral ravine, climbing up and down; it resembles more the rocky bed of a stream than a path.

Opposite P'a-lo, in Yung-ning territory, is a tiny hamlet bearing likewise the name of P'a-lo, though the name of Tse-mi is also given it. It is inhabited by Li-su 獐獐 (also written 力些); several clans of this tribe have settled in Yung-ning in the more arid and undesirable regions.

At P'a-lo the trail divides: The upper fork leads to the hamlet of T'o-lä-tsu, which consists of five families, and is the most forlorn-looking place imaginable. The main occupation of the people is gold washing, and the whole hill-side is honeycombed with tunnels. The lower trail leads down to near the river along a conglomerate cliff, everywhere pitted with gold diggers' tunnels, to below T'o-lä-tsu, where a ferry plies to the Yung-ning side of the river. If we follow the upper trail we skirt two narrow ravines, the rocks being mostly sandstone.

In this arid gorge I observed the following vegetation: *Ziziphus* bushes, *Barleria cristata*, *Dodonaea viscosa*, *Vitex*, *Rumex*, and *Opuntia monacantha*. This latter cactus is exceedingly common, and has almost taken possession of the gorge. The most common grass, which gives the hill-sides a bronze to copper-colored appearance, is *Heteropogon contortus*. Several legumes grow with *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, of which the only second species known in the genus occurs on the dry and arid lava flows of Hawaii, and elsewhere in the Pacific. *Debregeasia edulis*, *Broussonetia papyrifera*, *Pteris longifolia*, *Selaginella involvens* — the latter forming rosettes on the cliffs — *Escholtzia polystachys*, *Sida*, *Phyllanthus emblica*, *Terminalia micans*, and *Amphicome arguta* form the main vegetation, with here and there a *Dalbergia yunnanensis* tree, the creeping *Ficus foveolata*, *Berberis*, *Astragalus*, *Solanum verbascifolium* and *Excoecaria acerifolia*.

Opposite T'o-lä-tsu in Yung-ning territory, a valley called Ku-dju debouches into the Yangtze which makes a sharp bend at the mouth of Tsui-yi (PLATE 109).

The Na-khi hamlet of Chiang-wai 江外 (or Chiang-wa 江凹) called in Na-khi Da-dü-gku, is situated on a terrace opposite the little village of Bu-yi-gkv perched on a bluff above the mouth of Tsui-yi, elevation 5,900 feet. A leaky ferry plies here across the Yangtze between the two hamlets.

The region of Chiang-wai is a veritable sea of rock and *Heteropogon contortus* grass. While the forested mountains within this great Yangtze loop are wonderful, the arid gorges of the eastern branch of the loop are miserable and dreary.

North of Chiang-wai (Da-dü-gku) the Yangtze flows through another rock gate similar to the one between Lv-ts'o lo and La-bpu, but smaller.

The huge boulders, fallen from the heights above, have been utilized by some of the poorer peasants to save building an extra rock wall for their houses. The houses are loosely constructed from the rocks which lie about. The entire terrace beyond Chiang-wai, to the mouth of the rock gate, is full of vertical holes of considerable depth; here gold digging operations have been carried on by the natives in the most primitive manner. In the early spring and winter this region is enshrouded in dust which makes travelling anything but pleasant. Corn or maize is the main crop.

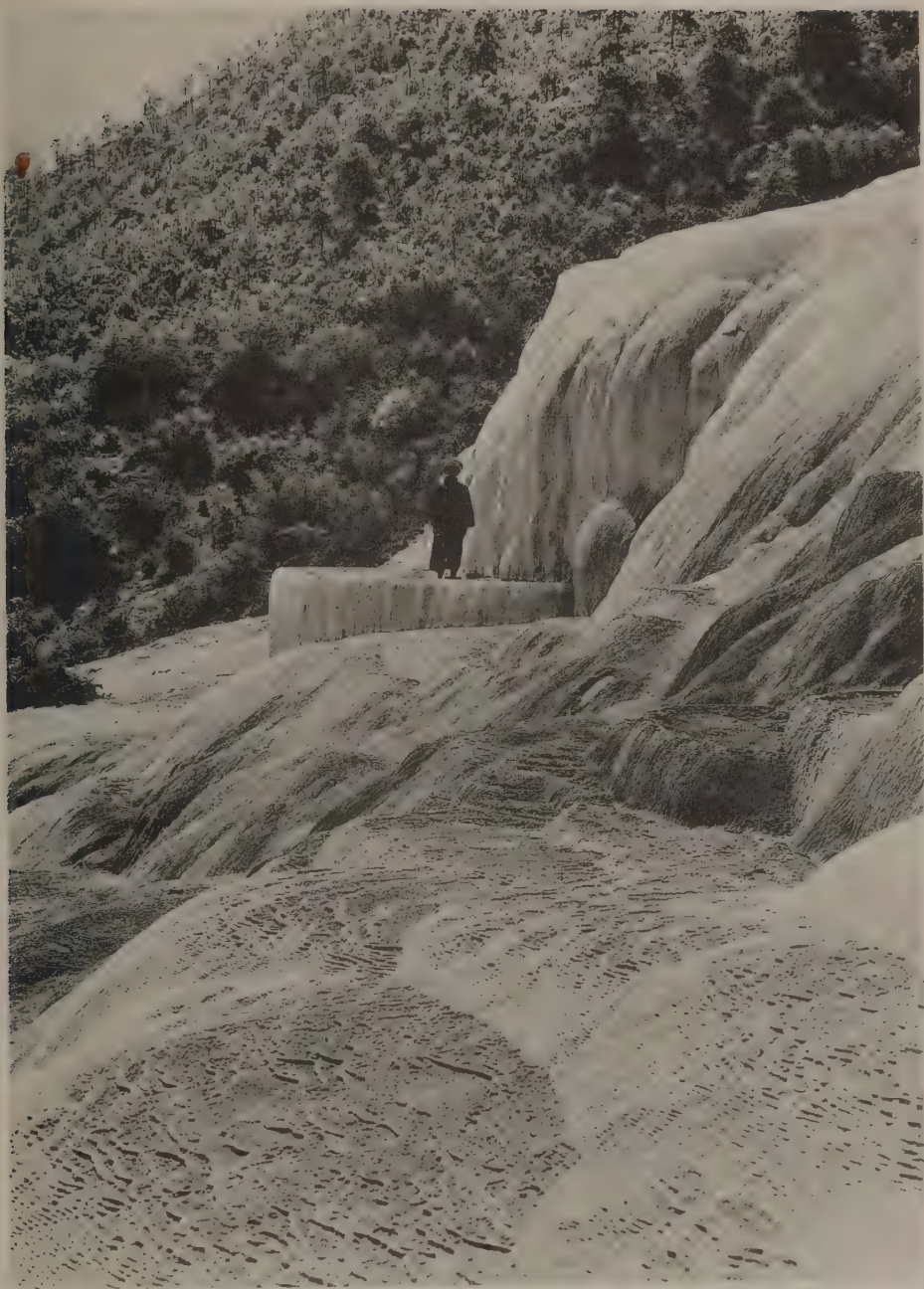


PLATE 137.—THE SINTER CASCADES AND BASINS OF BBĚR-PĚR-DŤĚR

北地泉華盆

Stalagmites and stalagtites are formed here. Every ripple and wavelet leaves its cast behind, forever building.



PLATE 138. — THE SINTER TERRACES OF BBËR-F'ËR-DTËR

北地泉華臺

They have the aspect of artificial terraced ricefields. The basins are shallow and contain bluish-white water and thousands of pisolites.

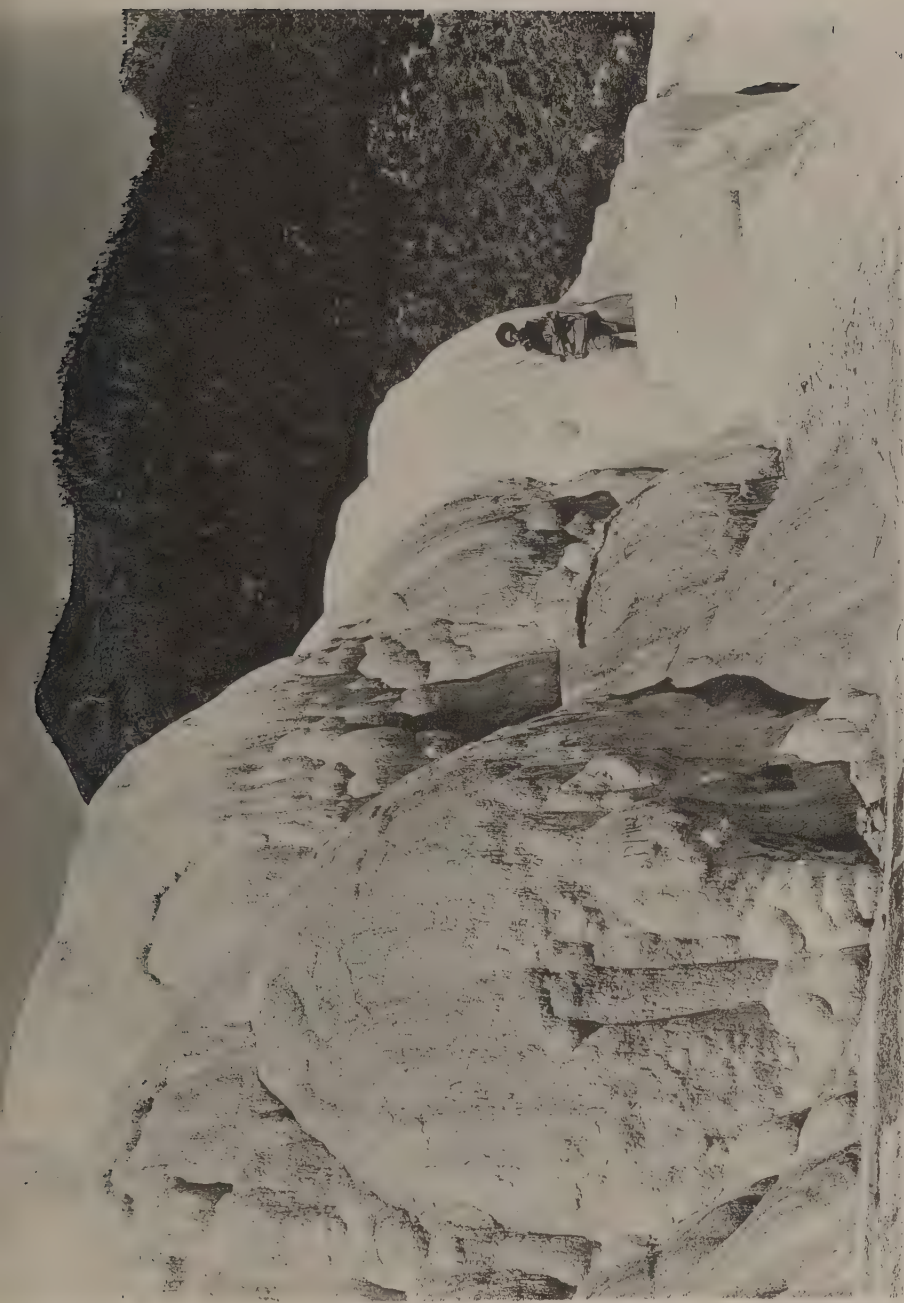


PLATE 139. — SINTER BUTTRESSES SUPPORT THE TERRACES OF BBËR-PËR-DTËR

北地桌華扶壁稱彌勒佛

Near the base of the hill covered by the Sinter terraces, are huge bulging buttresses mostly hollow. The one on the left is called Mi-le-fo as it resembles the huge belly of the Chinese God of Wealth. Here sterile women come to pray and burn incense.



PLATE 140. — THE SACRED GROTTO SHI-LO NE-K'Ō

多巴祖而靈洞

It is the wish of every Na-khi Dto-mba to visit, at least once, this sacred grotto where their teacher used to dwell. Two dto-mbas are performing a religious rite.

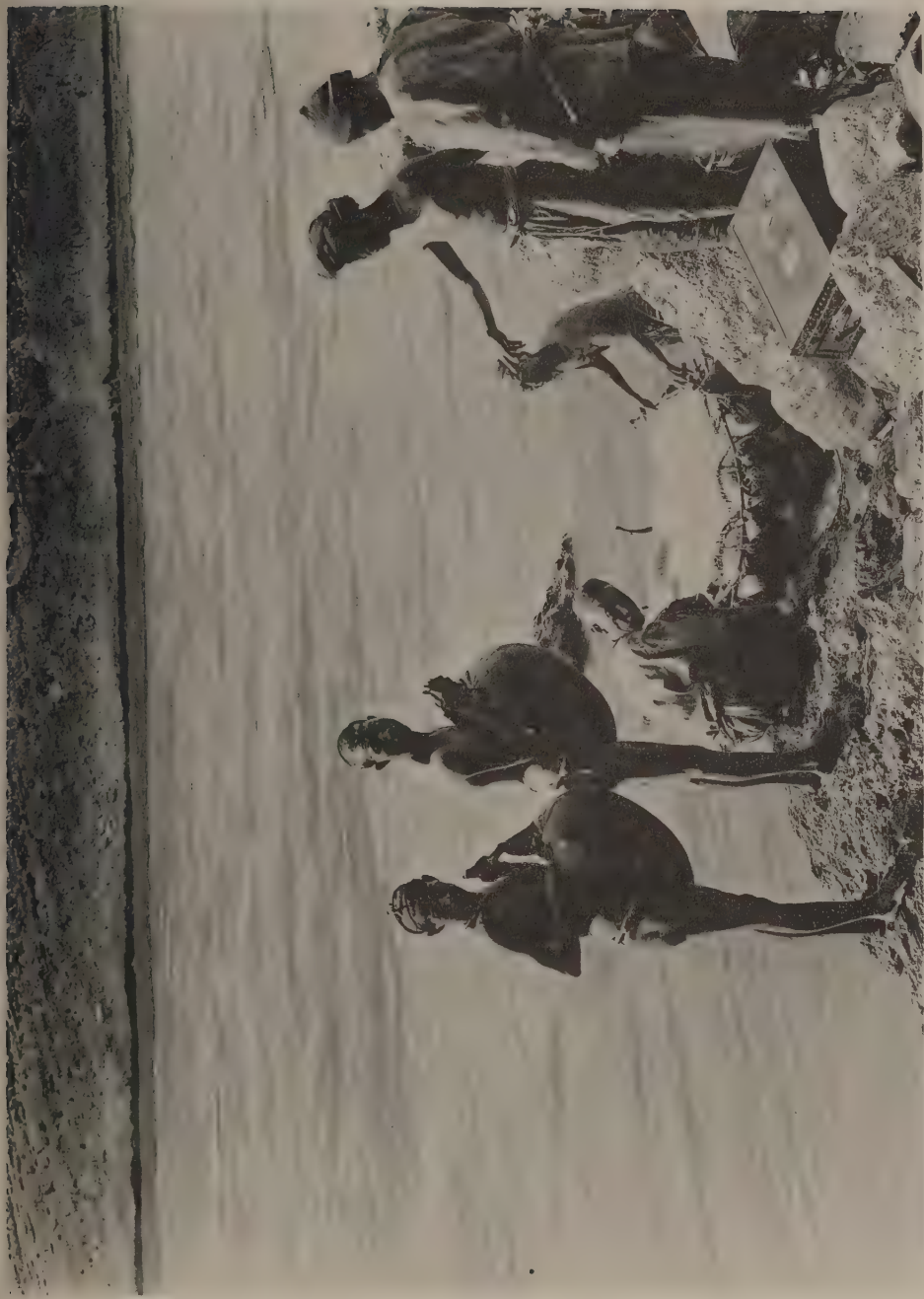


PLATE 141. — NA-KHI SWIMMERS WITH THEIR INFLATED GOATSKINS

打鼓革囊渡金沙江

The only way to cross the Yangtze to Bbër-ddër is by means of goatskin rafts. The men are Na-khi from the village of Za-ba opposite Ta-ku.



PLATE 142. — A RAFT NEGOTIATING THE YANGTZE

金沙江流出雅昌角

The Exit of the Yangtze from the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. The author's camp equipment is being ferried across from Za-ba to Ta-ku.



PLATE 143. — NA-KHI SWIMMERS WITH THEIR RAFT

打鼓革囊流金沙江

Every time they plunge into the icy waters of the Yangtze, they must inflate their goatskin bags as well as those of the raft.



PLATE 144. — ARRIVAL OF ONE OF THE EXPEDITION'S GOATSKIN RAFTS ON THE TA-KU SIDE
A trunk and a man were ferried across at a time, the swimmers pulling and pushing the raft. The horses had to swim.

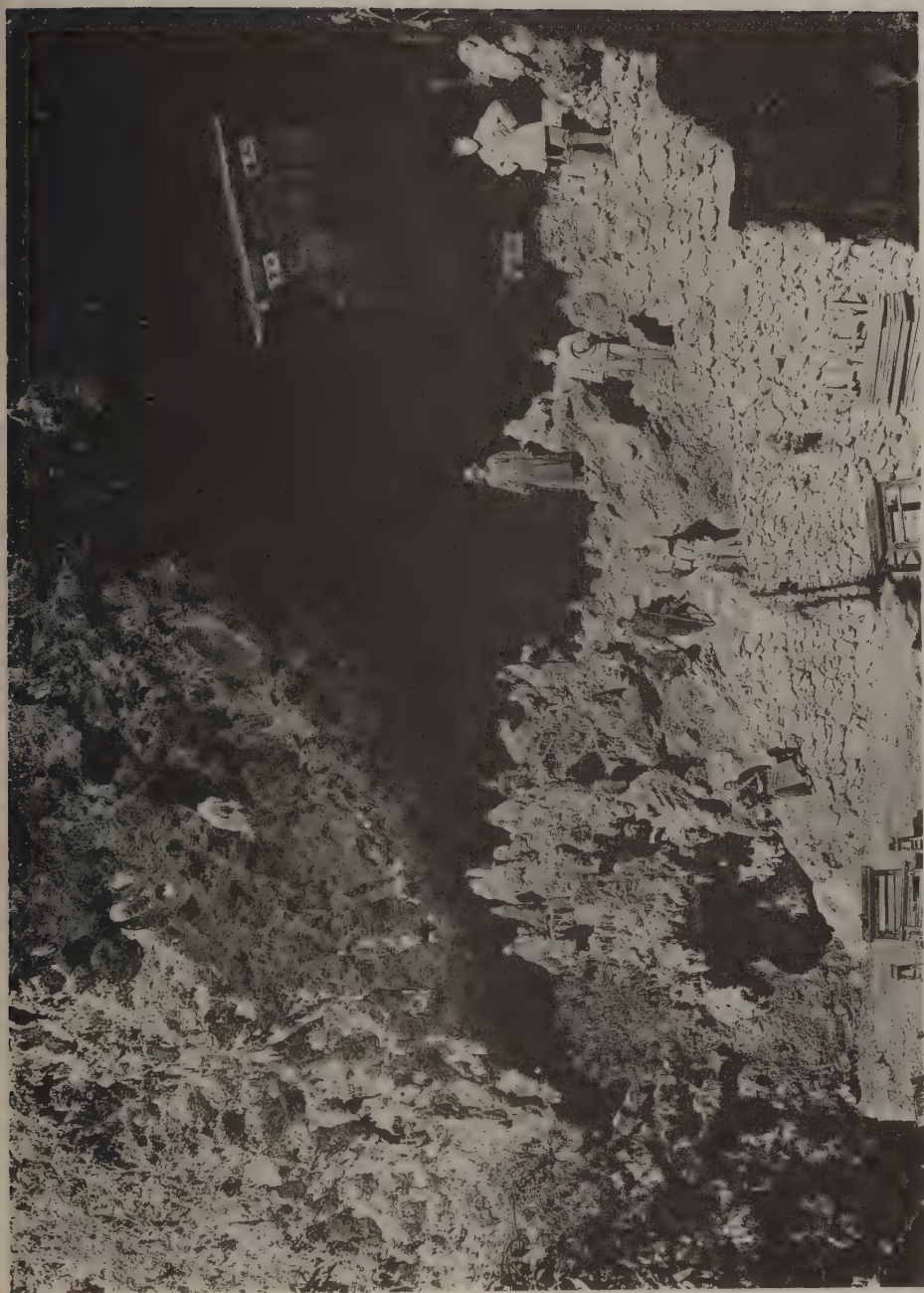


PLATE 145. — THE T'AI-TZU (TUNG) CAVE

阿 亨 里 太 子 洞

Aw-wù-a-wù-a, a brother of Sa-ddo, is said to have lived in this cave on the western side of the Li-chiang snow range.
His name is also given to the cave.



PLATE 146. — 'A-DTO-DAW, THE WESTERN WALL OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

玉龍山西面水溝

A deep gorge called Gyi-p'ër k'a extends from the foot of 'A-dto-daw into the Yangtze at Lü-ts'an. The gorge is filled with forest, but lifeless in its upper part, owing to absence of water. Shan-tzu-tou the highest peak in center. Dying glaciers cover the upper slopes.

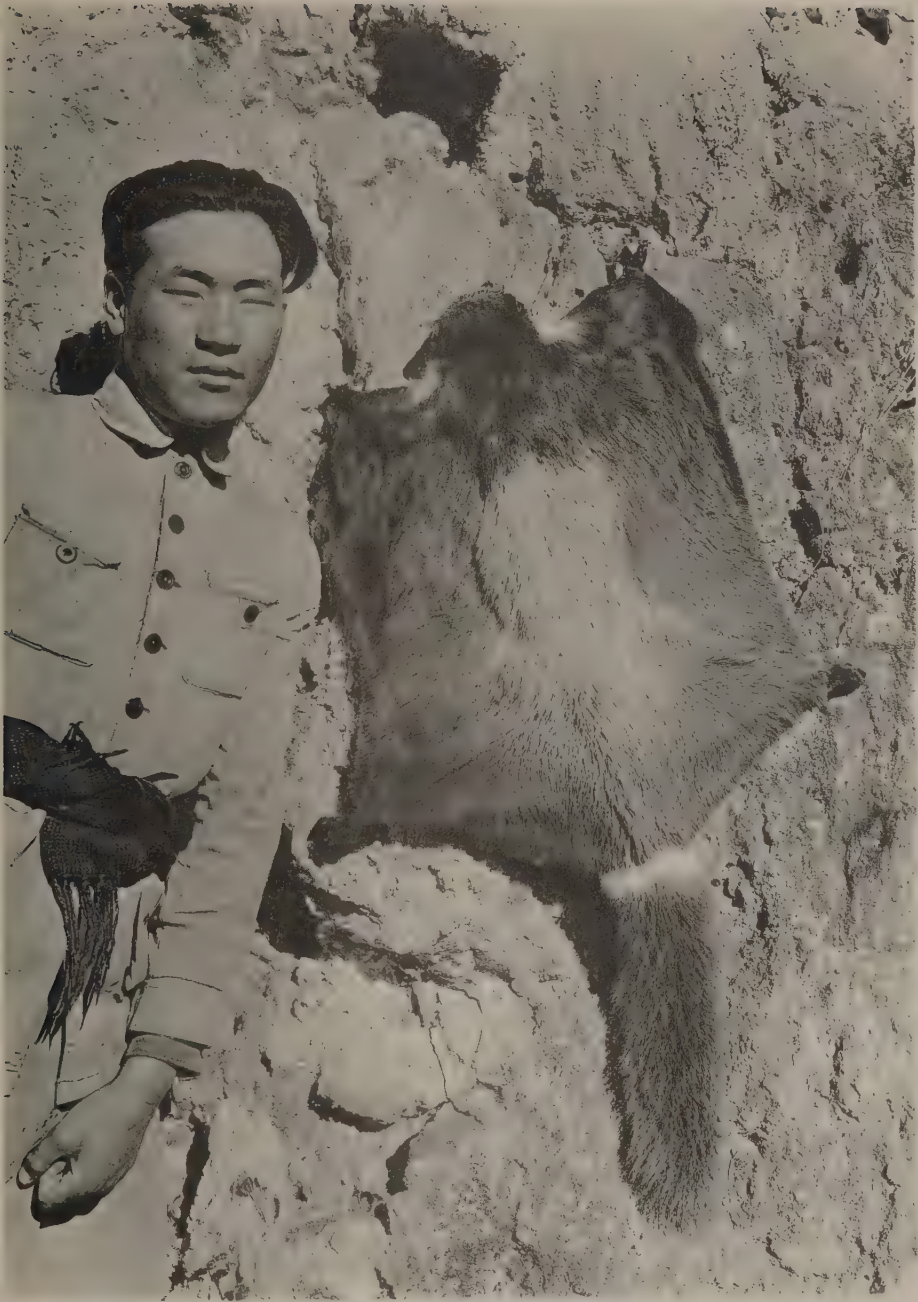


PLATE 147. — MANY FLYING SQUIRRELS INHABIT THE T'AI-TZU (TUNG) CAVE

太子洞飛鼠

Several species inhabited the recesses of the cave. The largest here figured is *Petaurista alborufus ochropsis*; after dark they volplaned from the cave onto tall trees to feed on leaves.



PLATE 148. — THE YANGTZE WEST OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

阿喜里金沙江

The river flows in a comparatively broad valley which forms the Li of A-hsi. Photographed north of Gyi-p'êr k'a looking south, from an elevation of 10,300 feet.



PLATE 149. — THE BULKY MASS 'A-TS'AN-GKO NV-LV

飛入雅昌角撮影玉龍山

Flying at a height of 17,000 feet our plane, the K'un-ming, entered the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. The range called 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv forms a huge limestone pyramid with a vertical drop to the Yangtze of more than 10,000 feet. Gyi-nà nv-lv to left, Shan-tzu-tou in center (background).



PLATE 150. — HA-BA NDSHĒR NV-LV AS SEEN FROM OUR PLANE

飛機攝影哈巴大雪山

Our plane approached this peak at a speed of 120 miles an hour, flying at an altitude of 16,000 feet. Ha-ba district is at its foot (lower left). The Chung-tien snow mountains in the distance. Ha-pa Shan is 18,700 feet and is the fourth highest peak of the Yü-lung Shan.



PLATE 151. — THE PEAK OF HA-BA NDSHER NV-LV OR HA-PA SHAN

飛機掠影哈巴大雪山

Our plane flying at 17,000 feet, enters the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Fierce winds sweeping through the gorge caused our plane to flutter through it like a piece of paper. This picture shows the southern face of the mountain which is 18,700 feet in height.



PLATE 152. — THE PLANE K'UN-MING NEAR WEN-HUA-TS'UN

昆明號航機下降玉龍山麓

After making the circuit of the Yü-lung Shan, flying through the 'A-ts'an-gko (Yangtze) gorge, we landed at the foot of the snow range on the natural landing field called Wua-dtv k'o-dü elevation 8,700 feet. Shan-tzu-tou in distance.

Behind the high mountain which flanks the terrace on which Chiang-wai is situated, is the large village of O-mun, the Chinese Wu-mu 悟母. It is really an agglomeration of villages, such as O-mun-ggö-gkwua, Bpö-lo, and O-mun-mbe-ddü, the largest. O-mun-ggö-gkwua is mainly inhabited by Na-khi who have come from the village of Boa-shi; they belong to the Li 李 family.

7. FROM LI-CHIANG TO THE TZU-LI-CHIANG BRIDGE

From Li-chiang there are two ways of reaching the Yangtze at Tzu-li-chiang 梓里江 (Ching-li 井里 in the Li-chiang records). The river in this region goes by the name of Tzu-li Chiang. One way is by the village of Nda-zaw, and the other by the village of Tui-nao-k'o 對腦科. The latter is considered the small road.

The main road, by Nda-zaw, leads from Li-chiang to Wei-lai-ts'un 爲來村, 15 li; then to Ta-chü-ts'un 大直村, 25 li; on to Chieh-mai-ts'un 節買村 60 li; and thence to Tzu-li-chiang village, 30 li.

The small road leads from Li-chiang south across the plain, past the hamlets of Bpa-wüa and Lă-wüa. To the east of the former is situated the village of Wua-lo-k'o in Wu-lieh li. It continues along the foot of Chin Shan 金山 (Golden Hill), a low hill south-east of Li-chiang, to the foot of the mountain range which hems in the plain to the east. On Chin Shan, embowered in a grove of old trees, is the Buddhist temple called Chin-shan Ssu 金山寺. To the west of it is the village of Ssaw-gkaw-ndso, where there is a large stone bridge over the stream called Ssaw-gkaw-ndso gyi, flowing south past a long, rounded hill, called Dtü-ghügh-lü-dzü-gkv, conspicuous for the white pagoda, or *t'a*, built on its summit. South-east of this hill are many Na-khi villages, such as Dtü-ghügh, Mi-zhër, Wua-na-nda and Ssi-li-wüa (Hsi-lin-wa 西林瓦); at the latter the Mu 木 family had a temple, now converted into a school. Ere reaching Ssi-li-wüa, one passes their family graves. The large memorial stone engraved with the history of the Na-khi chiefs has been described on page 70.

From Chin Shan the trail continues east to the foot of Wu-lieh Shan, where lies the hamlet of Da-wüa (in Chinese, Ta-wo 打窩 or Ta-wa-ts'un 達瓦村), 15 li from Li-chiang. *En route* we pass by some Min-chia villages east of Chin Shan, where the land is called Nyi-'a-gko and where is situated the Na-khi hamlet of T'khi-lä.

At Da-wüa the trail ascends the steep mountain-side, up a deep gorge called Da-wüa lo-mä, to a pass, and thence leads down through a shallow ravine to cultivated fields and groves of oak and pine, and so comes to the hamlet of Tui-nao-k'o 對腦科 (also written 對腦殼), called in Na-khi, Bbue-na-k'o, a distance of 25 li.

From Tui-nao-k'o the trail leads south, descending steeply into a ravine through pine forest with oaks, and *Rhododendron decorum* trees as undergrowth. Here, where the rock is conglomerate and the soil a red clay, we meet with the beautiful shrub *Styrax lankongensis*, and two species of *Castanopsis*. We descend zigzag over an exceedingly steep and rocky trail, on the edge of the precipitous canyon of the Yangtze, whose mighty rapids are visible. The

vegetation is decidedly xerophytic, and the same plants occur as enumerated on the Mba-yi-wùa — Chiang-wai stretch.

The distance from Tui-nao-k'o to Tzu-li-chiang bridge, the border of the districts of Li-chiang and Yung-sheng (Yung-peì), is 30 li.

Situated on a terrace, a short distance above the bridge, is the hamlet of Chin-lung-ch'iao 金龍橋村; it has two Na-khi names: Gku-k'u-ndu and Gku-k'u-k'ö (PLATE 110). To the west of it, separated by fields and a stream called Să gyi the Chinese Hsi-chi Ho 細吉河, is another Na-khi village known as Nun-dzä-llü-k'o (Nun dzä = sprouted Mung bean, llü = field, k'o = inside) Chinese Fan-tou-ti 飯豆地. Owing to the large volume of water carried by the Să gyi in the summer and autumn, a log and chain-bridge has been built; it is called Să-gyi ndso in Na-khi and Hsiao-ho ch'iao 小河橋 in Chinese. The village of Ching-li-chiang 井里江村 or Tzu-li-chiang 梓里江村, the Na-khi 'A-gkv-dzhi (Chicken egg market), is east of the Yangtze only a very few li distant, in Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-peì 永北) territory.

The Chin-lung ch'iao 金龍橋 (Golden dragon bridge) is the only bridge which spans the Yangtze in its entire course. According to the *Yung-peì t'ing chih* ch. 1, fol. 46a-b, this bridge is 150 li from Yung-peì. The Na-khi name of the bridge is Dsi-li shu-ër ndso (Dsi-li iron rope-bridge). *Èr* in Na-khi means rope, and *shu-ër* means an iron chain, for they apparently never had a special name for chain. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* ch. 50, fol. 27a-b, the bridge is called Tzu-li t'ieh-so ch'iao 梓里鐵索橋. The ancient name of the place where it spans the river was Ching-li tu 井里渡 or the Ching-li ford. The bridge was built in the second year of Kuang-hsü (1876) by Chiang Tsung-han 蔣宗漢, literary name Ping-t'ang 炳堂, a native of Ho-ch'ing and T'i-tu 提督 (Major-general) of Kuei-chou (PLATE 111). It replaced a ferry consisting of two dug-out canoes, lashed together, which functioned during the winter and spring. In the autumn, when the waters were high and the current swift, a rope-bridge was used.

A memorial stone at the bridge-head relates that Chiang Tsung-han used to be afraid crossing the single rope-bridge when bound for Yung-peì. The crossing on the rope was an exceedingly difficult affair. He tells of being tied up like a pig and swung across. Owing to the sagging of the rope one remained suspended over the middle of the river, and natives guarding the rope had to pull one across. Chiang vowed that he would build an iron chain bridge to facilitate traffic. Tzu-li-chiang is a very important and strategic point, as it is on the highway from China to Tibet, and from Ssu-ch'uan and Yung-peì to western Yün-nan. According to the Memorial stone the building of the bridge was commenced in November of the year *ping-tzu* 丙子 of the Kuang-hsü period (1876) and completed in February of the year *keng-ch'en* 庚辰 (1880).

The local story however says that Chiang Tsung-han, eloping with a girl reached the ferry and wished to cross the river. The ferrymen, however, having been warned of the elopement, refused to take them over. Chiang then swore that, should he ever become wealthy, he would build a bridge across the river and reduce the ferry owners to poverty. He kept his vow, and the bridge was built.

It measures 280 Chinese feet (328.3 English feet) in length, and is nine Chinese feet wide. It rests on 18 chains, which are anchored to boulders

buried in the ground. Over the chains is a roadway of boards, and over these again, in the center, is another set of boards. The bridge sways considerably when crossed by a string of loaded mules.

In 1929, by order of General Lu Han 盧漢, the bridge was practically cut to prevent the rebel, Hu Jo-yü 胡若愚, from crossing it. One chain was actually cut through and the boards were removed. The structure collapsed completely, except for two chains, on February 5th, 1935. It has been repaired and opened for traffic on January 4th, 1938.

CHAPTER VI

CHUNG-TIEN 中甸

The district of Chung-tien, situated north of the Yangtze loop, forms an inverted pyramid, the apex being its southernmost point, the broad base of the pyramid adjoining the new province of Hsi-k'ang the former Ch'uan-pien 川邊, or frontier of Ssu-ch'uan, commonly known as the Tibetan Marches. Chung-tien is called Ndzu-dü in Na-khi, and in Tibetan rGyal-thang.

Only the southern half of the region is inhabited by Na-khi, as the district of Bbër-ddër, which adjoins the Yangtze on the east and the mountain range of A-nà Ngyu (A-nà-ngv, An-nan-ku 安南古, also known as Pei-ti Shan 北地山) to the north; beyond are Tibetans only.

The district of Chung-tien is divided diagonally from north-west to south-east by a stream known to the Chinese as the Chung-chiang Ho 中江河. They call the upper part the Shih-to-kang Ho 碩多岡河, while the Na-khi call the entire stream the Yü-ndo gyi. It is however better known as the Chung-tien Ho 中甸河. It debouches into the Yangtze above the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Its source is to the north of Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu). The lake of Chung-tien is called Ts'ao Hai 草海 by the Chinese and Nda-bpa K̥hü in Na-khi; the Tibetans call it Na-pa Tsho.

The seat of the magistracy is Chung-tien, whence the district derives its name. Chung-tien is situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet on a large grassy plain too cold to grow anything but wheat, and is inhabited by about 200 families, mostly a mixture of Chinese, Mo-so and Tibetan. Its geographic position according to Major Davies is latitude 27° 50' and longitude 99° 45'. To the north of Chung-tien dwell the notorious robber tribe, the Tong-wa (sTong-wa), the Chinese Tung-wang 東旺.

The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, Vol. 12, ch. 9, fols. 11b and 12a, states that during the Han dynasty Chung-tien was in the hsien of Sui-chiu 遂久, subject to Yüeh-sui Chün 越隴郡. Sui-chiu was west of Yung-ning, and is the present Chung-tien. Under the Shu Han (221-264) it belonged to Yün-nan Chün 雲南郡. In the Sui dynasty (590-617) it was the Mi chou 靡州, controlled by the Tu-tu fu 都督府 (Yamen of the military governor) of Jung chou 戎州 (this is the present-day I-pin 宜賓 (Hsü chou 叙州) of Ssu-ch'uan). In the T'ang (618-906) it was also known as Mi chou. Under the Mongols (1280-1367) it belonged to the circuit of Li-chiang. In the Ming dynasty (1368-1643) it was in the prefecture of Li-chiang. In the Ch'ing it remained unaltered. Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 rebelled and gave the land of Chung-tien to the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa.¹ In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) it came under the control of Ho-ch'ing. A Chou-p'an 州判 (District judge) from the chou of Chien-ch'uan (a magistracy between Ta-li and Li-chiang) resided there. In the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756) a change was

¹ According to the Mu Chronicle this was in the year 1668, during the rule of Mu Yi (1608-1692), chief of Li-chiang.

made and a sub-prefect was sent, subject to Li-chiang fu. To-day it is a separate magistracy known as Chung-tien hsien.

The same work, Vol. 18, ch. 25, fols. 5b to 6a, states that Chung-tien in ancient days had no wall, but in the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an earth wall was built, two li in circumference, with four gates. It was rebuilt in the 24th year of Ch'ien-lung (1759) by the sub-prefect Hai Mi-na 海米納.

The Chung-tien district is 360 li broad and 546 li long, that is, from north to south. It is 1,455 li from K'un-ming. East to the Li-chiang border is a distance of 230 li and west to the Wei-hsi 維西 border 130 li. South to the Li-chiang border 284 li and north to the Li-t'ang T'u ssu 裏塘土司 border in Hsi-k'ang 280 li. This is reckoned from the town of Chung-tien. South-east to the borders of the Li-chiang territory is 150 li, north-east to the Li-t'ang border 120 li. South-west to the Wei-hsi border 140 li, and north-west to the Wei-hsi district border 210 li.

There are two towns in the district, the larger being the prefectural city called Ta-chung-tien 大中甸. South 80 li is the territory of Hsiao-chung-tien 小中甸.

Eighty-five li north of the city of Chung-tien is the village of Ko-tsa 格咱 and 200 li west of the city is the village of Ni-hsi 泥西. It is also stated that the land is high and mountains are numerous; frost and snow descend early, the winds are biting and cold; the soil is hard, and the five grains cannot be grown. The peasants are poor and the land unfertile; the lamas are of great importance and are the real rulers of the country.

A large lamasery is situated at the foot of Fo-p'ing Shan 佛屏山 (Buddha screen Mountain) 10 li north of the city. It belongs to the Yellow lama sect and is called Kuei-hua Ssu 歸化寺 (Lamasery of the transformation). In 1901 there were 1,226 lamas living in the monastery. Other lamaseries are: Pai-chi Ssu 白雞寺, Ch'eng-en Ssu 承恩寺 and Ta-pao Ssu 大寶寺. The first belongs to the Yellow sect and is located near the city on the top of Chu Shan 主山, the second is more than 20 li east of the city and belongs to the Red sect, it has over thirty lamas. The third is 30 li south of the city and pertains to the Yellow sect.

It is extraordinary that nothing is to be found in the Chinese records which relates to the district of Bbër-ddër (Pei-ti 北地) and its marvellous limestone terrace, Bbër-p'ër-dtër.

I presume that owing to the difficulty travelers experience in reaching certain parts of the district, difficulties which are mainly physical, it has been neglected by the Chinese and therefore next to nothing is to be found in their records.

Few are the travelers who have visited the remote parts of Chung-tien territory and those more difficult of access, as, for example, Bbër-ddër, which has been reached only by the Dutch missionary Kok, James Bacot, Handel-Mazzetti and the present writer. Handel-Mazzetti doubts that Bacot traversed the entire Yangtze gorge which cuts the Li-chiang snow range, but thinks that he probably penetrated it as far as Pen-ti-wan, to which place one can use pack mules. It is certainly strange that in his book, *LE TIBET REVOLTE*, Bacot is silent about the narrowest part of the gorge, known as the Hu-t'iao-chiang, and the villages beyond, inhabited not by Mo-so but by Chinese from Ssu-

ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi enfoncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbër-ddër is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

I. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBËR-DDËR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

The districts of Ha-ba and Bbër-ddër are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.

The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang district, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbër-ddër, for here the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beautiful grove of old oaks.

Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off. Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.

They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

post-haste on news reaching the town that the Tong-wa Tibetans, who live in Hsi-k'ang 西康 to the north of Chung-tien, are on the war-path. These people not only loot in and around Chung-tien, BbĚr-ddĚr, etc., but they often cross the Yangtze and invade Li-chiang territory, as in 1922, when they burned the town of Ta-ku, and killed many people, shooting the girls, who had climbed trees to avoid falling into their hands, like pigeons off the branches. When I visited Ta-ku shortly afterwards I found the town in a terrible state; many girls had broken limbs which had ulcerated and were beyond hope. In 1933 the Tibetans came again, but satisfied themselves by occupying Chung-tien for a considerable time, whence they undertook raiding expeditions in various directions.

The present native ruler of BbĚr-ddĚr is of the rank of Pa-tsung 把總 (Sergeant), and besides BbĚr-ddĚr rules also over his own district called Ha-ba (Ha-pa), to the south. His family name is Yang 楊. His Mohammedan ancestors came originally from Shan-hsi province. They lived in Ta-li, but escaped during the Mohammedan rebellion in 1856 and fled to Chung-tien. He again is under the immediate control of the Ch'ien-tsung 千總 (Chiliarch, Lieutenant) of Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, also of the name of Yang, though they are not related. Both positions are hereditary. The latter is directly under the magistrate of Chung-tien, who is usually an absentee. Yang Pa-tsung of Ha-pa is a half-breed, his mother being a Tibetan woman and his father a Chinese Mohammedan. The latter was killed by Tibetan bandits in a raid which they were making into his territory. Unfortunately, the present ruler, who is addicted to opium, lacks all the qualities necessary to control such a district, and one can but pity the poor peasants who have to look to such an individual for help in time of stress. It is impossible for a magistrate to remain or keep order, unless he has a large force of regular troops to rely on for protection. The few militia soldiers, with antiquated, rusty rifles, and bullets which often do not fit the barrel, are no protection against the wild hordes of Tong-wa Tibetans, who are usually well armed.

Strange as it may seem, these Tibetan bandits were often armed by Chinese generals, residing in Ning-yüan fu, Ssu-ch'uan, under whose nominal jurisdiction they come. The generals, being interested mainly in money, sold their old rifles to the highest bidders, in this case the Tibetans and Lo-lo on the Yün-nan border. In 1931 when I was in Yung-ning, the good Tsung-kuan 總管 who, unfortunately for his country, has passed on to the Great Beyond, complained to me bitterly about the sale of arms to the wild Tibetans and Lo-lo by the Ning-yüan generals. They had actually sent for the Tibetans, sold them their surplus or old rifles, and given them a *hu-chao* 護照 (passport) and even a Chinese escort to prevent their being molested *en route*. The King of Mu-li (Mi-li) did not wish them to pass through his territory, but could not refuse them transit in view of their passes from the Ning-yüan generals, under whose jurisdiction the Mu-li King comes.

In 1929 Ch'en 陳,² the Tsung-pan 總辦 of Wa-li 窪裏 on the Ya-lung River in Ssu-ch'uan, sent many loads of rifles, commandeering peasants on the road to carry them to Yung-ning in Yün-nan, to be sold to whoever had the money

² He was murdered by the Communists in April, 1934, when the latter passed through Ssu-ch'uan from Yün-nan.

to buy them for more than 100 dollars silver apiece with 25 rounds of ammunition. In order that they should not fall into the hands of the Lo-lo or Tibetans the rulers of Yung-ning had to buy as their finances allowed. When Ch'en Tsung-pan and his party were in Yung-ning on their way towards Li-chiang to sell their remaining rifles, the Gangkar-ling Tibetans, having learned of their presence there with arms for sale, came post-haste to Yung-ning, followed and overtook them at a village to the south. They then attacked them in order to capture the arms. Ch'en, who had some Ssu-ch'uan soldiers with him, resisted, keeping up a constant fire and using up all the ammunition which was to be sold with the rifles. The Tibetans retreated and finding a Hsiang-ch'eng 鄉城 Tibetan caravan which was returning from Li-chiang, attacked and robbed it. Under such conditions, the poor unarmed peasants have indeed a difficult existence.

From the south there are three approaches to the Ha-pa and Bbër-ddër territories, but the Yangtze must be crossed no matter where one enters them, coming from Yün-nan. The quickest way to reach the district used to be by way of Ta-ku immediately north of Li-chiang, two stages distant. A ferry plied there, but, since the Tibetan bandits used it to cross over to Li-chiang in 1922, it has been destroyed and there is now no intercourse with Ha-pa, at least not from the Ta-ku side. People do cross on goatskin rafts which are hastily constructed, but the skins are kept on the Chung-tien side, none being available at Ta-ku. Thus to cross from the Ta-ku side, although the easiest approach, is now impossible (1932). This still held good in 1944.

The second best approach, only feasible in the summer, is via the pass called Hsüeh-men-k'an 雪門砍 (Snow gate cut) over the mountain near Bbër-ddër to the west. The valley which leads to it from the Bbër-ddër side is called Gyi-na lo (Black water gulch). From the pass a trail leads west to the Yangtze above Ch'iao-t'ou (Bridge head). From autumn to spring the pass is deep in snow, and many have lost their lives in trying to cross in the winter season.

The third and longest and most difficult approach is the one by the Yangtze gorges. When mentioning the Yangtze gorges, those known to the tourists at I-ch'ang 宜昌 come into mind, but let it be said that the latter can never be compared with the gorge the Yangtze has cut for itself through the Li-chiang Snow range. Having always wished to explore the gorge through the Yü-lung Shan, I took this route to Bbër-ddër, and it is this which I shall describe. Bacot is said to have traversed the gorge, but he says little or next to nothing about it, and mentions it as being 2,000 metres deep. It is much more than that, and 10,000 feet is about right.

2. FROM NV-LV-K'Ö TO THE MOUTH OF THE YANGTZE GORGE

Nv-lv-k'ö (At the foot of the snow range), or Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪嵩村³ as the Chinese call it, is situated at the end of the north-western branch of the

³ (Hsüeh) Sung is the highest and central peak of the Wu-yo 五嶽 (Five sacred mountains) on which the ancient emperors worshipped Shang-ti (God). The Sung peak lies in Ho-nan fu in the province of Ho-nan, on the watershed between the Yellow and the Han Rivers. As the title of Pei-yo (North sacred mountain) had been bestowed on the Yü-lung Shan, the village lying at its foot was given the name Sung, which also stands for eminent and lofty.

Li-chiang plain at the very foot of the snow range, its elevation being 9,400 feet. Owing to its proximity to the range it has always been my headquarters while exploring the north-west of Yün-nan and Hsi-k'ang. It is from this village that I left for the Yangtze gorges and Bbër-ddër. The trail leads from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö over a pass called Hār-lër-gkv (Wind-call pass,⁴ or Pass whence the spirits call the wind), elevation 10,500 feet, to the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜 in Chinese; H-M., Aschi) on the western bend of the Yangtze. The village of A-khi is, however, considerably south of where the Nv-lv-k'ö trail first strikes the Yangtze. Ere reaching the top of the pass the trail passes an *obo* (rock pile) with oak branches (such as one usually finds on mountain passes in Tibetan country); this particular place is known as Shi-zhi-k'ö (At the place of the mountain spirit), and also called Hār-lër-man (Tail of the wind-call pass).

A magnificent view unfolds over the plain with the many villages which dot it; in the spring it looks like a large chess-board, with the thousands of wheat-fields for squares. Here the mountain-side is wooded with pines — both *Pinus Armandi*, the tall white pine, and the yellow *Pinus yunnanensis* — oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), maples, spruces, etc. The air is clear as crystal and every tree and house stands out as sharply as if one were viewing them at close range. (PLATE 52).

From the pass we reach an oblong depression filled with water, the howling wind whipping the surface and carrying the spray clear across, drenching the traveler as from a shower-bath. The water of this small lake, which has its source mainly in underground springs but also from small rivulets descending from the surrounding spurs, rushes cascade-like through a forested gorge down to the plain, where it joins the waters of a broad spring called Mba-mä which is used entirely for irrigating the fields of the many villages. The trail skirts the pond on the north side to a pass at the other end called Hār-lër mbu (Hill whence the wind is called).

From Hār-lër mbu the trail leads along the western slopes covered with pines and prostrate oaks, overlooking the lake Gkaw-ngaw (Kan-hai-tzu 乾海子 in Chinese; H-M., Ganhaidsi). This lake, like the La-shih-pa Lake, appears and disappears through subterranean outlets (PLATE 112). The mountain south of Gkaw-ngaw and facing La-shih-pa is called La-shi ch'ou-mä Ngyu; it is much frequented by Na-khi intent on suicide. The zigzag trail continues through forest to the main A-khi road, the junction being called Shi-zhi mbu (Hill of the mountain god), elevation 10,500 feet. The road is broad and lined by forest of magnificent, centuries-old, oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*) and spruces, mainly *Picea likiangensis*. To the left is a valley, whose western wall is a high, partly forested (with firs, spruces, birches, maples, etc.) mountain called the Yao Shan 藥山 (Medicine Mountain; H-M., Yau-schan), about 13,500 feet in height. It is the Na-khi Gkaw-ngaw gkü-p'ër Ngyu. We are now on the western slopes of the snow range above the Yangtze valley, the river flowing north.

⁴ The word *hār* means wind, but pronounced in the third tone *hār* means to cut. Both meanings are here employed. The fiercest and most cutting winds come over this pass onto the Li-chiang plain, rocking the houses of the last village for months during the winter and spring. As spring is the windy season, the Na-khi use the symbol of wind for spring.

Of the forests only a remnant remains, the Lo-lo having burned the huge oaks, in fact cleared the whole mountain-side. After ploughing the ashes under, they plant their buckwheat for one or two years, and then move on again, leaving behind them desolation, only to repeat the performance elsewhere. The slopes of the snow range are terrifically steep and once denuded of their forests, the land of the villages below in the Yangtze valley, of which only a narrow margin is arable, will be in danger of being washed away by the floods descending from the mountain. It is a pity that the government is indifferent to the preservation of the magnificent forests which still exist in this region, and allows whole areas to be laid waste by Lo-lo and Chinese alike. The Lo-lo are the greatest enemies to forests: wherever one meets that tribe one finds desolation; countless charred and fallen trees cover the landscape. When they are in need of firewood they will cut down additional trees instead of utilizing those already lying about by the thousand. This is especially true where they have settled in pine forests, as at Ghügh-t'o, north of Li-chiang (p. 231).

From this forest-remnant we emerge on to a small alpine meadow called Ngv-dzü, elevation 10,200 feet, and continue down the valley, crossing several lateral streams, the last of which is called Lă-ngu-dtò. At 8,800 feet, where the stream and valley make a sharp bend west, we enter pine forest, at the upper end of which is a clearing called T'o-k'ö-shër (Long foot of the pine). Here in this forested valley not a breath of wind is stirring, while the eastern slopes of the snow range and the northern plain are swept by gales in the late winter and early spring, and the snow blown off the peaks and spurs in great masses resembling clouds. From T'o-k'ö-shër a trail branches north and follows on the middle slopes of the range to a famous cave called T'ai-tzu tung 太子洞, which is described separately. The trail to the Yangtze descends steeply through what is left of the once magnificent pine forests.

Most of the building lumber for Li-chiang comes from these forests; a dozen boards an inch thick, 12 feet long, and 1 foot broad, sell for Yün-nan \$3, or about Chinese \$1.50 delivered. The boards are of various sizes and grades, the smaller ones selling for Yün-nan \$2.50 a dozen. This is reckoned in pre-war silver dollars.

The trail winds through the forest, but does not descend straight to the Yangtze. It turns north to a gap known as Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 (Horse-saddle Mountain), past a hamlet called Zi-shër-dto (Long grass hill) and the little village of Bbu-k'aw-dtü nestled against the valley wall below. This mountain path skirts several lateral valleys before and after reaching Ma-an Shan, where the Yangtze becomes first visible as a broad blue-green band, hemmed in to the west by a range 13,000-14,000 feet in height. Here in the river valley below are situated various hamlets, as Llū-tsu-ndu across on the west bank, and others further up-stream on the east bank, near the mouth of the valley down which the trail leads to the Yangtze. An alluvial fan extends into the Yangtze valley, and here are situated the villages of Dzä-bpö-dzü, Gkv-na-wüa and Llū-dtü-man.

The trail continues through pine forest, at an elevation of between 7,800-7,400 feet, to a bluff of the latter height, from which the Yangtze valley can be viewed to advantage, up-stream as far as A-khi. Down-stream, the

Yangtze, here called Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 by the Chinese and Ha-yi-bi (Gold stream) by the Na-khi, makes a horse-shoe bend near the region called 'A-gko-gyi-k'ö (Spring amongst the cliffs) after a spring and a tiny hamlet of the same name. On the opposite bank is the hamlet of La-zhër-lo (PLATE 113).

From the bluff the trail leads to 'A-ngaw-mbu (Rocky hill difficult to cross), referring to the boulder-strewn place. The village is at 6,350 feet elevation. Here a deep valley opens out into the Yangtze coming directly from the highest peak of the snow range, its terminal valley wall is called 'A-dto-daw (Cliff wainscoting) carrying a broad stream into the Yangtze. On the north bank of this tributary, which is spanned by a stone bridge, is situated the hamlet of Lü-ts'an, the Chung-ts'un 中村 of the Chinese, both names meaning Central village. Part of the snow-capped range north of the Yangtze bend is visible from here.

Cultivation extends from here as far as P'ër-dtu-wüa (H-M., Padoa; in Chinese P'u-t'ao-wan 葡萄灣), elevation 6,350 feet, and less than three li distant. The most-planted cereal is rice, next come wheat and maize, with red peppers, tobacco and vegetables; potatoes cannot be grown, as everything goes into the plant and hardly any tubers form. Peas and broad beans are also grown. The red peppers and tobacco are sold, the latter in leaf form as well as ground. Every village has its own walnuts, which the Na-khi call *gv-du*. Tobacco they call *yu*, but the origin of the name is not known.⁵ Part of the snow-capped range north of the Yangtze bend is visible from here.

Beyond P'ër-dtu-wüa dense pine forest commences which is followed by a stony waste covered with bushes of the rosaceous shrub *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, until the hamlet of Dza-dtu is reached, elevation 6,420 feet, a distance of five li. At this village which is in the ward Bā-lä-ts'ö (Chinese Pai-lang-ts'ang 白 [北 pei] 浪滄), where Yeh-yeh, the first ancestor of the Mu family, was fished out of the Yangtze (see the Mu Chronicle page 73). Continuing between fields we come to the hamlet of Ndzi-mbü-lü, elevation 6,320 feet, thence to the village of Yu-lo, the Chinese Ying-p'an-ts'un 營盤村, 6,300 feet. Various villages, as Ggö-lo and Muan-lo, named after two ravines (*lo*), the upper (*ggö*) and the lower (*muan*), are situated on the opposite west bank. At Yu-lo the trail turns at right angles down to the Yangtze where a flat-bottomed ferry crosses it to the hamlet of Ggö-lo (PLATE 114). The elevation at the river bank is 6,070 feet. A fine view is obtained from here of Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv (H-M., Tja-ta-schan) (PLATE 115).⁶

Along the steep slopes of the western Yangtze valley wall, covered with a xerophytic type of vegetation, the rocky trail continues at an elevation of 6,500 feet. There is no cultivation along the trail, until we reach the next village of Muan-lo overlooking the entrance of the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. On the

⁵ The word *yu*, second tone for tobacco may have its origin in the word *yu*, first tone, meaning a wilted fallen leaf, the Na-khi observing that the wilted leaves of the plant are used in smoking.

⁶ HANDEL-MAZZETTI'S Tja-ta-schan can again be traced to the unfamiliarity of the Na-khi with the Chinese language. His guide, apparently ignorant of the real name of the mountain, and being close to a rather important village called Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭 (Bridge-head village), in which district the mountain is also situated, called it Ch'iao-t'ou shan, whence Tja-ta-schan.

eastern slopes of the valley are situated the hamlets of Lu-na-wùa, K'ò-da-gkv, and Lă-gkv-wùa, in the order named, from south to north. The last hamlet is opposite Muan-lo.

On the eastern valley slopes, back of the villages of Yu-lo, etc., is a detached bowl-shaped mountain; it is an extinct crater and is called in Chinese Ta-huo Shan 大火山 (Great volcano (H-M., Tahosa). On its slopes facing the gorge is a settlement of Li-su tribespeople, their hamlets being also called Ta-huo-shan, while on the western slope in the crater-like depression is the Chung-chia hamlet called La-muan-dze. The Chung-chia 狷家 are immigrants from Kuei-chou; they have a phonetic writing resembling that of the Lo-lo but with differences. Handel-Mazzetti first mentioned the Chung-chia (H-M., Tschundja) as occurring in the above village (PLATE 116).

At the foot of Ta-huo Shan, on the very banks of the Yangtze near the hamlet of Lër-k'o-ndu, the last village on the eastern valley slopes, is a hot spring much frequented by the Na-khi. The square pool is divided into two halves, apparently for men and women. During the rainy season when the Yangtze is in flood these springs are sometimes submerged.

On the western valley slopes, immediately opposite the Yangtze entrance into the gorge, is the hamlet La-tsa-ku 拉咱古, called in Na-khi La-dza-wua-gkv (H-M., Ladsaku), elevation 6,650 feet. From here, as well as from the fan-like terrace south of it, a magnificent view of the entrance to this tremendous gorge unfolds itself (PLATE 117).

From La-tsa-ku the trail descends into the valley of the Chung-tien River, the Chinese Chung-chiang Ho 中江河, called in Na-khi Yü-ndo gyi (PLATE 118). From the mouth of the river it is $3\frac{3}{4}$ li to the village of Ch'iao-t'ou (H-M., Tjiautou) (Bridge-head). Across the wooden bridge over the river at Ch'iao-t'ou, one trail leads north to Chung-tien, and one east into the Yangtze gorge; elevation 6,220 feet. All the villages on the west bank of the Yangtze, are under the jurisdiction of the magistracy of Chung-tien.

3. THE GORGE OF 'A-TS'AN-GKO

Ch'iao-t'ou (Ndso-ndu in Na-khi) is 103 li from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö, which is 35 li from the town of Li-chiang, a total of 138 li.

Beyond, the inhabitants are mainly Tibetans. Ch'iao-t'ou is inhabited purely by Na-khi, who do, however, speak Tibetan besides their own language and Chinese. Although north of Ch'iao-t'ou are mostly Tibetans, Na-khi are also to be found up to the hamlet of T'o-mu-na, called T'o-mu-lang 拖木朗 in Chinese.

Crossing the bridge at Ch'iao-t'ou the trail ascends the hill-side east of it into fields and a large grove of oaks (*Quercus serrata*), and thence a short distance beyond to the poor hamlet of Lă-ndo situated on a treeless bluff at an elevation of 6,400 feet — indeed a dreary site. The heat is intense in these valleys and gorges, so that the children run about as they were born, without a stitch of clothing.

Here the trail turns sharply into the gorge, and from 7,000 feet elevation a grand view of it is obtained. While the rocks at Ch'iao-t'ou are mostly porphyry, those at the entrance of the gorge are quartz and slate. The trail

is exasperatingly rocky and very narrow, resembling more a stairway than a path, being only a foot wide in places. In many instances it has disappeared, having dropped into the Yangtze over 1,000 feet below. The scenery is, however, beyond words to describe. We ascend steeply over boulders and rocks whence a sharp turn brings us into an amphitheater with steeply-terraced fields, at the back of which, at an elevation of 7,350 feet, is situated the hamlet of No-yü (H-M., Loyü), a distance of 16¾ li. The mountains are here forested with pines.

In 1922 the Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans occupied the gorge at No-yü, and against regular soldiers despatched from Ta-li with machine-guns, they stood their ground and kept up their fire. They had driven out the officials from Chung-tien and robbed the Chinese soldiers of their rifles.

Opposite No-yü are stupendous limestone crags, the last spurs of the range, which extend parallel to the broad mountain mass of Gyi-nà lo-gkv (H-M., Dyinaloko), or better Gyi-nà nv-lv (Black water snow peak). This name can well be adopted, for the first and highest peak is often spoken of as P'ër nv-lv (White snow peak), and Nv-lv-p'ër and Gkyi nv-lv (Cloud snow peak). A deep ravine called Muan-gko-hsi in the local dialect extends from the foot of the crags, separating them from Ta-huo Shan; three or four Li-su families eke out a precarious existence on its steep slopes.

The view in the gorge itself is unsurpassed. Here the snow-topped crags, glittering like a crown of diamonds, arise to a height of 17,000 feet into the turquoise-blue Tibetan skies, while at their feet, more than 10,000 feet below, flows one of the mightiest rivers of Asia. Deeper becomes the gorge and narrower, and the placid stream turns into an angry, surging, whirling mass of foam and spray as it is forced into the narrow rocky prison it has cut for itself. One staggers as one beholds the power and voracity of this stream which has cut the dark, solid limestone, gnawing at the very foundation of this mighty range, the Jade dragon Mountain. Ever onward surge the mighty waters, cutting ever deeper and overcoming every obstacle, even be it a mountain range nearly 20,000 feet in height.

The gorge is always full of haze and photography is, therefore, difficult, unless one employs infra-red films. The Yangtze, whose waters here are of a deep greenish-blue, flows so placidly in the gorge up to No-yü that it is impossible to say in which direction it is running (PLATE 119).

From the hamlet of No-yü, with its twelve Na-khi families, the trail ascends steeply in incredible zigzags over boulders and rock piles, from 7,300 feet, up the face of a nearly vertical cliff to the top of a lateral spur at an elevation of 8,700 feet, or nearly 3,000 feet above the river. Oak trees grow along the cliff overhanging the deep void, and through their branches are visible in a blue haze the cliffs on the other side of the river. There is no lens made which would take in on one plate the river and the topmost crags of this gorge. One's head reels looking down into the narrow chasm with the mighty crags towering thousands of feet above the surging waters.

The trail now enters pine forest clinging to the mighty slopes, and from a bluff directly in front one beholds the tremendous gorge. Looking upstream is a huge rapid, the river hemmed in by the talus fan of a lateral torrent which descends at a terrific angle into the Yangtze (PLATE 120). Looking down-

stream one beholds a succession of rapids (a total of 34 rapids through the entire gorge) — stretches of churning white with alternating bands of blue-green (PLATE 121). To the right, or south, the walls are perfectly straight, culminating into snow-capped pinnacles and battlements of limestone, grey and forbidding, with here and there patches of forests clinging tenaciously to the buttresses in their lower or middle portion.

A sharp turn of the trail and we come to the small Na-khi hamlet of Gyi-p'ër-lo (H-M., Dyipalo) (White water gorge or valley). It is the last real Na-khi hamlet in the gorge and is called in Chinese Liang-chia-ts'un 兩家村 (Two-family village), although seven families make their home in that most isolated of all places, elevation 7,775 feet. Although available land for cultivation is very scarce, these families have their small oak grove and enclosure with stone altar (*muan-bpö d'a*), in which they make their offerings and propitiate Heaven in the first week of the first moon. There are, however, a few Na-khi settlements further on, but not worthy of the name village.

The rocks here are white limestone, rose-quartz, and porphyry. Across on the north side of the gorge they are slate and schist, except the summit crags and the south wall of the gorge, which are limestone.

Gyi-p'ër-lo is situated in a veritable chaos of rocks (PLATE 122) a most untidy place and having the appearance as if a cyclone or earth-quake had ruined it. From this forlorn hamlet of seven families, the trail descends through dusty, stony fields into a wilderness of boulders, becoming next to impassable, while the heat is unbearable, the thermometer registering 102° Fahr. (March, 1931). On the mighty cliff opposite, on what appears as a large white scar, there is visible a black patch of rock resembling a mule and a human figure riding astride. This, the Na-khi say, is one of the seven female wind-spirits, called 'A-ts'an-bo-a-ndü-mì, who howls during the night when danger lurks and death is to take its toll. She and her six co-spirits are propitiated in a special ceremony called *Här-la-lü k'ö*, and their names, etc., are given in two special books called *Här-shu* and *Bpö-lü-k'u* (PLATE 229).

The trail from here turns straight up a vertical wall with overhanging cliffs, and in endless zigzags we climb and climb in the heat of the afternoon sun in this arid waste of stone, to an elevation of 8,000 feet. The rock walls are folded into incredible shapes, testifying to Nature's terrific convulsions.

Arrived at the top of a spur we behold in a shallow amphitheater, above steeply sloping, terraced fields and hemmed in by cliffs, the scattered hamlet of Boa-ndü-wüa, or Boa-dü-wüa (Pen-ti-wan 本地灣 in Chinese), elevation 7,900 feet. It is possible to bring pack animals as far as this place, but not with the Yünnanese saddle-frames, only such as the Tibetans use, where the load is directly tied on to the saddle. From here on, porters have to be employed to carry the tents and other camping equipment through the gorge, for no animal could manage the difficult stretches of trail which remain to be negotiated. Above the village of Pen-ti-wan (H-M., Bundua) is fir (*Abies*) and spruce (*Picea*) forest, overtopped by the mighty snow-capped crags of Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv, the fourth peak in height of the snow range. There is little level space and even the pitching of a tent becomes a problem. Here are no more Na-khi, but Li-su and Chinese families, squatters from Ssu-ch'uan who have selected this difficult region to extract from the barren soil barely

enough to keep body and soul together. They come in contact with no one, and are left alone by the officials, who probably are unaware of their existence. The distance from No-yü to Pen-ti-wan is 37 li, but most of it is vertical rather than horizontal. Like an ant one must crawl over the exasperating trail where progress is slow, to say the least.

From Pen-ti-wan the trail leads across the fields to the foot of the cliff at 8,000 feet, which it ascends in short zigzags — a veritable rock slide — to 8,500 feet elevation. The going is appalling and I wondered at the time why people, whose lot has cast them into such surroundings, should be so indifferent to improve it. At best they were leading a precarious, makeshift existence among a pile of rocks and in a gorge, through which the wind howls as hot as from the mouth of Hades.

From the top of the spur we enter another but smaller amphitheatrical depression with a central small spur, below which were a few terraced fields and two lonely huts sheltering four families. This insignificant settlement bears the name of Ya-ch'ang-ko 雅昌角 which the Na-khi call Ya-cha-lo and 'A-ts'an-lo, the village deriving its name from the cliffs between Gyi-p'ér-lo and Pen-ti-wan known as 'A-ts'an-gko.

Winding in and out of two ravines we come to a spur with overhanging rock ledges, which project into the Yangtze gorge. Here from an elevation of 8,350 feet one can see in the distance down-stream the famous narrows which the Chinese have baptized the Hu-t'iao-t'an 虎跳灘 or Chiang Yü (Tiger-leap rapid or river), (PLATE 123). Near it was visible a curved wall extending from the right cliff into the stream-bed; at the foot of this wall, which seemed to completely dam the stream-bed, the river was one white mass of whirling foam.

From this spur the trail leads along the limestone cliff, from bluff to bluff, to a grove of oaks and pines, where under an overhanging cliff crystal-clear water gushes forth. Above, nestled against the cliff, is Kuan-yin Miao 觀音廟, a shrine dedicated to the Goddess of Mercy. From a bluff beyond the shrine the trail emerges onto open grass-covered slopes with here and there a pine tree, indeed a relief from the dreary surroundings of Pen-ti-wan, which has the appearance of a giant mole-hill thrown up topsy-turvy. The trail now skirts another ravine and emerges below a homestead, if such it can be called, with a few terraced fields, inhabited by Na-khi.

We follow the grassy slopes to a deep ravine called Ta-shen-kou 大深溝 (Great deep gorge). The hamlet and a few homesteads are also known by that name. From the edge of the ravine, near a few stone huts where three Na-khi families dwell in utter isolation at an elevation of 6,870 feet, we climbed down to a bluff directly over the Hu-t'iao-t'an (rapid) and took photographs of the narrowest part of the Yangtze down- and upstream, showing the many other rapids (PLATES 124, 125). Hu-t'iao-t'an itself, being directly below the overhanging bluff, remained invisible. The only place from where it could be seen is the other side of the Ta-shen-kou ravine, but as there is no trail across, and both sides are vertical, it is impossible to get there. The scenery here is truly stupendous. Opposite, on the right bank of the Yangtze, a cliff of limestone rises 10,000 feet forming the northern wall of the snow range or, to be more precise, the wall of the parallel range to Gyi-nà nv-lv, third highest peak of the snow range (19,356 feet). The wall facing south is formed by the fourth peak

and its crags, Ha-ba nv-lv or Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv (Ha-ba Snow peak), 18,700 feet in height.

Arrived at the edge of the deep Ta-shen-kou ravine, elevation 7,150 feet, which has its source on Ha-ba nv-lv, the trail leads up it, narrow and precipitous in the extreme. The lower slopes are grass-covered, with here and there pure stands of cane-brake (*Arundinaria*). At the wooden bridge which spans the torrent of the ravine one beholds grandeur of scenery which is difficult to describe. The two sides of the yellowish-red cliffs, sheer and precipitous, form a gate lined with a few evergreen oaks with golden foliage (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), through which one views the deeply cleft and crenellated limestone wall rearing its pinnacled, snow-capped crown thousands of feet into the turquoise-blue sky, and at its foot the blue-green surging waters of the Yangtze. (PLATE 126). Indeed a picture of indescribable beauty.

From the bridge, elevation 7,450 feet, the trail ascends the vertical wall of Ta-shen-kou in zigzags to an elevation of 8,000 feet; a bluff here overlooks the Yangtze, which flows over 2,000 feet below. From the bluff the trail leads into a large and broad amphitheater-like depression sloping steeply to the Yangtze. At an elevation of 7,800 feet, is a village of Chinese squatters from Ssu-ch'uan called Ho-t'ao-yüan 核桃園 (Walnut garden). Its name in Na-khi is Yü-hoa-t'an (Sheep nest bottom). Fourteen families dwell here in utter isolation: the most forlorn, rocky, dusty, waste imaginable. Its fields are narrow terraced strips with scattered mounds of rocks.

In this waste Ssu-ch'uanese have settled for 60 years and built their houses of stone. The people are filthy to a degree, black with the grime of years, their garments rags of hemp cloth, their untanned goatskin jackets sewn together haphazardly, the edges of the ragged skins not even trimmed. The majority of these people are cretins, indifferent to their surroundings, they rummage from hill-side to hill-side to find enough to keep body and soul together. A tiny spring, shaded by a willow, in the center of the dreary waste forms their water supply. How the name "Walnut garden" originated is not known, for not a single tree of that species is visible.

From this village the ground rises steeply to the foot of the forested cliffs. Here the entire landscape appears to have undergone some terrific convulsion, for half the mountain-side lies about in enormous boulders or blocks of rocks a hundred or more feet across. It is as if the mountain had been split with a giant crowbar into myriads of pieces scattered over the hill-sides. Among these ruins a few Chinese have built their homes of rock, using the boulders as part walls for their cheerless, dreary abodes.

Passing by these stone dwellings the trail ascends the limestone cliffs through oak forests to the top of the spur at 9,150 feet elevation, and thence skirts the wild and stupendous rock walls, with chutes and landslides 4,000 feet in length descending everywhere. It leads to another bluff 9,700 feet in height where some lonely pines cling to it by the side of the trail which has been cut out of the living rock. We continue to skirt the terrific cliffs, now forested with oaks, cane-brake, pines, and lovely rhododendron bushes with from pale pink to deep rose-red flowers. We have left the arid belt and a cool breeze makes climbing easier. On and on we go skirting the vertical walls of this deep canyon, and in a final effort, as if to conquer all, the trail leads in zigzags to the

top of the spur and to a gap cut through the wall of solid rock at an elevation of 10,000 feet (PLATE 127). The Yangtze roars over 4,000 feet below and yet above us cliffs and crags rise still 5,000 feet higher (PLATE 128). This gap, called Han-p'o-ling 漢坡嶺, is at the exit of the gorge which the River of Golden Sand has cut for itself through the mighty limestone range poetically called Jade dragon Mountain.

It was hazy in the extreme and the Yangtze hardly visible as it flowed through the Ta-ku plain. Although the total length of the gorge is approximately 100 li, we spent five days in this chasm, two of which were in camp and three on the march.

The cliff on the right bank of the Yangtze has various Chinese names which appear on a local map of Li-chiang. Opposite the Tiger-leap rapid part of the cliff is known as Ta-ngai-fang 大岩房 (Great cliff house); opposite Ho-t'ao-yüan the cliff is known as Hei-feng-t'ang 黑風塘 (Black wind embankment). Further on two more names appear for sections of the vertical limestone wall — Chin-kuei-tzu 金櫃子 (Golden cupboard) and Chi-kuan-liang 雞冠梁 (Cock's comb ridge). The latter is on the right bank at the exit of the great gorge.

4. THROUGH THE HA-BA DISTRICT

Describing a broad bend, the river makes its way through the plain of Nda-gv (Ta-ku) (PLATE 129) until it strikes the massive mountain wall of Dzu-ku nv-lv, some 15,000 feet in height, which forces it to flow north.

From the gap Han-p'o-ling we now leave the gorge and descend zigzag through pine forest to another hanging valley of much more cheerful aspect than any we have encountered since leaving No-yü. It is called Shui-chien-ch'ao 水欄巢 (also written 水梘槽), where some Chinese had once tried to settle but were forced to abandon it for lack of water. Here we camped in peace at 9,100 feet elevation.

The trail leads from Shui-chien-ch'ao somewhat zigzag down the valley, through forest of pine and oak and lovely rhododendron undergrowth, to the edge of the waterless ravine. Here at 8,400 feet grew large cornus trees, wild plums with cream-colored flowers, *Lonicera*, *Ligustrums*, and fine-leaved *Aralias*. Instead of descending further, the trail continues on to a pine-covered bluff where the Yangtze and the village of Ta-ku are still visible. It skirts the forested hill-side and emerges in a shallow and arid ravine called Bo-shi whose grassy head we cross and ascend the spur dividing it from another, also waterless, ravine called Ghügh-nun lo in Na-khi or En-nu kou 恩怒溝 in Chinese (H.-M., Yüna), at an elevation of 8,250 feet. Here the country is all limestone and covered with pines and oaks.

A gradual ascent brings us to the hamlet of Ghügh-nun, elevation, 8,550 feet. This is the first hamlet in Ha-ba, excepting those encountered in the gorge. Instead of entering the village we ride across the rocky plateau covered with old scrub oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*). The scenery here is wild and beautiful; to the west is the glorious Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv Snow range, with a deep gorge, similar to Sa-ba lo-gkv, dividing it into the lesser peaks which line the Yangtze gorge, and the main peak with a broad glacier which extends

north. Were it not for the absence of water, a more beautiful camping spot would be difficult to find.

To the east of the Ha-ba snow range, the northern limit of Jade dragon Mountain, is a beautiful, gravelly plain called Sho-ko dü, with dense pine forest extending to the foot of the range. Our trail leads across the plain to where it is flanked by a broad spur or hill-side 900 feet high. This spur closes the entire plain to the north, and resembles a huge lava flow of enormous thickness, but is, of course, composed of limestone like the rest of that region. The track ascends the spur more or less gradually through wonderful forest of *Pinus yünnanensis* to the summit, which is at 9,900 feet elevation (PLATE 130).

From the top of this spur we look down into a peculiar bowl-shaped depression hemmed in on the west by the Ha-ba snow peaks, in the north by a high spur, and in the east by another spur, but with an outlet, thus forming really a valley which leads out to the Yangtze. In this bowl-like depression is situated the scattered hamlet of 30 families called Ha-ba. We descend over the spur, which on its northern slope is mainly forested with the Yün-nan white pine (*Pinus Armandi*), while the yellow pine (*Pinus yünnanensis*) covers the southern and drier slopes. The former pine is more moisture-loving and thus chooses the northern slopes where the snow does not melt so quickly. Here on this spur there are also several springs and small ponds. *Tsuga* (hemlock trees) occur in the ravines.

The trail leads down to a meadow crossed by a crystal-clear stream, and makes a sharp turn straight to the foot-hills of the Ha-ba Snow peak (PLATE 131). Here in a marvellous grove of hemlock trees (*Tsuga yünnanensis*) and tall white pines, a spring gushes forth from under the huge limestone boulders of which the foot-hills are composed. To the Na-khi of Ha-ba this is a place sacred to the Llü-mun (Serpent spirits), whom they propitiate. They hold here an annual fair on the 8th day of the second moon, when crowds come to worship, and when their sorcerers perform the *Ssu-gv* ceremony, that is, the propitiation of the serpent spirits and the Garuḍa, whom they call Dtu-p'ër Khyu-t'khyu.

5. FROM HA-BA TO BBËR-DDËR

The Bbër-ddër territory. — Bbër-ddër, is purely Na-khi and the people still live in their primitive state uncontaminated by Chinese manners and customs. This is due to the almost inaccessible location of their territory protected in the east by the Yangtze in its deep gorges, and in the west by snow peaks and ranges, the passes of which are closed for several months in the year. It is a world of its own.

Bbër-ddër is a large, sloping, triangular basin, bordered in the west by the Ta-ra mountains, which are a continuation of the Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv Range extending north to south. The pass Hsüeh-men-k'an 雪門砍 is its western outlet. In the north it is bounded by the mountains of A-nà-ngv⁷ (H-M.,

⁷ A-nà Ngyu also A-nà-ngv after a Na-khi village by that name, in Chinese An-nan-ku (Mountain of the village of An-nan-ku-ch'ang 安南古廠), is 200 li south-east of Chung-tien and is also called Pei-ti Shan. In the winter and spring the mountain is covered with snow. Sixty li south of it is a *ling-ch'üan* ("mysterious spring"). This refers to the carbonate of lime spring at Bbër-ddër or Pei-ti. In the south A-nà-ngv adjoins the Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv

Anangu), beyond which are Tibetans; to the east by the Bběr-p'ĕr gyi (White water Stream) of Bběr or Bběr-dděr (H-M., Bapadyi), which has its source in the mountains north of A-nà-ngv; the Bběr-p'ĕr gyi flows south into the Gyi-na lo (Black water gorge), which is the southern border dividing Bběr-dděr from Ha-ba. North-east of the Bběr-p'ĕr gyi are the high mountains of Gkü-dü (H-M., Kü-dü), which is Na-khi and ruled by Chung-tien. The altitude of Bběr-dděr is 8,000 feet, varying somewhat as the land slopes towards the south, the lowest hamlet at the edge of Gyi-na lo valley being at 7,600 feet elevation.

Handel-Mazzetti calls Bběr-dděr Bō-dō: this is perhaps a wrong transcription of the name Bběr-dděr, unless he meant Bpö dü, the land of the Bpö (mbö), or Dto-mba (Na-khi sorcerers), for it is here that the Bpö-mbö still have the strongest hold on the people, although they have few of their religious books or manuscripts left. The Tibetan bandits, who have often laid waste their poor hamlets by setting fire to them, are responsible for the very few books now in existence, as most of them perished with the homes of the people.

Bacot also calls Bběr-dděr, Bedjri. This is to be understood as Mbe-ddü (Large village), as the largest village of Bběr-dděr is often called. In the word *ddü* the *d* is neither soft nor hard and corresponds perhaps to the Tibetan *gr* as in the word *sgrolma*, hence probably Bacot's transcription of *ddü* as *djri*. The eight villages of Bběr-dděr not six as given by Bacot, are: Pu-du-wüa, A-ru-wüa,⁸ Ghügh-tu-wüa, Wu-shu-wüa (PLATE 132), Bpu-wüa, Ghügh-shu-wüa, Shui-chia 水家⁹ and Gu-dü.

The Gyi-na lo flows into the P'u-wüa lo, named after the village of P'u-wüa situated in its valley, and debouches in a deep, narrow gorge into the Yangtze. The P'u-wüa is joined by the So-lo-dzu from the south at about the same point as the Gyi-na lo joins it, a sharp angular ridge sloping to the north separating the two.

The word *wüa* means to pile up, heap together; another meaning, read in the same tone, is house. It probably refers to a collection of houses, hence is a suffix to the village name of which it must however be considered a part, although village in Na-khi is *mbe*.

The trail from Ha-ba. — From the scattered hamlet of Ha-ba the trail turns north to the foot of the spur which we ascend, skirting a valley which joins the Ha-ba lo (Ha-ba valley), quite a distance below. From a bluff called Wa-⁴a mbu, 9,250 feet, the trail leads up a lateral ravine to a saddle at an elevation of 9,420 feet, and descends into a lovely valley over a broad earth road, the

a continuation of the Li-chiang Snow range, from which it is separated by the Yangtze. To the west of the Pei-ti Shan is the Shih-erh-lan-kan Shan 十二欄杆山, which is 105 li south of Chung-tien. (*Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 22, fol. 29.)

⁸ The name A-ru-wüa shows Tibetan influence. The Na-khi have no initial *r* in their language, and the Li-chiang Na-khi would pronounce it A-lv-wüa, or A-lu-wüa.

⁹ It is strange why the largest village, or Mbe-ddü (BACOT's Bedjri), should have the Chinese name of Shui-chia (Water family), but that was the only name given me for the village, except Mbe-ddü (Large village) which is, of course, its Na-khi name on account of its being the largest. HANDEL-MAZZETTI also was given the name of Shui-chia (his Schuidja) for the largest village, and the Chinese Pei-ti is probably an imitation of the Na-khi name Mbe-ddü, though it may also be in imitation of Bběr-dděr, HANDEL-MAZZETTI's Bō-dō.

slopes densely forested with pines and large oaks with undergrowth of brilliant pink, red and white-flowered rhododendrons. It was like walking in fairyland — birds singing and the atmosphere cool and pleasant. The ravine opens out into an oblong, cultivated basin encircled by forested hills. The fields were planted with wheat, and the hamlet to which they belonged, called T'khi-dtü in Na-khi, and in the dialect of Ha-ba, Chi-chür (H-M., Tjatü), nestled against the mountain slope. From here there is to be had a beautiful vista of the high limestone mountains of Gkü-dü, 15,420 feet in height. (PLATE 133.)

Instead of descending to the village the trail keeps to the mountain spur in virgin pine forest. A deep valley is to the east or right of us with narrow, terraced rice-fields far below. Here are excellent camping places, for little streams cross our path everywhere. Near these streams are offerings to the water-spirits of large *k'o-byu*¹⁰ painted with dancing Dto-mba and spirits; other offerings consist of wooden tea-bowls, baskets, goat skins and cane-brake with colored paper tied to it.

We continue in dense forest on the steep hill-side at 8,850 feet elevation. To the east below us is the hamlet of A-wüa, of 20 families, with its terraced rice-fields. The gorge which we have been following over a trail leading high above it is called So-lo-dzu. The path skirts a ravine and leads to a pass, elevation 8,800 feet. The eastern spur of the So-lo-dzu forms the western valley wall of the Yangtze, while the eastern wall is formed by the 16,000 feet high Ha-ba su-p'e-zu (H-M., Hsuetschou schan).¹¹

Here, at the foot of a sharp angular ridge sloping north, is the confluence of the So-lo-dzu (from the south) and (from the west) the Gyi-na lo which rises in the Hsüeh-men-k'an mountains and receives *en route* from the north the Bbër-p'ër gyi. United these streams flow east into the Yangtze as the P'u-wüa gyi in the deep canyon called P'u-wüa lo. The Yangtze makes a sharp turn at the mouth of the P'u-wüa.

From the pass, in the north were visible the high mountains of Gkü-dü, at the foot of which the Yangtze flows northwards. In this immense landscape of stupendous chasms, snow-covered peaks, vast rocky ranges and lovely forests, one feels like a fly on a windowpane. There is often not level ground enough to pitch a tent; the vertical surfaces exceed many times the horizontal.

We follow now the edge of Gyi-na lo, high above the valley floor, the terraced fields of the village of Wa-shwua (H-M., Waschua) far below us. Wa-shwua is composed of 100 Na-khi families. Pine forest still covers the spur, but soon we come out onto a rocky waste with scrub vegetation, the rocks being sharp, rough limestone. Crossing a bluff with a dry basin which in the

¹⁰ *K'o-byu* are pine boards roughly cut, usually oblong, several feet in length, about four inches broad and half an inch thick. (Plate 135.) Their bases are wedge-shaped so as to be stuck into the ground, their surfaces are planed, and the apex is either triangular or truncate. When truncate it is an offering to the headless demons called *Dtër*; the particular deities, spirits or demons to whom they are offered are usually painted with other symbols on the surface of the board. In this particular case the Llü-mun (water-spirits) were painted on them, with dancing Dto-mba (To-pa 多巴 in Chinese) suppressing the malevolent ones. See: J. F. Rock, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E.O.* T. XXXIX, 1939, Plates XX-XXX.

¹¹ This is the Mount Bonvalot of GERVAIS COURTELLEMONT, which is in fact part of Hua-ti-yi nv-lv, a limestone range a little farther north.

rainy season becomes a large pond, we emerge onto a plateau of reddish soil with bushes of *Cotoneaster*, wild pears, and scrub-pines.

We descend into the Gyi-na lo gorge from a bluff overlooking it (7,700 feet elevation) to a bridge which spans the torrent at an elevation of 7,300 feet. Ascending the other side of the valley we strike the first hamlet in BbĚr-ddĚr in a shallow basin with terraced fields, called Bu-du-wù, at an elevation of 7,600 feet. Here we met the first BbĚr-ddĚr Na-khi, a most painfully polite people, who knelt down and kowtowed at our approach. The young men are stalwart fellows, tall and well built; they wear homespun hemp-c'oth trousers and jacket of a dull white to light gray, and either go barefoot or wear straw sandals (PLATE 134). The front half of the head is shaven, the hair plaited in a queue at the back. When asked why they still wear queues, they replied that if they cut them off the Tibetans would kill them. They live in constant fear and dread of the Chung-tien and Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans.

From Bu-du-wù, with its friendly people, we turned again towards the mountains, passing through rice-fields and crossing a small ravine, after which we arrived at a hamlet on a hill-top called Bpu-wù, elevation 8,300 feet. Here also the people were very friendly and all volunteered to help, some to guide us and others to see that the caravan should not miss the trail.

The limestone spring and terraces of BbĚr-p'ĕr-dtĕr. — From Bpu-wù we followed along the hill-side to a deep ravine with the most peculiar limestone terraces and sinter basins, a miniature Yellowstone or Roturua, minus geysers and hot springs. These terraces, which extend deep down into the ravine, are called BbĚr-p'ĕr-dtĕr and are at an elevation of 8,650 feet. The valley in which they are situated is called BbĚr-p'ĕr-dshi.

The terraces owe their origin to a carbonate-of-lime-bearing spring flowing from a hill which on its south side is attached to the mountain spurs; to the west and north the hill is surrounded by deep ravines which descend from the Ta-ra mountains in the west and immediately behind it. The hill is several hundred feet high and the spring in its center, shaded by oaks and willows, is clear as crystal, only about two feet deep and about four feet in diameter (PLATE 135). In the immediate neighborhood of the spring all appears normal, yet some 10 to 15 feet away the water, which flows gently over a grassy flat, has built up shelves of calc-sinter which appear as if floating on the surface of the deep clear pools. Every shrub and plant is encrusted with a thick layer of carbonate of lime. Beyond the pools is a flat of cream-colored limestone, composed of myriads of petrified ripples or fine corrugations, deposited by the wavelets of the carbonate-of-lime-bearing water.

Thus was built up a succession of marvellous terraces over the entire hill, created bulging promontories with shallow basins, the water flowing gently and noiselessly over these queer structures, ever depositing its sediment. The basins and terraces have all the appearance of being artificial. Some resemble a terraced, flooded rice-field awaiting planting, save that the water is a bluish-white and the banks of the terrace a creamy-yellow, with millions of corrugations, every wavelet a thin shell of lime, of which there must be thousands of layers. The whole structure sounds hollow as one walks over it, but it does not break. With the continuous deposit from the gently flowing waters the ter-

race becomes higher in one place, causing the water to desert its old terrace and to flow over the hill in another direction, to build anew. The whole hill is therefore covered with ancient basins and terraces, some much broken and covered with vegetation and of a dark grey, resembling the hide of an elephant. Some of the circular basins are fully 20 feet broad, yet are only a foot or less deep, growing ever taller like stalagmites, which they really are, with the only difference that instead of shedding all the water, they retain a quantity in a shallow, broad basin. (PLATES 136, 137, 138.)

One part of the terrace is especially high, forming a large, bulging promontory resembling the fat-bellied god of the Chinese, Mi-le-fo 彌勒佛, whose name it bears (PLATE 139). Below the bulge is a natural slit in the limestone which communicates with the interior. Here barren women come to pray for children, burning incense before the opening.

In the shallow sinter basins, as well as in the furrows and corrugations of the terraces over which the water flows, there are to be found millions of pisolites or oölites, resembling the roe of fish. These are formed around minute algæ which are the nuclei of the pisolites. They are not exactly round, but somewhat oblong and flattened and never thicker than the depth of the water which flows over them. They differ notably from pisolites known from similar sinter basins and terraces, as those of Madagascar and the Yellowstone of America. Instead of being composed of concentric rings, they are dichotomously branched. They are constantly rolled back and forth by the flowing water; the basins are full of them, though they never grow larger than a pea.¹²

The natives and their sorcerers look upon this terrace as sacred and as being the property of the *Llū-mun*, the equivalent of the Chinese dragon kings and the Tibetan *Lu* (serpent spirits; written *kLu*). *K'o-byu* offerings adorn the spring (PLATE 135), as also paper streamers, saplings, etc. Under the trees is a stone altar on which the *Dto-mba* (priests) burn pine branches and incense, while they chant incantations to propitiate the *Llū-mun*. They have a special ceremony called *Ssu-gv*, during which many books are chanted and many objects offered to propitiate the serpent spirits. The books of this ceremony, as well as those belonging to numerous other ceremonies performed by the *Na-khi*, I have translated and these will form two separate volumes.

The spring and terraces have no connection with the deep ravine and valley which encircle this hill; the water is forced up to the surface from hundreds of feet below. It forms the water-supply of most of the villages of *Bbër-ddër*. Goitre is very prevalent, but the inhabitants should never suffer from indigestion. The water is conveyed to the villages first in a ditch and then in wooden flumes which, after having been in use for a certain time, have a most curious appearance. The ditches are encrusted with lime and the flumes have become so filled with it that the boards merely serve as support for the limestone which has been built up above the edge and bulges over the boards. The water thus flows in a limestone trough several inches above the original flume. At *Gu-dù* the water empties from the flume to the ground. Here the mouths of the hollowed out logs which serve as troughs look as if they were covered with icicles. The main stream of water has formed a stalactite, while from the ground

¹² DR. HOFFET, of the Geological Service of Indo-China, kindly analysed these pisolites for me.

a stalagmite has risen, the two meeting and acting as a bridge for the water.

Back of the village of Gu-dù is a large enclosure surrounded by beautiful oaks; this is the great *muān-bpō d'a* (place of worship) where the people of BbĚr-ddĚr propitiate Heaven.

The hamlets are dirty, as are the inhabitants. The foundations of the houses are built of rock with a superstructure of logs and mud bricks. Others, again, are made entirely of logs, like Swiss chalets. They are low and their roofs of boards are weighted down with rocks (PLATE 132). The women are very shy and flee like deer at one's approach. They wear a much-pleated skirt of hemp cloth, similar to the women of Mba-yi-wùā and those of the Miao tribe.

The sacred grotto Shi-lo ne-k'o. — BbĚr-ddĚr is a famous place of pilgrimage, for it is the wish of every Dto-mba, or Na-khi sorcerer (perhaps better called priest), to visit BbĚr-ddĚr once in his life and make a pilgrimage to Shi-lo ne-k'o, a cave in the mountains hemming in BbĚr-ddĚr to the east. This cave is also, but less commonly, spoken of as Shi-lo 'a-k'o. There Dto-mba Shi-lo, founder of the Na-khi religion (Shamanism), was said to have lived, and from there he taught the people and spread his creed. Dto-mba Shi-lo is none other than sTon-pa gShen-rabs (pronounced Tön-pa Shen-rab), founder of the ancient pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet, often also spoken of as Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-bo ཨོན་པ་གཤེན་རབ་མི་བོ་, the word Tön-pa (Na-khi, Dto-mba)

meaning teacher. The Na-khi have no *r* nor do they pronounce clearly a final consonant unless it be a nasal one. They therefore call him Shi-lo or Shü-lo instead of Shen-rab.¹³

Tön-pa Shenrab himself is, however, not meant, but, as the Dto-mbas say, one of his later incarnations who dwelled in that cave. No date is given and it is impossible to find out when he lived there. It is, however, a place of pilgrimage for the Dto-mbas, but now very difficult of access on account of the absence of a ferry over the Yangtze.

BbĚr-ddĚr is in itself not a sacred place, but it is a place of pilgrimage because of its sacred spring, BbĚr-p'ĕr-dtĕr, and the sacred cave. Handel-Mazzetti denies that BbĚr-ddĚr is a sacred place of the Mo-so and relies also on the negative statement of the Dutch missionary Kok, who at the time of his visit was resident of the Pentecostal Mission at Li-chiang.

To reach the cave it is necessary to cross the stream BbĚr-p'ĕr gyi and climb the high slopes of old limestone, forested with pine and oaks. At 9,600 feet elevation the cave is reached. It is, however, more of a grotto than a cave. To enter it one has to climb into a chimney-like hole, and it is there that the first Dto-mba was said to have dwelled. There are two such chimney-like chutes separated by a fluted limestone wall, in front of which is an incense burner and a pot for holding water, (probably to perform *Ch'ou-ch'ĕr* purification with water). To the left, below the main entrance, is a stone altar for burning oak and pine branches as offerings (PLATE 140). The Dto-mbas believe that a rock pried loose from the actual wall of the cave and taken home, will make

¹³ See J. F. ROCK, The Birth and Origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo in *Artibus Asiae* Vol. VII, 1938, pp. 5-85, and BEFE-O, T. XXXVII; 1937, I, pp. 1-39.

all demons and evil spirits flee. The possession of such rocks, the Dto-mbas say, will also enable them to better drive out demons when performing their shamanistic rituals.

6. RETURN JOURNEY TO LI-CHIANG BY TA-KU

As the mountain passes were still under snow and as I did not care to repeat the arduous journey through the Yangtze gorge, we decided to leave Bbër-ddër via Ha-ba for Ta-ku (Nda-gv), crossing the Yangtze on inflated goatskins (PLATES 141, 142).

Descending again into the Ha-ba lo basin over the pass Wa-'a mbu, elevation 9,250 feet, we take the trail which leads in the center of the valley over a spur between two streams and fields. This trail is a miserable one, as are all those that pass by villages and through fields, for the peasants collect the rocks in their fields and dump them into the middle of the paths. We pass through the hamlet of Wua-pa-dtu, elevation 8,150 feet, and continue zigzag through nearly the entire inhabited length of Ha-ba, excepting the lowest part in the narrow ravine which debouches into the Yangtze. It is the poorest part, arid and composed of limestone, the stream in a deep gorge below; it has been occupied, however, similarly to unwanted places in the Yangtze gorge, by Ssu-ch'uanese squatters.

The trail crosses the stream which flows along the southern valley wall, much the smaller stream of the two, and then leads up the hill-side along the slopes of the southern valley wall of Ha-ba lo, at an elevation of 7,700 feet. The trail then enters more pleasing country, away from habitations, into lovely pine forest. Looking back a marvellous view is to be had of Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv, the snow peak. Continuing near the top of the spur we come to a grassy bluff and then turn south to the little hamlet called Lă-t'o-dshi, elevation 7,800 feet. Here the Na-khi have adopted Chinese customs and we meet again with graves. From this village we follow the Yangtze up-stream, we going south, the river flowing north, in a deep, barren gorge which on its eastern side is precipitous and composed of grey limestone, culminating into the peaks of Dzu-ku nv-lv. On a terrace overlooking the Yangtze is the hamlet of Lo-ndo.

The pine forest gives way to scrub vegetation and an arid rocky waste without a tree, and the temperature over 100° F. After skirting a ravine with a dry, rocky stream-bed, we turn sharply to the hamlet of Za-ba (H-M., Sabe), elevation 7,100 feet.

To view the exit of the Yangtze gorge, I continued a short distance along a pine-covered spur to a small bluff directly facing its outlet. From the bluff called Ghügh-shi-gku, elevation 7,000 feet a grand vista opens out into the gorge and up the broad slope of the third highest peak of the Li-chiang Snow range, Gyi-nà nv-lv, commonly called Gyi-nà lo-gkv; its summit is a broad, oblong declivity, covered in the upper third with a vast sheet of ice.

From near Ghügh-shi-gku the trail leads over a bare, rocky flat with sandy fields, where the Na-khi of Za-ba grow pumpkins in the summertime. Here is also situated the hamlet of Yu-k'o, elevation 6,200 feet. We cross over the barren, sandy fields to the edge of the Yangtze valley at an elevation of 6,050 feet.

Na-khi swimmers with their goatskins had been summoned from the various villages, and were ready to ferry us across the rapid-flowing river to the opposite shore in the Li-chiang district. Below the edge of the main valley is a terrace over which we made our way and then zigzag to the only place available on the bank of the river, among huge boulders, where loads could be untied. Here also was an eddy in the river which permitted the swimmers to get back to the starting point.

Two of them would undress at a time, fastening the goatskins to their bodies by means of straps over their buttocks, that is, they would slip them on like a pair of trousers. The neck of the skin is held in one hand close to the mouth and is thus easily inflated. The raft consisted of a few sticks to which eight inflated goatskins were tied (PLATE 143). To cross one lay flat on one's stomach on the raft. One man and a trunk or box would be ferried across at a time (PLATE 144). One Na-khi with his inflated goatskin would be in front of the raft, pulling with a rope, and one behind would push. The river was swift indeed. Once in the center of the current the raft is carried down at express speed about one-third of a mile to another eddy among a pile of boulders. The horses and mules must swim; they are held by either one or two men with goatskins tied to their bodies and thus paddle across the river.

The height of the Yangtze near Ta-ku, at the place where one is now ferried across on goatskin rafts, is 5,300 feet. The river thus drops 770 feet in about 115 li (35 miles) from the ferry at Yu-lo (6,070 feet) to the ferry at Ta-ku (5,300 feet). The entire river-bed is conglomerate, like the plain of Ta-ku. The main village of Ta-ku is one and a half li from the river bank and at a height of 5,900 feet above sea-level and 600 feet above the Yangtze.

7. T'AI-TZU TUNG, OR CAVE OF THE HEIR APPARENT, IN A-HSI LI

The Na-khi of Li-chiang believe in three mountain spirits of whom Sa-ddo is the most venerated, as the god of the Li-chiang Snow range. The legends connected with Sa-ddo, or Sa-ddon as he is also spoken of, and the history of his temple at the foot of the snow range on its eastern slopes, etc., is related elsewhere (*see* p. 191-200).

Sa-ddo had two elder brothers. The first was called Aw-wù-a-wù-a, who dwelled on the western slopes of the snow range in a limestone cave called T'ai-tzu tung, after an Imperial heir apparent who came to live there. History is, however, silent as to the identity of the heir apparent or the date of his father's reign.

The second elder brother was called La-gkyi-la-*khü* and his temple is at La-shi Na-ngyu-wù-a, west of Li-chiang, in the district of La-shih-pa.

T'ai-tzu tung is situated on the western slopes of the snow range and is mentioned under the A-khi or A-hsi district to which it belongs. It is visited by crowds of pilgrims during the second moon.

To reach T'ai-tzu tung we follow the same trail over Hār-lër mbu as described on the journey to the Yangtze gorge of 'A-ts'an-gko, as far as T'o-k'ö-shër. From this place instead of descending the valley we turn north through pine forest into a bowl-shaped depression in which is situated the hamlet of Muān-dër, elevation 8,575 feet. As seen from here the crags of the snow range are

of two distinct types, the uppermost, which form its backbone, are of a whitish-grey, while the lower ones are a deep chocolate-colored limestone. The contrast is very striking, especially when illuminated by the setting sun.

From Muan-ndër we ascend a valley densely forested with pine, inhabited by large black woodpeckers with a red cap on top of their head (*Macropicus Forresti*), flying from tree to tree, while in the low oak scrub we found *Pucrasia Meyeri*, the *K'aw-k'aw* of the Na-khi, so named after its call while in search of food over the hill-sides. The trail climbs over a spur whence the Yangtze is visible, and along the pine-forested slopes towards a large gulch (the Gyi-p'ër lo which debouches into the Yangtze); and thence into a bowl-like depression. We have now arrived at the alpine meadow of Lă-dzu gko, elevation 10,700 feet, not exactly a beauty spot, for the forests have been burnt and what is left is being ruined by cattle which the Na-khi bring here to graze.

Leaving Lă-dzu gko we descend over a central spur through lovely pine forest until arrived in a pure stand of tall old oaks. This spur is the divide between the main gorge which descends from Shan-tzu-tou and the little valley in which the T'ai-tzu (tung) cave is situated, and up which our trail leads.

The cave is neither large nor deep, and, like all limestone grottoes, possesses stalagmites and stalactites. In its recesses I found miniature sinter basins and terraces, such as are to be found on a large scale in Bbër-ddër. The elevation of the cave is 8,800 feet (PLATE 145). A splendid view of Shan-tzu-tou and of the entire limestone wall which forms the head of the deep valley Gyi-p'ër lo (White water gorge), is to be had from the T'ai-tzu tung valley.

Near the head of the main gorge the forest is more open and drier and consists of pines only, with undergrowth of Berberis and roses. The elevation is here only 10,600 feet while the head of Sa-ba lo-gkv is over 13,250 feet, a considerable difference in the height of the two gorges, of which the western one is, however, much longer and, unlike the eastern one, has an outlet.

At the head of the Gyi-p'ër lo a gorge extends from the south at the foot of the cliffs of the snow range. It is filled with scree on which there are dark areas, denoting forests of Abies at 14,000 feet or more. This lateral gorge separates the upper white-gray limestone crags from the lower chocolate-colored crags. The dark cliffs, which form the northern wall of the main gorge, are entirely occupied by yellowish-green junipers, handsome, tall, heavy-trunked trees. Junipers love southern, dry exposures where the snow melts quickly, while northern exposures are always occupied by spruces, firs and hemlocks, which like moisture. Here the snows lie for a considerable time and allow a carpet of moss to develop.

The gorge is without a sign of life, not a bird was to be seen. Apparently this is due to its waterless condition, not even a tiny brook being visible. The wall of limestone at the head of the gorge culminating in Shan-tzu-tou, is known to the Na-khi of the Yangtze valley as 'A-dto-daw (Cliff wainscoting) (PLATE 146).

From below the T'ai-tzu tung, the gorge (Gyi-p'ër lo), here called Gyi-p'ër k'a makes a sharp turn north-west to the Yangtze. It is several hundred feet deep, a bridge spanning it at 8,100 feet elevation. From the bridge the stream-bed drops 1,800 feet to where another bridge spans it on the main road at 'A-gaw-mbu, and where it debouches into the Yangtze.

Large *Macacus* monkeys inhabit the central part of this valley. They move in companies, settle in the fields of the neighboring villages, and eat the crops of the farmers, especially those of broad beans and turnips.

Some distance below T'ai-tzu tung a narrow trail leads down into the deep gorge Gyi-p'ër k'a with walls vertical in places, the lower slopes mainly forested with oaks and pines. Here on the western side there is no glacier moraine and the forests extend to the very foot of the cliffs. To where the trail descends into the gorge there is no sign of water, but immediately below the trail there is a tremendous drop in the stream-bed, and from the rock wall a huge volume of water issues, forming a large stream which debouches into the Yangtze at the village of Lü-ts'an.

From where the path (coming from T'ai-tzu tung) strikes the white, waterless stream-bed to the head of the Gyi-p'ër lo gorge is a distance of 10 li. A terrace densely forested is to the south of it, and a woodman's trail leads to the foot of the limestone cliffs at the head of the valley.

From the summit of Shan-tzu-tou two small dying glaciers descend onto the sloping rock wall but are not to be compared to those on the eastern slope of the range. Here the peak itself looks insignificant, due to the small quantity of snow and the absence of the lower peaks and promontories which make the eastern side so beautiful. The slopes of Gyi-p'ër lo are densely forested with spruces, hemlocks, and giant rhododendrons 40 feet tall with trunks two feet in diameter.

Bears live in this gorge, as their fresh tracks testified, while huge flying squirrels dwell in the recesses of the T'ai-tzu tung. These are reddish-brown in color with a very pale fawn-colored back; they are known scientifically as *Petaurista alborufus ochropsis*, and to the Na-khi as Fu-chung-p'i, which is apparently a mispronunciation of the Chinese Fei-ch'u-p'i 飛鼠皮. During the daytime it was impossible to find them in the caves, but at night they volplaned out of them onto tall trees growing in front, where they fed on the green leaves. With a torchlight pointed up into the trees, their red eyes glowed like live coals, and thus they could easily be shot down (PLATE 147).

Trails lead from across the Gyi-p'ër k'a gorge to the forests and bluffs at 10,300 feet elevation to the north, whence beautiful views can be had both up (PLATE 148) and down the Yangtze, up the Yü-ndo gyi (Chung-tien River) to the north, to A-hsi on the Yangtze in the south, and, even beyond, the little lake Bbu-t'u-ndër in the valley at Kuan-shang 關上 is visible.

From T'ai-tzu tung a lower trail leads up the Yangtze valley past the village of Ggö-ndër in a circular depression, the floor of which forms a small lake or pond, and thence over pine forested spurs and along wide curves and ravines to the village of Muan-ndër (Lower pond, in contradistinction to Ggö-ndër or Upper pond).

CHAPTER VII

AIR FLIGHT ROUND LI-CHIANG SNOW RANGE AND THROUGH THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO — YANGTZE GORGE

Since my earlier days of exploration in Yün-nan great progress has been made in China: the most important was the linking of out-of-the-way places with centers of civilization, either by motor-road or aeroplane. Roads in our sense of the word are still rare in Yün-nan and few connect with neighboring provinces.¹ Since 1934 an air service has been established linking this far-away province directly with Shanghai (via Chungking) and other parts of China. An opportunity was thus offered to charter the plane K'un-ming of the China National Aviation Company for a flight to the Li-chiang Snow range and through the now famous gorge of the upper Yangtze called 'A-ts'an-gko. It is extremely difficult while exploring on foot in this greatest of all canyons to form an idea as to the lie of the peaks which hem in this gorge. To solve certain geographical problems I decided to fly through the gorge at a sufficient height to enable me to get a bird's-eye view of it and of the surrounding mountains.

Viewing the peaks from the air, we have learned that the mountain mass of 'A-ts'an-gko with its towering peaks of A-ssu, A-ku and A-mbu nv-lv (p. 225) running parallel to the bulky pile of Gyi-nà nv-lv in the west, is by far the most important part of the northern end of the snow range (PLATE 140). It forms a huge, broad pyramid, the western and north-western edges of which are the walls flanking the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Our picture was taken looking south from an altitude of 17,000 feet as the plane entered the gorge flying in a south-westerly direction. It shows clearly the tremendous pyramid separated from Gyi-nà nv-lv by a glacier-filled ravine, beyond which is visible Shan-tzu-tou, the highest peak of the range. This proves that Gyi-nà nv-lv (see p. 224) is to the east of Shan-tzu-tou, and not west as shown on Handel-Mazzetti's map. Viewing Gyi-nà nv-lv from the east one would never suspect that to the west of it extends, parallel to it, this far greater mountain mass of 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv.

Our flight also definitely proved that the second highest peak of the snow range is in the 'A-ts'an-gko Range. In the next few pages I shall give a description of the actual flight through the gorge from notes taken on the trip.

THE FLIGHT

February 3rd (1936) was set as the day for the first flight to the Li-chiang Snow range. It was such a day as only Yün-nan could boast of at that time of year. The sky was cloudless and of a deep turquoise blue, the atmosphere crystal clear. The plane "K'un-ming" left the K'un-ming aerodrome at

¹ Two motor roads have since been opened: one connecting K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) with Chung-king (Chung-ch'ing 重慶) via Kuei-yang, and the other K'un-ming with Burma via Hsia-kuan and Lung-ling. Owing to the war, air service to the coast cities of China was suspended but has again been inaugurated.

7.45 A.M. Yün-nan time, sailing first over the ancient city of K'un-ming, after which it gradually rose to 9,000 feet elevation and during the next half hour climbed to 13,000 feet.

Beneath us were hills, mostly bare, though here and there covered with pine trees. The country below was like a sea disturbed by a terrific gale, resembling huge waves. At 8.10 A.M. we passed the town of Lo-tz'u hsien 羅次縣, flying over it at 12,000 feet elevation. Twenty minutes afterwards we flew over Yüan-mou 元謀 and Ma-kai 馬街 (Horse market), at an elevation of 13,000 feet. To our right we saw mountains north and north-east of Wu-ting 武定, populated by Miaos. Far away to the north was the Ta-liang Shan 大涼山, land of the independent Lo-lo. Deep erosion met the eye everywhere, red soil, bare hills and small plains. From this region, we first sighted the snow range 150 miles away as the crow flies. The atmosphere was clear and the peaks stood out sharply. At 9 A.M. we were flying at 14,000 feet above sea-level.

From here, looking north-north-west, we could see 170 miles away the Gangkar-ling peaks, over 20,000 feet in height, and first explored by me in the spring and summer of 1928 (PLATES 55 to 59). To the south and somewhat to the west of us was the 14,000 feet Ts'ang-shan Range, which flanks the Ta-li Lake (Erh Hai).

At 9.10 A.M. we crossed over the Yangtze at an elevation of 15,000 feet, the river a mere ribbon, a streak of brilliant green hurrying across the Yün-nan plateau in its arid bright red gorge. Directly to the west and south of the snow range, and extending from north to south, distant 160 miles, we saw the Mekong — Salween and Salween — Irrawadi divides the latter further south forms the Yün-nan — Burma border, and the former further north the Yün-nan — Tibet border, with Lhasa four flying hours, or 600 miles, distant. To the north-west of the Li-chiang Range the snow mountains which encircle the Chung-tien plateau stood out clearly in the crystal atmosphere.

By 9.30 A.M. we were again nearing the Yangtze further west and crossed one of its many bends and turns. To the south lay the town of Yung-pei, now called Yung-sheng (Eternal victory), on a long plain, and 15 miles to the south of it the lake of Ch'eng Hai 程海, a sheet of blue water about 26 miles in circumference. From here we flew straight north, but east of the district of Tung-shan (Tung-shan li 東山里) and parallel to the snow range, which stood out in all its glory, covered deeply with a mantle of white. Truly it seemed to float in the atmosphere like a sleeping dragon, enshrouded in purest snow, its sharp peaks and crags piercing the deep blue sky. An aura of majesty encompassed it, overawing all; its neighboring hills lay crowded about as loving children gather around their mother.

Nearly 20,000 feet its peaks tower into the heavens and yet the ever-hastening waters of the Yangtze and time have conquered it.

We continued our flight in a northerly direction till we came abreast the exit of the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge, flanked by the peaks and crags of the snow range. Up to here flying was more or less smooth, only now and then, while passing over the deep Yangtze valley, were we somewhat tossed about.

We flew to the north of Mba-yi-wüa (Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾), and nearing T'o-k'ö-shër (Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪), we turned west over the alluvial

plain with its scattered hamlets collectively called Nda-gv, or Ta-ku (Beat the drum). The plain is at an altitude of 5,900 feet, and we traversed it at a height of 16,000 feet. It is completely enclosed by high mountains and, bisected by the Yangtze which flows 600 feet below it, looked insignificant.

At a speed of 120 miles an hour we approached Ha-ba nv-lv (Ha-ba ndshër nv-lv) the third outstanding peak of the snow range (PLATE 150) but fourth in height. The wind coming from south-west was so strong that as we neared the mouth of the gorge we were driven close to the walls of this forbidding-looking mountain (PLATE 151). The mouth of the terrific Yangtze gorge yawned and swallowed us. The wind was now terrific. To both sides of us the ice-crowned crags and peaks hemmed us in, and 12,000 feet below us flowed the Yangtze, in its rocky prison and in deepest shadow. The sun, which only for a short fraction of the day shines in the gorge, illuminated brilliantly the snow peaks and pinnacles, outlining them sharply against the blue of the sky. The fierce wind which howled through the gorge caused our ship, which had now reached 17,000 feet, to flutter like a piece of paper in a gale. It drove us towards the peak of Ha-ba, so that I feared the wing of our plane would scrape the ice-crowned cliff. To the left or south of us was the enormous mountain mass which forms the northern end of the snow range, composed of the huge limestone bulk of 'A-ts'an-gko and Gyi-nà nv-lv. The former drops a sheer 12,000 feet and forms the south-eastern wall of the gorge (PLATE 149).

The wind rushing through the gorge at different pressures caused our plane to be tossed about like a ship in a heavy sea; sometimes dropping vertically it would rise in a succession of shudders, then again would slip sideways, losing and gaining height involuntarily at the rate of 1,500 feet a minute. The roar of the engines seemed intensified, the echo reverberating from the mighty cliffs. It was a terrifying sensation to be literally blown through this mighty gorge — a narrow chasm — the ship swaying and bumping as it passed close to the vertical limestone cliffs at a height of 17,000 feet. Serene and as if with contempt the mighty peaks looked down on us as we in our frail craft fluttered at their very feet. As we approached the end of the gorge we turned south, but still hugged the snow range, instead of flying over the now broad Yangtze valley. We flew close to the actual peaks and, nearing the southern end of the range, turned east, flying over the last crag of the range (Hua-lä-bpu) at the rate of 130 miles an hour, to the plain or valley floor at its eastern foot.

We made a beautiful landing on one of the finest natural landing-fields in the province. The place is called Wua-dtv k'o-dü or Wua-dü-k'o-dü the Chinese Wa-tun-k'o-tui² 瓦墩課堆 and is 8,700 feet above sea-level, and only about 12 miles from the town of Li-chiang (PLATE 152). As no plane had ever before landed here (or, for that matter, in any other part of western Yün-nan), our pilots flew several times around the field examining it carefully until they decided it was safe to descend. Gently we glided down, alighting at a speed of 95 miles an hour at 10.50 A.M. The first trip by air to the Li-chiang snow peaks had thus been safely accomplished.

² During World War II, Wua-dtv-k'o-dü served as landing field for many an Air Transport Command plane and the Li-chiang Snow range as a beacon for the pilots on their flights over the "Hump" to Assam.

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The Ancient Na-Khi King-
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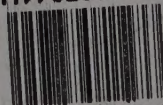
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